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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1955 -- APRIL 1955

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set out in this study are all taken from authoritative Communist publications in order to demonstrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has taken on the principal current issues of national and international significance.

These publications include the newspapers, The Worker and the Daily Worker, and periodicals such as Masses & Mainstream, Political Affairs, and Party Voice, the latter being an organ of the New York State Communist Party.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

Beginning in March of 1954, the Communist Party line was devoted to expanding upon the issues set out in the Draft Program and the finalized Program of the Communist Party. William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, brought the year to a close with his contention that the United States was entering upon the first stages of fascism.

The Program of the Communist Party continues to be mentioned in the Communist press; however, the line for the first part of 1955 has centered on the key words "coalition or isolation." According to their statements, this means that there is a need for the unity of labor and the unification of labor with all its potential allies to defeat this incipient fascism in the United States.

This line thus far has developed two main aspects. First of all, labor's independence from the Democratic Party is to be sharpened by encouraging labor to assume a political role by itself.

The steps taken by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to effect a merger and unify by the end of 1955 were regarded by the Communist press as a significant development in that there is a prospect of restoring what the Communist press terms political consciousness to the labor movement. The long-range objective of the Communists is to exert an influence on the 1956 elections. "Progressives" are called upon to leave any position of isolation and to join the labor movement. This also means calling for a merger of Communist-dominated unions with the major non-Communist labor organizations as expeditiously as possible.

The second aspect of the current line is the emphasis on the prospects of a third-party movement which would be directed by "progressives" and not by "bourgeois" elements as in the past. According to the Program of the Communist Party, a third party would represent both labor and poor farmers. In order to support the need for a third party, this country is depicted as being in the midst of a crisis. The present recovery is limited and it presages an economic decline in both business and agriculture. In the field of foreign relations it is American imperialism that is inciting war.



This is reflected, for example, in the tensions between the United States and the Chinese People's Republic.

Considered in perspective, however, the second aspect is so closely associated with the first that it appears to be only a logical objective of the first and not a goal which the Communists feel they can readily realize.

The Matusow affidavit and statements, in which this person claimed he gave false testimony, was seized upon by the Communist press as a means of continuing their attack on "McCarthyism" and the Justice Department. They charged that all Government witnesses testifying in regard to Communism gave perjurious and false testimony, and their testimony reflected a pattern of framed evidence from professional informers. According to the line, everyone convicted under the Smith Act should be freed and there should be a public investigation of the informant system similar to the type of investigation conducted by Senator LaFollette during the thirties into the "labor spy racket."

The main concern of the Communist press is to announce that Communists and Communist sympathizers must abandon a position which would isolate them in a "left center" or "anti-imperialist center." Communists

must support the protest factions in this country. However, by continuing to emphasize the Party's Program, they will be able to maintain their identity as Communists. They continue to reiterate that the ability of Communists to play a "vanguard" role in changing this country into a "people's democracy" henceforth will depend upon their ability to draw support to the Program from non-Communist elements.

#### B. Conclusions

The following conclusions are taken from statements made in the Communist press and sum up the Communist Party line for January through April, 1955:

1. The division of the world continues to sharpen into two main camps: the camp of imperialism and reaction headed by the United States and the camp of anti-imperialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.
2. The primary role of the left at present is to help develop an independent political coalition of the broadest and most inclusive character.
3. This independent political coalition is in answer to (a) the danger of war and fascism, (b) to Republican reaction and (c) to the bipartisan "betrayal of all too many Democratic leaders."

4. The merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations can lead to a higher level of political action for labor; not yet an independent party of labor and its allies, but at least more labor independence and influence.
5. There should be a LaFollette type of investigation into "the whole racket of the lying, professional informer." All Government testimony regarding Communism is perjurious and all trials of Communists are frame-ups.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The Answer to the Wall Street Warmongers Is Peaceful Coexistence.
2. The Paris Pacts Must Be Defeated in the Senate.
3. The Senate Should Not Act on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Yet.
4. China.
5. Latin America.
6. The State Department Is an Accomplice of the Racists Who Run South Africa.
7. Iraq.
8. Israel.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Answer to the Wall Street Warmongers Is Peaceful Coexistence

"... We Communists should labor with redoubled vigor to bring all of our peace-loving compatriots the most urgent message of our day: sincere and realistic striving for peace must express itself in devotion to the achievement of lasting peaceful co-existence and friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Editorial, "Lenin and Peaceful Co-Existence,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1955, p. 3

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"The Wall Street war mongers know very well from past experiences with the peace loving masses that they cannot simply walk the capitalist world deliberately into war as a result of formal decision. So their idea is to get the desired world war started by plunging the countries into it suddenly on the basis of some provocation or other, which they aim to organize."

Daily Worker,  
January 6, 1955, p. 5

"HARDLY had the news had been announced of the resignation of Malenkov as premier of the Soviet Union and the election of Bulganin in his stead, than the ever-vigilant warmongers in this country were springing into action, striving to turn this incident to their unholy purpose of unleashing the third world war."

"BUT ONE THING is absolutely certain, the basic foreign course of the USSR will remain as before, firmly and unalterably committed to the preservation and cultivation of world peace. Peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist states is the fundamental policy of the Soviet government."

"THE USSR is a country where workers rule, where human exploitation has been abolished, where the industries are owned by the people, and where production is carried on for use, not profit. In such a country there is no basis whatever for imperialism or for aggressive war-making."

"The American people are not now, never have been, and never will be in the slightest danger of attack from the Soviet Union, regardless of whether its government be headed by a Lenin, a Stalin, a Malenkov, or a Bulganin."

"The USSR, People's China, and the European People's Democracies are not the enemies of the American people, but their best friends.

"The war danger now threatening the American people comes from an altogether different direction--from the agents of big capital, the Eisenhowers, Dulleses, Knowlands, et al., who are running the United States government. They speak and act, not in behalf of the democratic masses of America but in the interest of monopoly capital, which with its inevitable arrogance and insatiable greed at home and abroad, is the elementary source of all imperialist war. . . ."

Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1955, p. 5

## 2. The Paris Pacts Must Be Defeated in the Senate

"One thing can get us out of the foreign policy morass: Rejection of an alliance with Nazi militarism and acceptance of negotiations as the civilized world's alternative to nazis armed with H-bombs."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1955, p. 4

"The fact is, Administration policy on Germany is a Mc Carthyite policy and nothing less. It is a policy of reviving and rearming the mass slayers of Buchenwald and Dachau, those who bombed London from the skies and razed Warsaw to the ground.

"The majority of Americans hate McCarthy's war on the Bill of Rights. They should see that the Paris Pacts are a war on world peace and call on their Senators to defeat them in the new session."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 4, 1955, p. 5

"THE AFL executive council, keeping in close step with the State Department's war-provocation policy, has addressed an appeal to the trade unions of Europe, especially those of West Germany, for support of German remilitarization."

"We are sure that the AFL's leaders will meet with a deserved rebuff abroad. But it is most important to repudiate them at home."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 9, 1955, p. 5

3. The Senate Should Not Act on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Yet

"The Asians say this SEATO agreement provides a pseudolegal justification for the colony-exploiting powers to intervene in the internal affairs of the Asian peoples on the pretext of fighting 'subversion.' They say, moreover, that Secretary Dulles is working night and main to present to the February conference of SEATO in Bangkok a plan for instant joint action by a SEATO 'task force' whenever Dulles decides some country is about to be 'subverted.' The Asians say this could trick the American people into war.

"The Soviet Union and People's China said pretty much the same thing. China said SEATO was really aimed primarily at completing the aggressive encirclement of China.

"Now whatever many Americans may think of statements from Moscow and Peking as so-called 'Communist propaganda,' it's hardly discreet to pooh-pooh and dismiss the viewpoint of more than one-half the population of the globe.

"The safer and saner course, it seems to me, would be for more Americans to tell the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold up SEATO till the country is allowed to hear opposing arguments and learn the truth about it. Why slam the door to peace in Asia?"

Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1955, p. 8.

#### 4. China

"The best way to promote peace, and therefore America's interests, is to remove all barriers to China regaining her rightful territory and her rightful seat in the UN."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 21, 1955, p. 5

"We should demand public hearings on the Eisenhower-Chiang mutual assistance treaty, and declare our disgust and contempt for the policy of pampering this betrayer of the Asian peoples.

"We should condemn the Knowland-Radford preventive war gang and demand the removal of the bloodthirsty jingo Radford.

"The Senate vote ends nothing. It is all the more urgent now to deluge Congress and the White House with wires and letters expressing the peace demands of the real America--the people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 31, 1955, p. 5

#### 5. Latin America

"HONDURAS, about as large as the state of Pennsylvania, and with a population of 1, 152, 000 (about a sixth less than the city of Detroit), is one of the most backward agrarian countries of Latin America. Primarily



responsible for this backwardness is U. S. monopoly capital which dominates completely its agriculture, foreign trade, shipping and finances.

"This domination was established by force by a powerful imperialist country against a small, weak, defenseless nation. . . ."

"Armed overthrow of democratic government as in Guatemala, thwarting the popular electoral will as in Honduras, brutal dictatorship in Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica and Panama cannot stop the onward march of the peoples of Central America toward independence from semi-feudal and imperialist domination."

Daily Worker,  
January 6, 1955, p. 6

"WHAT IS BEHIND the armed invasion of Costa Rica? Is this merely an internal rebellion, a feud between two opposing political factions? Or is it aggression organized by President Anastasio Somoza, the reactionary dictator of Costa Rica's northern neighbor, Nicaragua?"

"Somoza waited not one month but five before he struck. Yet can anyone doubt that he took his cue from the Castillo Armas invasion, organized by the United Fruit Co. and the State Department, which overthrew by force and violence the democratic government of Guatemala?"

"And the fact that Somoza himself had more than a finger in the conspiracy against Guatemala gave him all the more reason not to be color-blind when the light from Washington flashed green."

"There is every reason to believe that part of the arms Washington shipped to Nicaragua in its campaign to overthrow the Guatemalan government is now being used to assault Costa Rica."

Daily Worker,  
January 20, 1955, p. 4

"THERE IS SOME talk about the Organization of American States setting an example for the UN in the case of Costa Rica."

"First, peace has not been kept in Costa Rica or anywhere else in Central America. On the contrary, we have our government sending Costa Rica five planes and allowing Sweden to send Nicaragua 25 planes on a German ship.

"Seems to us it was not so long ago that the U. S. Navy was stopping ships bound for Guatemala and seizing 'war materials' purchased with hard cash by the democratic Arbenz government. The OAS didn't lift a hand when this happened. And it was only the U. S. voting majority in the UN Security Council which prevented that body from functioning.

"Second, the State Department's feeble gesture of selling five planes to Costa Rica reflected no zeal in behalf of peace on the part of the Eisenhower Administration. It was done, in fact, only after the Latin American states and the American public demanded it.

"Third, it just so happens that all the regional organizations set up for so-called 'defense' are structures of the U. S. Government, getting their names, money and orders from Washington. The State Department dominates the UN, too, but not as completely as in the case of the regional organizations.

"Fourth, instead of exemplifying the effectiveness of regional organizations, the case of Costa Rica and the rest of Central America, which are sometimes called Wall Street's 'banana republics,' exemplifies the chaos, insecurity and violence which reign wherever the benevolent rule of U. S. capital is supreme.

"Clearly, the case of Costa Rica should go to the United Nations. The OAS daily proves its unreliability as an organization for hemispheric peace and security."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1955, p. 5

"Venezuela is an arsenal of strategic raw materials, says the underground magazine 'Noticias de Venezuela' and it is the country in which one can most clearly see in operation Wall Street's imperialist policy toward the Latin American countries."

Daily Worker,  
March 21, 1955, p. 6

"A good place to make labor views on the Venezuela dictatorship known is the State Department, because of the important part played by U. S. interests in the economy and politics of Venezuela. It is conceded here that without the support of these interests, largely oil companies, the dictatorship would lose its grip on the country."

Daily Worker,  
March 21, 1955, p. 6

"It would be hard to see how much farther Nixon could have gone to show Figueres the kind of Latin-American governments the Administration favors. But he did. For he managed to walk in on Figueres with 'assurances' from Somoza that Nicaragua would hereafter respect the common boundary between the two countries."

"To save his power Figueres has shown himself more disposed to make concessions to U.S. policy and less disposed to mobilize the Costa Rican people behind a truly national policy. If this calculation succeeds, then dictatorship is around the corner."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1955, p. 5

6. The State Department Is an Accomplice of the Racists Who Run South Africa

"THIS IS 'moving day' in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa. Those who are 'moving' are the first contingent of the city's 400,000 Negroes. They are being forcibly moved outside the city limits by the racists who run South Africa.

"This outrageous spectacle is said by our State Department to be South Africa's internal affair. Therefore Washington pursues what is called a hands-off policy. Hands-off in such a case would be bad enough. What the State Department does, however, is to act as a behind-the-scenes accomplice of the South African government."

"Washington should be called on to alter its position in the UN on the despicable policies of the government of South Africa. Meanwhile, the African National Congress, which is leading the fight against the mass kidnapping-eviction, and whose address is P. O. Box 9207, Johannesburg, South Africa, would be heartened by messages of support from people's organizations in this country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 16, 1955, p. 5

## 7. Iraq

"The Iraqi people are fighting courageously with all their might against these conditions. In spite of all the brutal and vicious actions of the fascist secret police, in spite of the provocations of the authorities and their agents, in spite of the 'Big Lie' of Soviet aggression, the Iraqi people are moving forward with unbreakable determination to liberate their country, guided by the Iraqi proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party and putting as their great slogan, 'A Free Country and a Happy People.'"

Daily Worker,  
March 2, 1955, p. 5

## 8. Israel

"Meanwhile of course no one, and surely not the Israelis, will benefit from the kind of fighting that went on in Gaza. Settlement of this crisis requires Israeli-Arab negotiations. It requires an end to the State Department's arming of feudal rulers in the Arab lands against the interests of middle East and world peace. And peace requires not just an armistice between Israel and its neighbors but peace treaties and peaceful co-existence."

Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1955, p. 5

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. World Capitalism Is Moving toward an Industrial Crisis.
2. "McCarthyism" Is Far from Dead.
3. The Rosenberg Case Continues in the Form of Seeking Justice for Morton Sobell.
4. The Ladejinsky Incident Reflects Anti-Semitism in the Administration.
5. President Eisenhower's Health Plan Is Inadequate.
6. The Left Must Help Develop an Independent Political Coalition.
7. Taxation.
8. The Matusow Case.
9. President Eisenhower's "Dynamic Conservatism" Is a Giveaway to the Bankers.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### i. World Capitalism Is Moving toward an Industrial Crisis

"THE CIO rightly warns that President Eisenhower's effort to picture the country's economic situation as 'good' is false. On the contrary, says the CIO, 'it isn't so good.' The CIO cites the government's own employment figures (which are usually understated) showing that mass unemployment of 3,000,000 or more has become chronic, despite the annual increase in the manpower force, is below pre-Korea levels."

"The economy is truly resting on a time-bomb. It will take more than optimistic predictions to prevent the bomb from exploding."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 25, 1955, p. 5

"...But unless economic programs such as are advocated by organized labor and the Communist Party are adopted to ease the economic situation, world capitalism will move faster toward a devastating industrial crisis. A sign of developing crisis is the recent dip in American industrial production and the critical agricultural situation...."

Daily Worker,  
January 10, 1955, p. 4

"IN TERMS OF SOCIAL WELFARE and economics affecting the people, the new Eisenhower budget is clearly a further indication of chiseling into and liquidating past progress."

"By tagging behind the bi-partisan war line, labor disarms itself in the fight for its program of social and economic projects to fill the needs of the people and combat the threat of depression. There is little chance to win billions for constructive purposes when at least two-thirds of the budget is conceded for war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 19, 1955, p. 5

## 2. "McCarthyism" Is Far from Dead

"It would be wrong to conclude that McCarthy will necessarily be eclipsed or reduced to small stuff after the new Democratic Congress takes over. As is well known, he still has powerful support and will continue his menacing fascist role. Even more important is the fact that McCarthyism is far from dead despite some blows dealt against it in recent weeks."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 2, 1955, p. 4

"The basic issue is clearly McCarthyism, notwithstanding Joe McCarthy's personal decline. The people will not take to McCarthyism any more kindly if its name is changed to 'McClellanism' and its label 'Democrat.' The victimization of unionists by scrapping of the Bill of Rights will not be more palatable to labor if it is done under the other party's rule. The labor movement should show enough independence to make this emphatically known to those who now take over the legislative helm."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 5, 1955, p. 5

3. The Rosenberg Case Continues in the Form of Seeking Justice for Morton Sobell

"OVER A YEAR AND A HALF ago, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were laid to rest--but the conscience of America was not buried with them. Americans with all sorts of political opinions have continued to speak up against this execution which horrified the world and served to dishonor our country's name."

"It has taken the form of seeking justice for Morton Sobell, who was sentenced to entombment for 30 years at Alcatraz as part of the same frame-up which killed the Rosenbergs, was convicted with the same sort of trumped-up testimony that is now being blown to bits with the confessions of former FBI informer Harvey Matusow that he had borne false witness against guiltless victims."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1955, p. 5

4. The Ladejinsky Incident Reflects Anti-Semitism in the Administration

"CAUGHT IN AN outrageous act of anti-Semitism, the Department of Agriculture wriggles and squirms--but the anti-Semitism is still there and the anti-Semites are still there."



"Secretary Ezra T. Benson 'disavows' the anti-Semitic letter written by George N. Vitt against the dismissed Wolf Ladejinsky, and released approvingly by Benson's assistant Milan D. Smith."

"Is it surprising to find anti-Semitism in an Administration which is defying the entire world in order to rearm the anti-Semitic militarists of Western Germany.

"Instead of booting Milan Smith out of the Department, Benson is busy trying to cover up for him.

"Eisenhower should be called on to see that Smith is fired and Congress should air Benson's part in this disgraceful matter."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 5, 1955, p. 5

5. President Eisenhower's Health Plan Is Inadequate

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S health plan is essentially the same proposal he made in his message to Congress last year. It runs true to the administration's pro-business outlook in general."

"In contrast to this dubious benefit for a few, the labor movement has been pressing for a health program operated by the government that would offer real insurance to the great mass of people. But the administration is opposed to that plan because it would be 'socialized medicine.' The American Medical Association has even opposed the Administration's next-to-nothing proposal because of its reluctance to let the government have any relation to the problem of health.

"By renewing his health plan, the President is obviously cognizant of the great popular pressure for a real health program. This calls for still greater pressure on the part of yabor for its program and no yielding to af ake substitute."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 2, 1955, p. 5

6. The Left Must Help Develop an Independent Political Coalition

"Progressives will best build a third party movement by associating themselves with all trends toward greater independence--rather than by moving off prematurely on their own."

"But the primary role of the left at present is to help develop an independent political coalition of the broadest and most inclusive character as the answer to the real danger of war and fascism, as the answer to Republican reaction and to the bipartisan betrayal of all too many Democratic leaders.

"It is because I think the immediate challenge of our times to progressives is to plunge into the mainstream of the American labor movement and American political life.... Only if we are part of this mainstream and help influence its direction will there emerge the mass third party which American progressives have so long dreamed of and worked for."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1955, p. 5

"As the national Presidential struggle unfolds, we must clearly realize that, tactically speaking, there are two phases to our political work--that within the bourgeois parties, and that in the shape of independent candidacies...."

William Z. Foster, "The Perspectives for  
a Labor-Farmer Party in the U. S.,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1955, p. 18

## 7. Taxation

"TAXES SHOULD be imposed on the basis of ability to pay. That is, the heaviest taxes should be borne by the rich.

"That's an old democratic principle--and one for which labor has always fought. However, it is a principle which Big Business and its political agents violate in every way."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 21, 1955, p. 5

## 8. The Matusow Case

"Under normal conditions, a confession like Matusow's would explode with a bang heard in every state. It would be the scandal of the year. That affidavit goes to the heart of McCarthyism. It exposes the whole pattern of framed evidence and professional informers upon which the theses of 'Communist conspiracy' and the alleged objective of 'overthrow by force and violence' rests.

"Prosecutors can't find nothing in programs, speeches or activities to build up a 'force and violence' case, but they can get all the informers paid-for to deliver framed testimony to fit the law."

Daily Worker,  
February 2, 1955, p. 5

"An informer planted by the FBI in a union, ostensibly to discover Communists, has the power to 'make' a Communist out of anyone he or his masters may choose to victimize or black-mail. Matusow showed how he made a 'Communist' out of Lattimore, and turned his books into 'Communist' texts. But even more, the informer in the profession of selling 'information' will serve anyone who pays him for the services--phony or real information or testimony made to order."

Daily Worker,  
February 7, 1955, p. 5

"AS THE GOVERNMENT and witch-hunting con-men jump in with frantic efforts to suppress the confessions of the repentant informer, Harvey Matusow, new disclosures leak out. And they indicate that only a small fraction of the whole story has been told of the thought-control drive of these past several years, with its 'security' programs, screening out of militant trade unionists, McCarthyite investigations, Smith Act arrests and other political frame-ups.

"They indicate that the time is long overdue for a real public investigation of the type conducted by the late Sen. LaFollette during the thirties, which exposed the whole ugly labor spy racket of those days."

"AS WAS INEVITABLE, the drive against 'Communism' has become translated in industry into a drive against militant union men and women...."

"But increasingly large numbers of Americans--and especially trade unionists--have begun to learn that a political witchhunt aimed at one group of Americans inevitably threatens the rights of all Americans. The Big Lie about the 'menace' of Communism is what has given rise to the McCarthys, the lying informers, the resurgence of the labor spy racket, the blacklisting of workers. It is time for Americans, and for labor in the first instance, to speak out for an end to this nightmare of witchhunting.

"A good first step would be a new LaFollette type of investigation into the whole racket of the lying, professional informers...."

"At the same time every case in which these professional informers have been used--the 13 Communist leaders, Clinton Jencks, and others--should be reopened. This is the least that needs to be done if our Bill of Rights is to be rescued from the Brownells and the McCarthys."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 27, 1955, p. 4

"The question before the American public raised by the sensational disclosure of Matusow is: Why were those convictions so desperately sought that the Justice Department would act with criminal irresponsibility to secure them?"

"A new trial is the least that should be granted in those cases where the Matusows, Johnsons, Bentleys and Budenzes have performed.

"His revelations confirm the need to free completely all those framed under the Smith Act.

"The honor of the American people is at stake."

Daily Worker,  
March 1, 1955, p. 5

9. President Eisenhower's "Dynamic Conservatism" Is a Giveaway to the Bankers

"Eisenhower's \$101, 000, 000, 000 road-building plan is the latest case in point. Behind all the ballyhoo and charts lies another 'dynamic conservative' bonanza for the bankers."

"The same giveaway lies behind the Eisenhower school plan, which would produce more interest for bankers than actual schools.

"Billions for the bankers, thumbs down on a meager tax cut for the people, and opposition to a real school aid and housing program--this is 'dynamic conservatism.' Labor's own program is exactly the opposite and needs to be vigorously pressed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 24, 1955, p. 5

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The Proposed Minimum Wage Is Inadequate.
2. Labor Should Tip the Scales against German Remilitarization and Oppose Senator Knowland.
3. The National Labor Relations Board Is Exceeding Its Authority.
4. A Joint-Council of Labor Is Needed to Combat Depression on a National Basis.
5. Labor Should Resist President Eisenhower's Banker's Budget.
6. A Third Party Movement Must Be Led by Labor.
7. Labor Unity Will Spur Progressive-Led Independent Unions to Merge with the Unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL).
8. Unity Means the Possibility of Getting More Economic and Social Gains.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. The Proposed Minimum Wage Is Inadequate

"THE REPORTED plan of the President for a message to Congress proposing a raise in the wage minimum from 75 cents to 90 cents an hour is woefully inadequate. It compares with labor's demand for a \$1.25 minimum. And since that demand was projected, the cost of living rose substantially."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 4, 1955, p. 5

2. Labor Should Tip the Scales Against German Remilitarization and Oppose Senator Knowland

"Washington says no to every Soviet proposal, not because a settlement can't be reached now but because a settlement CAN be reached and this is just what Washington wants to avoid.

"Labor in our own country has the duty to join with labor throughout Europe and to tip the scales against a new Nazi army when the pacts come before the Senate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 15, 1955, p. 5

"Labor has consistently opposed the policies of Senator Knowland. Now that the Democratic chairman of the House Committee defends the Knowland war line, it is up to labor to make clear again its opposition to the Knowland crowd, including those wearing the Democratic label."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 9, 1955, p. 5

3. The National Labor Relations Board Is Exceeding Its Authority

"THE NATIONAL Labor Relations Board has not only assumed judicial authority in the field of labor relations, but it is openly defying repeated court warnings curbing its right to deprive a union of its collective bargaining rights. This is clearly illustrated in the board's new ruling barring the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, independent, of a right to be on an election ballot because its secretary-treasurer, Maurice Travis, is under indictment for alleged false swearing to a Taft-Hartley affidavit."

"No thinking or honest unionist will support this policy of cooperating with the NLRB to smash another union."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 4, 1955, p. 5

4. A Joint-Council of Labor Is Needed to Combat Depression on a National Basis

"A MUCH NEEDED warning that Eisenhower 'prosperity' is not what it is cracked up to be, is sounded by the AFL's executive council. The council predicts that if the economy follows its current course and pace, we may have an unemployment of as high as 4,000,000 next month. This year, warns the AFL, may show an average unemployment of from 750,000 to 1,000,000 above 1954."

"Their warnings and program would have far greater weight, however, if in line with current unity talks and united legislative action already achieved in many states, the CIO and AFL top bodies would form a joint council to direct a united struggle nationally on the anti-depression front."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 4, 1955, p. 5

5. Labor Should Resist President Eisenhower's Banker's Budget

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S proposed budget is a bankers' budget, with all that this implies."

"Typically, the financing of this war-like and war breeding budget is to come out of the pockets and off the tables of the people."



"Labor needs to reply to this bankers' budget with a tax exemption as proposed by the CIO, for substantial increases in social welfare as part of an anti-depression program. It needs to couple this with a demand for a policy of peaceful co-existence, the absence of which provides the alibi for a military and bankers' budget."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1955, p. 5

6. A Third Party Movement Must Be Led by Labor

"THE HISTORIC REASON for the failure of third party movements is that they did not attract sufficient support from the labor movement whose leadership has for the most part been committed to the two-party system."

"This still remains true. It is still true that a third party movement to be truly useful and successful must be led and supported by labor. To ignore the fact at the present time will not help in the immediate struggle to unite labor and its allies against big business reaction. Nor will it help in the longer-range struggle to win labor for the mass third party movement which will surely develop in our country."

Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1955, p. 6

"Last week we published excerpts from Gerson's speech. The Daily Worker is in full agreement with his position that a third party, to be effective, requires the participation and leadership of the organized labor movement. In view of labor's close relations with the Democratic Party, this means that the major job for progressives today is to stimulate labor to take a more and more independent position in the arena where it now operates. This is the path to a new party led by labor."

Daily Worker,  
February 28, 1955, p. 4

7. Labor Unity Will Spur Progressive-Led Independent Unions to Merge with the Unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

"The obvious consequences of this unity can be the consolidation of five million CIO members with 10 million in the AFL; the end of most of the costly and destructive struggles between unions and the mobilization of the united strength of labor against the common enemy, the employers and the reactionary political administration in Washington, especially in the 1956 elections."

"Second, it is important to see that the much promised unity is in sight just as we witness a reversing trend and success against reaction on several fronts, notably in the recent elections, in the movement against McCarthyism and on extended civil rights spurred by the Supreme Court's school decision. There is evidence that people are shedding some of the paralyzing fear that came with McCarthyism. There is more readiness to listen to new ideas and voice independent thought and criticism, as we saw, to a degree, in the CIO convention in Los Angeles."

"Significantly, the swing from inter-union struggle to unity, has also spurred the efforts of progressive-led independent unions to return to the main stream of the labor movement and they are finding that there are unions in the CIO and AFL willing to merge with them. That, too, is a by-product of the new climate that is developing."

"... The qualitative content of unity will largely depend on what active progressive-thinking people do about it in the trade unions. The negotiations may even end in disagreement unless a real movement from below is steamed up to make a breakoff difficult. Unity could result in little more than a convenient arrangement on top unless there is a grass roots demand for immediate delivery on what the workers expect out of unity."

"...That can open in 1955, a new important page in labor history. It is also a challenge to militant progressives who can be a strong influence upon the developments that can flow from this unity."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1955, pp. 3, 12

8. Unity Means the Possibility of Getting More Economic and Social Gains

"THE PROSPECT of an AFL-CIO merger--possibly in 1955--is certainly welcomed by progressives in the labor movement, but it also poses a problem and a challenge. What kind of a unity is it to be? What is to follow unity?"

"Unity has always been the cardinal principle of progressive trade unionists. It is on the basis of this principle that those on the left have made their most important historic contributions to the labor movement. They pioneered for industrial unionism--the idea of unity of all workers in a plant or industry, irrespective of craft or other differences."

"Always the aim was unity FOR A PURPOSE. Not just unity in the 'abstract.' The left fought the occasional efforts to promote unity of labor for a reactionary objective."

Daily Worker,  
January 19, 1955, p. 5

"THE FUSION of the AFL and CIO, now in the works, can be an event of tremendous importance in the life of the American working class. Every worker should rejoice that the 20-year war between the two federations appears to be ending...."

"But the constructive possibilities of the merger will not be realized if matters are left to the determination of such men as George Meany, head of the new combination, whose ideology differs little from that of a typical monopoly capitalist.... To what extent the merger will be beneficial to the working class will depend upon the degree to which the left and progressive forces in the labor movement strive to shape and model it into more constructive channels. . . ."

"Organized labor now has numerically a tremendous political base, and will be able to serve as the foundation of a great independent party. It is stupidly absurd for the trade unions, with 15,000,000 organized members to go along, dragging after the tail of the Democratic Party bosses and allowing the bourgeois leaders to kick them around and to almost completely deny the workers any political representation in the various local, state and national legislative bodies of the U. S."

"... Organized labor and its normal political allies--the Negro people, the poorer farmers and the lower middle-class--constitutes the great majority of the American people. . . ."

Daily Worker,  
February 16, 1955, pp. 5, 6

"TO THE MAN or woman in the shop, unity means greater strength, hence the possibility to demand and get more in economic and social gains. Feeling this new-found strength the workers are less likely to accept cheap settlements."

The Worker,  
February 20, 1955, p. 14

"On the whole, the UAW\*unity resolution on labor unity can become a powerful weapon for those in both the CIO and AFL who seek to give the labor merger a constructive content and who realize that this effort entails a continuing struggle against the old guard hard-shelled elements in the trade union leadership."

Daily Worker,  
April 1, 1955, p. 5

\*United Auto Workers

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The Biggest Dairy Distributors Profiteer at the Expense of the Producer and Consumer.
2. Secretary of Agriculture Benson Has No Plan for the Dairymen.
3. A General National Perspective Is Needed, Supplemented with a Concrete State Approach.
4. Communists Must Pay More Attention to the Farmer.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Biggest Dairy Distributors Profiteer at the Expense of the Producer and Consumer

"The biggest distributors in the nation are National Dairy (Kraft), controlled by the Morgan interests, and Borden's, hooked up with Rockefeller money.

"Their 1954 profits were at an all time high, because they profiteered at the expense of the producer and the consumer.

"They also robbed the nation's children because, controlling the nation's dairy industry, they could set an artificial ceiling on milk consumption."

"That's why your corner market has shelf after shelf of fancy manufactured dairy products, in fancy packages, and at fancy prices.

"It's quite a set-up. The best use of milk is to drink it. But that's discouraged. Not enough profit in it for the Morgan and Rockefeller interests."

Daily Worker,  
January 17, 1955, p. 4

"The realization is growing in the city that it is not the guarantee of prices affording a farmer a livelihood that brings the high prices of farm products, but the monopolized processors and distributors who profiteer at the expense of both farmer and the consuming public. The realization is growing in the farms that higher living standards in the city provide the bigger market for farm products.

"In addition to the tremendous power this unity can have for the welfare of the people, it has equally great tactical possibilities for the 1956 election. It can help defeat the traditional tactic of pitting the outstate rural areas against the big city progressively inclined trend.

"The destruction of this fake 'farm vs. city' political pattern and its replacement by labor-farmer unity, like the already partly achieved Negro-white unity, is a key requirement for a further political advance by workers, farmers and the Negro people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 22, 1955, p. 5

## 2. Secretary of Agriculture Benson Has No Plan for the Dairymen

"SEATTLE, Jan. 18 - Organized labor may well hold the key to whether the American dairymen's 'self-help' plan goes on the rocks or works to the benefit of farm and city families alike.

"The essence of the plan is that a dairy board would keep its finger on the pulse of the market for dairy products and set prices accordingly. Then, to hold those prices, the board would have authority to enter the market and pick up surpluses."

"Ironically it was Benson who shortly after his appointment told dairymen in effect: 'You'll have to do something to help yourselves.' They did, and now Benson's stalling. In the full year since the plan was devised, Benson has failed to give an honest appraisal of it. It's no secret that his reaction is decidedly chilly.

"All Benson has done for the dairymen is to cut parity supports to 75 percent. Now, dairymen relate, his line is simply a callous, 'All right, so prices are low--you'll have to push your product, to advertise more.' He has come forward with no plan of any kind, good or bad, and he won't say yes or no on the one the dairymen themselves came up with."

Daily Worker,  
January 19, 1955, p. 4

3. A General National Perspective Is Needed, Supplemented with a Concrete State Approach

"THERE ARE FOUR BASIC questions relating to the developing agrarian crisis in our country.

"First, the present agrarian crisis is developing within the chronic crisis in agriculture which has existed for several decades in the United States, with only a slight interruption during the end of the Second World War and in the immediate post-war period."

"Second, the agrarian economy in the United States is an increasingly monopolistic one. There has been an enormous growth in the factory-in-the-field type of farming coupled with a tremendous increase in mechanization, carrying with it a heavy need for constant capital outlay. A result has been that big farms have been growing bigger while the small and middle farmers have been and are being squeezed to the wall...."

"Third, the U. S. agrarian economy, in the midst of and part of a monopoly capitalist system, is faced with great 'overproduction.'... The shrinking home market is further aggravated by the shrinking world market as the big bourgeoisie, both rural and urban, persists in its refusal to engage in large scale East-West trade.



"Fourth, and this we can barely mention in this place, the developing agrarian crisis takes place in the midst of the ever-deepening general crisis of world capitalism."

"We need a general national perspective on the whole agrarian situation that must be supplemented with a concrete state approach because conditions vary from state to state."

Pettis Perry, "The Farm Situation in the U. S.," Political Affairs, February, 1955, pp. 20, 21, 26

#### 4. Communists Must Pay More Attention to the Farmer

"...Our agitation must saturate the masses with a spirit for independent political action. It must stimulate all the democratic strata to develop a political coalition movement, to build their own election machinery, and, as our Program puts it, 'to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the present two-party system.' We must also begin sharply to pay more attention to the farmers. Many persons may be surprised to learn that a generation ago the Communist Party exerted a powerful influence among mid-west working farmers."

William Z. Foster, "The Perspectives for a Labor-Farmer Party in the U.S.," Political Affairs, February, 1955, p. 12.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. Colonialism Supported by American Imperialism Has Weakened the West European Alliance.
2. Puerto Rico Is a Colony of the United States.
3. The Crisis in Panama Was Accented by United States' Domination.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Colonialism Supported by American Imperialism Has Weakened the West European Alliance

"...The entire relationship between the long oppressed peoples of the East and the imperialist West has changed and is in the process of further transformation. The peoples of Asia and Africa, even if they have made only partial gains in the direction of freedom and even if they still remain within the orbit of Empire, can today take steps towards an independent policy because China gives them that alternative."

"Thus, the support of colonialism and decrepit colonial structures by American imperialism is having some unexpected results, not least of which is the weakening of the West European alliance, the very apex of the U. S. policy of aggression.

"Truly, the front line of the battle for peace extends around the world."

Daily Worker,  
January 11, 1955, pp. 5, 8

## 2. Puerto Rico Is a Colony of the United States

"EARL WARREN, chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, which is empowered to judge all laws passed by Puerto Rico, despite the pretensions of U. S. officials that that nation is not a colony."

"This is the political atmosphere in which the U. S. Government must try 11 Puerto Ricans on a charge of 'conspiracy to teach and advocate the necessity of overthrowing the government of the United States in Puerto Rico.' It will no doubt be the most unfriendly atmosphere in which any of 15 such trials have taken place. But this is only partially favorable to the defendants. For the U. S. jails are strong in Puerto Rico and the force of the U. S. Government is present and persistent. This we shall see when we consider some aspects of the coming trial."

Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1955, p. 6

"There are also signs, though less visible to the naked eye, that Puerto Ricans are jealous of their sovereignty and resent the interference by the United States government into their internal affairs. These signs have increased since last Oct. 20 when FBI agents (with not a Puerto Rican among them) raided homes in various towns here and arrested nine Puerto Rican citizens. The nine--seven men and two women--were joined with two others arrested in the U. S. as defendants in the 15th Smith Act case."

Daily Worker,  
January 6, 1955, p. 4

"The U. S. FBI agents who were given the task of arresting nine Puerto Ricans on Smith Act charges carried out their task as if they were putting down a guerilla uprising...."

"In all cases they made one concession to Puerto Rican national pride--they spoke good Spanish. But the arrests, themselves, were the crudest application of colonialism."

"As a proper colonial power, the U. S. government 'rents' La Princesa from the Puerto Rican government for quartering federal prisoners there. Everything about the Smith Act arrests here smells of colonialism, shows the disdain of a colonial power for those subject to its rule without the right to name the rulers."

Daily Worker,  
January 10, 1955, p. 6.

3. The Crisis in Panama Was Accented by United States' Domination

"CONSTITUTIONAL rights were suspended in Panama following the assassination of President Joe Antonio Remon. The crisis in the central American republic was accented by U. S. economic and military domination in the area and the failure of the people to achieve real self government and democracy."

The Worker,  
January 9, 1955, p. 4

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Eighty-Fourth Congress Needs to Take Real Anti-Depression Steps and to Limit Debate.
2. Daniels Resolution.
3. Labor Needs to Fight against the Eisenhower Program and Bi-Partisan Harmony.
4. All "Thought-Control" Legislation Should Be Reviewed.
5. Tax Cuts.
6. The Lightfoot Trial Represents a Step toward Fascism.
7. The Real Smith Act Defendants Are Books.
8. The Smith Act Prosecutions Are All a Foul Mess and Are Corrupt.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Eighty-Fourth Congress Needs to Take Real Anti-Depression Steps and to Limit Debate

"A WALL STREET Journal survey (Dec. 21) of steel industry prospects came up with the conclusion that the rise may continue until March because 'current automotive buying is induced by carmakers' desires to stock finished cars in anticipation of a spring strike.' This is the period when the UAW-CIO's five-year contracts run out with the major companies and the union is already committed to push for substantial benefits, including the guaranteed annual wage. A similar situation is taking place in the farm equipment industry where output has been rising in anticipation of major union battles, despite a continued fall in farm income.

"These economic danger signals, plus such things as falling exports and huge public and private debts, are enough to indicate that action needs to be demanded now from the 84th Congress for real anti-depression steps. That goes especially on unemployment which is bound to rise barring certain immediate steps. These, as labor and such groups as NPA\* have pointed out, need to include immediate tax relief for the majority, especially the raising of personal income tax exemptions; restoration of a public housing program of at least 200,000 units a year; increases in unemployment compensation and social security benefits; and great public works, such as roads, hospital and school construction. A great arms program, pushed by some labor leaders and by Democrats, can only interfere with such a program for increasing purchasing power."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1955, p. 2

"...For it is the considered opinion of the Leadership Conference that unless the Senate adopts a practical means to limit debate, there is little hope for an FEPC\*\* legislation during the 84th Congress. And of special importance, legislation to implement the Supreme Court decision on school jimcrow<sub>2</sub> would have little chance of enactment."

"...Between now and Wednesday wires should flood the offices of the Senators."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1955, pp. 2, 13

## 2. Daniels Resolution

"For one thing, the Senate without a dissenting vote adopted the Daniels resolution slandering the Communist Party and pledging that it would 'diligently and vigorously' pursue the witchhunts associated with McCarthy's name."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 17, 1955, p. 5

\*National Planning Association

\*\* Fair Employment Practice Committee

3. Labor Needs to Fight Against the Eisenhower Program and Bi-Partisan Harmony

"Labor needs to fight for its own program and compel the labor-backed Democrats to wage that fight too. Labor needs to fight against the ENTIRE Eisenhower program as well as against the Knowlands and McCarthys. This is the way to victories in the 84th Congress and in November of 1956."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 10, 1955, p. 5

"Labor needs to fight for its program and to press the labor-backed Democrats to shun the trap of bi-partisan 'harmony.' This is how labor can score immediate gains in the 84th Congress and set the stage for a major victory in 1956."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1955, pp. 1, 3

4. All "Thought-Control" Legislation Should Be Reviewed

"In 1954, Congress when it enacted the notorious Humphrey-Butler 'Communist Control' law, voted down a provision which would have made Communist Party membership a crime.

"Now the Department of Justice is trying Lightfoot under the very section of the Smith Act which Congress itself nullified, and plans similar trials against Dr. Albert Blumberg, Mrs. Martha Stone Asher and Junius T. Scales."

"The President should be called on to drop these un-American prosecutions. The demand of the CIO Convention for a review of all

thought-control legislation should be pressed upon the new Congress in order to 'eliminate all limitations upon speech and thought.'"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 6, 1955, p. 5

## 5. Tax Cuts

"THE PEOPLE will get a new opportunity this week to win a personal income tax reduction, but it will not be easy despite the announcement that the House Democratic leadership will introduce such a bill. This bill, which is reported to have the support of House Speaker Sam Rayburn, is set to be offered Thursday as an amendment to the President's tax proposal. It calls for a \$20 tax reduction for each person and each dependent on the 1956 payments.

"Labor has fought for such a measure for a long time, but the politicians have repeatedly walked out on their promises. The Republican-controlled 83rd Congress, instead of coming through on tax cuts for the people, jammed through the Administration's Rich Man's tax bill, which handed over new billions to the corporations."

"...The pressure should be stepped up immediately on every Congressman to fight for the tax reduction. The people of the country can win it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 21, 1955, p. 5

"Washington should be deluged with demands for passage of the \$20 cut voted in the House. It is time for Mr. and Mrs. America to display an angry and vigorous tone. The legislators who have just voted themselves a healthy salary raise do not pay much attention to soft pleas these days."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1955, p. 5



#### 6. The Lightfoot Trial Represents a Step toward Fascism

"Armed with the Supreme Court ruling on the conspiracy charges, the government now proceeds to further emasculate the Bill of Rights. The indictment in the Lightfoot case represents an invasion of the First Amendment which is unprecedented in American history.

"If this indictment is sustained by the courts, America will have taken a gigantic leap in the direction of a fascist state."

Daily Worker,  
January 3, 1955, p. 5

"The Lightfoot trial is also planned as a precedent for railroading back to prison for a second term Irving Potash and the other Communist Party leaders imprisoned in the first Foley Square trial.

"The President should be called on to drop these un-American prosecutions. The demand of the CIO Convention for a review of all thought-control legislation should be pressed upon the new Congress in order to eliminate all limitations upon speech and thought."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 9, 1955, p. 4

#### 7. The Real Smith Act Defendants Are Books

"... The Attorney General's office, staffed with ambitious and cynical bright young men all heading toward some judgeship plum, unable to find a single shred of evidence against progressive Americans they are prosecuting, have conjured up the charge of conspiracy to advocate, a fancy legalistic euphemism for teaching. The real defendants in each and every one of the Smith Act trials, including of course the one which sentenced Alexander Trachtenberg, have been books mostly published in the United States by International Publishers."

Angus Cameron, "The Freedom to Publish,"  
Masses & Mainstream, January, 1955, p. 46

8. The Smith Act Prosecutions Are All a Foul Mess and Are Corrupt

"The Supreme Court's callous action, the jailing of the Flynn defendants and the conviction of Claude Lightfoot are not blows at the Communists alone. They are in fact directed against the entire labor and liberal movement, against all those who dissent from Wall Street's 'inevitable war' policies. They are directed against those who seek co-existence rather than atomic devastation; the Bill of Rights rather than McCarthyism; free trade unionism rather than industrial slavery.

"Americans of all political views--and in the first place trade unionists--should unite in the fight to free Elizabeth Flynn, Pettis Perry and their co-workers; to keep Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis and their colleagues free; to end all Smith Act arrests and prosecutions."

By National Committee, CPUSA,  
"The New Jailings of Communist  
Leaders," Political Affairs, February,  
1955, pp. 1, 2

"When thoughts, opinions and books--as contrasted with deeds--are permitted to be the measure of a crime, then the dragnet inevitably becomes so vague and wide that it threatens almost every one. Not only should the Lattimore indictment be thrown out. The Smith Act itself and the Smith Act indictments and convictions should be thrown out too."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 20, 1955, p. 5

"THEN THERE is the Department of Justice itself, the central organizing force of all the lying frame-ups under the Smith Act and other thought-control laws...."

"...The Matusow admission of perjury should be made the opening wedge for a thorough-going exposure of this whole rotten frame-up system now besmirching the Federal courts and railroading innocent people to jail."

Daily Worker,  
February 1, 1955, p. 3

"...The trial of the 11 national committee leaders, and those that have followed it, was a foul mess of government perjurer witnesses, corrupt prosecutors willing to swim in the filthiest gutters in order to get convictions, of reactionary judges who spit upon the most elementary questions of law and justice, and of juries so intimidated by the prevailing war and fascist-like hysteria that they would hardly dare to bring in an acquittal verdict no matter how decisive the evidence showing the innocence of those on trial."

"Never in the whole history of the United States has there been a more flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights than the second indictments faced by the prison victims of the Smith Act. And all this persecution is supplemented by the provisions of the McCarran Act, which threatens a long time in jail for all Communists who refuse to register themselves with the Government as 'subversive'--another flagrant violation of the U. S. Constitution."

Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1955, p. 3

"THE SUBVERSIVE Activities Control Board claims that in its ruling that the Labor Youth League\*register as a 'Communist-front,' it 'disregarded' the now repudiated testimony of Harvey Matusow."

\*The Labor Youth League has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The LYL is here to stay--McCarran Board or no McCarran Board. The ruling against the Labor Youth League will be fought in the courts as the original ruling against the Communist Party itself is now being fought. The McCarran Registration Act needs to be repealed, as the CIO conviction indicated needs to be done with all thought-control legislation. Meanwhile, the cry should go up against the Brownell informer system upon which the LYL ruling was based, and for an investigation of that system by the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Harley Kilgore."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 17, 1955, p. 5

"Lightfoot, at his trial, was given the 'Matusow' treatment at the hands of a crew of lying informers. His appeal to a higher court should receive full support, as should the fight for a new trial by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her colleagues. At the same time, the Justice Department should be called on not to arrest and imprison all over again on March 1 a group of political leaders who have just served almost four years behind the bars."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 16, 1955, p. 5

"AN IMPORTANT victory for democratic rights has been scored with the dismissal of the seven Smith Act indictments in Connecticut because the grand jury had been illegally selected."

"An improved grand jury system cannot offset, however, the illegality of the Smith Act itself and of the informer system. The seven Connecticut Communists should not be reindicted, the Lightfoot and other prosecutions for membership should be thrown out, and the National Committee members should not be imprisoned again when they finish their present terms next Tuesday."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 25, 1955, p. 5

"WELCOME HOME, we say to Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, to our editor John Gates, our former publisher, Ben Davis, and those courageous workingclass Communist leaders, Jack Stachel, John Williamson and Carl Winter.

"But our greetings are sobered by the knowledge that as these men emerge from federal prison, having served their terms under the Smith Act, they face re-arrest and prosecution under another clause of that thought-control law."

"So long as the Justice Department can flout the Constitution with respect to these men, no American worker, trade unionist, Negro, or progressive, is safe. Let us greet them, then, by striking blows against McCarthyism and for democracy.

1. Protest the new prosecutions of the Communist leaders.
2. Support the move for a new trial for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the 12 other Communist leaders in New York, and for Claude Lightfoot's appeal in Chicago.
3. End all political prosecutions under the Smith Act and repeal the Smith and McCarran acts."

The Worker,  
February 27, 1955, p. 7

"IN ITS FRANTIC efforts to block a new trial for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her 12 codefendants, the Justice Department convicts itself of operating a monstrous frame-up system against Communists, and of flagrantly violating the basic laws of the land...."

"... But the people are not powerless. They can let the press, the pulpit, and their elected representatives know their conviction that this continuing evil of the informer and frameup system is a cancerous growth within our country which must be promptly and forever ended lest freedom itself perish as its victim."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 3, 1955, p. 4

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The Archaic Court-Martial System Should Be Overhauled.
2. Arms Races Will Not Prevent War.
3. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Has Been Disarming since World War II.
4. Private First Class Charles E. Marshall Case.
5. Navy Veteran Earnest E. Jones Case.
6. Mass Destruction Weapons.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The Archaic Court-Martial System Should Be Overhauled

"The Dennis-Burns case cries out for a complete overhauling of the archaic courts-martial system in this country, with its vicious sentences, its officer-bias, its caste domination, its race prejudice, and its nearly complete independence from civil control. It teaches that in the United States, in civil and military courts, no Negro person should ever be condemned to die under any circumstances where Negroes are not involved in the judging and in the sentencing...."

Herbert Aptheker, "TWO HANGINGS ON GUAM," Masses & Mainstream, February, 1955, p. 20

## 2. Arms Races Will Not Prevent War

"It's claimed that an H-bomb race is the best deterrent to a war. If an arms race prevents a war this time, it will be for the first time in history. If it fails, it will be for the last time."

Daily Worker,  
March 9, 1955, p. 3

## 3. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Has Been Disarming since World War II.

"... The Moscow Radio said tonight that Soviet armed strength is 'less than half of the numerical armed strength of the NATO countries.'

"The broadcast, monitored in London, charged that western claims of Soviet superiority in armed forces constituted 'silly talk intended for simpletons.' It said the strength of Soviet armed forces is less than half that of the combined North Atlantic Treaty states as the result of Soviet disarmament moves since the end of World War II.'

"The broadcast said two roads were open to Britain and other western states: the 'dangerous' road of a continued arms race, or 'the road of peaceful co-existence.'"

Daily Worker,  
April 1, 1955, p. 2

## 4. Private First Class Charles E. Marshall Case

"A 23 year old athlete under contract to the St. Louis Cardinals refused yesterday to accept a less than honorable discharge from the Army because of his refusal to sign the Army's witchhunt 'loyaltyyy oath.'

"Pfc Charles E. Marshall of Los Angeles was handed the 'general' discharge at Fort Ord after two years of honorable service, and refused to accept it, demanding an honorable discharge...."

"... Last month the Army showed him a statement warning that he might be discharged as 'undesirable' but he was told he might not take notes on the document or tell his attorney of its contents, under penalty of court martial.

"Following the letter of Feb. 1 from Secretary of the Army Stevens to the Wisconsin fuerher Joe McCarthy about the impending discharge of Dr. Melvin Barsky, who also refused to sign the oath and served as a private, the Sixth Army sent out a memorandum providing for 'general' discharges 'under honorable conditions' in such cases. Marshall demands a straight honorable discharge."

Daily Worker,  
March 29, 1955, p. 3

5. Navy Veteran Earnest E. Jones Case

"Earnest E. Jones, 23-year-old U. S. Navy veteran who is engaged to marry a Japanese woman has been informed officially he cannot bring his bride-to-be to his native state of Georgia, it was learned today."

"Jones said he recently wrote to Attorney General Eugene Cook in Atlanta...."

"Last week, he said, he received an answer stating that under Georgia law it was illegal for a white person to marry a person of another race...."



"Jones said he was 'particularly bitter' over the fact that the Georgia attorney general's office made his case public.

"This was strictly a personal matter,' he said. 'If you can't trust a public official to respect a personal inquiry, there's something wrong.'"

Daily Worker,  
April 1, 1955, p. 3

#### 6. Mass Destruction Weapons

"I am saying this: the prospect of exploding the bombs in a possible war is horrible enough, but is it not possible that mankind's fate may be determined before that? In other words, we are in dreadful danger today, now, for generations may be annihilated before they are born by the simple fact that mankind's capacity to reproduce may be fatally impaired. Or, even worse, we may be spawning a world of creatures that will have no resemblance to homo sapiens?

"I think Americans cannot ignore the fears of so much of the world: the British labor movement that wants all further explosions banned until we learn the results of radio-activity upon future generations; the Soviets that have proposed in the UN that all A-bombs and H-bombs be destroyed, and under international control and supervision.

"We can ignore them only at the risk of annihilation, or at best (some best!) a world of monsters that once were men."

The Worker,  
April 3, 1955, p. 14

"THE U. S. SENATE could expend some of its 'investigation mania' in the true interest of the American people by probing the extent to which 'experimentation' in mass destruction weapons is already under way in West Germany.

"Certainly, the Senators owe this to the people before they give consent to the London-Paris protocol providing for the inclusion of a rearmed German state into NATO\*"

Daily Worker,  
January 13, 1955, p. 5

"Every atomic scientist in the world agrees that the only protection against the horror bombs is not to use them. Future generations will forever call down curses on any who dare take responsibility for launching the greatest crime in human history--atomic warfare.

"Instead of promoting a Horror-bomb race, why don't Churchill and Eisenhower say something about a proposal before their representatives in London at this very moment? It is a proposal to destroy every single A-bomb and H-bomb in the world. The proposal was put forward by the Soviet government...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 3, 1955, p. 5

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Television Is a Jim Crow Industry.
2. Neither the New Congress nor President Eisenhower Is Considering Civil Rights.
3. The United States Must Stop Honoring Racism.
4. Civil Rights and Minority Groups.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Television Is a Jim Crow Industry

"IT IS TIME for the networks, the TV industry generally, the sponsors and the advertising agencies, to wake up to the fact that a few token appearances of Negroes and other blacklisted people fool no one: from Alabama to New York to India the TV industry is known as a jim-crow industry--a blacklisting agency."

The Worker,  
January 9, 1955, p. 7.

#### 2. Neither the New Congress nor President Eisenhower Is Considering Civil Rights

"WE WERE among the millions who last week were outraged and disappointed that the week which saw the new Congress convene did not see any quickening in this nation's snail-like progress toward equal rights for the Negro people. President Eisenhower's state of the nation message did not ask for an FEPC or any civil rights laws."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 10, 1955, p. 5

### 3. The United States Must Stop Honoring Racism

"U. S. authorities were embarrassed by the protests against the Midway's 'good will' visit to South Africa, but agreed to honor the country's racist laws."

"The disgusting affair of South Africa and the colored U. S. Navy men points up the need to speed up the fight against jimcrow everywhere in the United States. And most urgently, it demands that the U. S. government stop honoring racism in any form both at home and abroad."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 20, 1955, p. 5

### 4. Civil Rights and Minority Groups

"The civil rights of Negroes, including those who have the misfortune to be sent to jimcrow federal prisons, is the acid test of the rights of all Americans. Every attack against the Negro people in the long run reacts against the white workers and against progressives generally. The fitting answer to them is a united front of all the haters of jimcrow and lovers of liberty in this country."

Daily Worker,  
January 25, 1955, p. 5

"What is most needed now--in every county, region, section, and club--is careful planning of concrete struggles for jobs for Negro workers, for non-discrimination in housing, for desegregation in the schools, for an end to police brutality, for new advances in Negro representation in public office...."

Party Voice,  
February, 1955 - No. 2, p. 14

"There has been a beginning in public school integration, but only a beginning. For there are still all-Negro schools and all-white schools, and Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, in criticizing this has characterized it as 'two percent integration.' \_

"But millenium or no, and disregarding motives, the developments of the past year in Washington totally disproves what the racists contend: that jimcrow is needed to keep the peace between whites and Negroes. State laws enforcing the separation of races, do just what Thomas Jefferson said slavery did--degrades one, debases the other.

"Washington, then, stands as an accusation against the Administration's snail's pace, in attacking the question of national jimcrow practices. Washington proves the people are ahead of government and that the time to attack the diehards is now."

The Worker,  
February 20, 1955, p. 7

"In a whole number of industries--notably transport, garment, distribution, maritime and electrical--the key question is that of training and upgrading Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Concrete programs of struggle to this end should be developed.

"Special attention should be given to current efforts to squeeze Negro and Puerto Rican workers out of longshore and maritime. United action by all sectors of the union membership is necessary to defend the workers in these industries from the triple attacks of bosses, government and opportunist union leaders; and this cannot be achieved without special struggles to protect the jobs of the large number of Negro and Puerto Rican workers involved."

"The main channel through which such struggles for jobs for Negroes can best be conducted is the machinery of the trade unions--especially the network of shop committees and the regular programs of the unions...."

"Special effort should be made to develop conscious collaboration between the unions and Negro people's organizations in the fight for jobs for Negro workers...."

Party Voice,  
February, 1955, --No. 2, pp. 6, 7

"Finally, there is a solid body of opinion which holds that the U. S. Supreme Court decision for desegregation was motivated, in part, by cold war strategy. It was noted that the State Department's propaganda arms worked overtime in dispensing the news of this decision to the four corners of the earth. The propaganda, many Negroes also noted, sought to represent the ruling as a gift from the benevolent rulers of America, conspicuously omitted any reference to the Negro people's 87-year battle--a battle costing innumerable sacrifices to the lynch mob and the legal lynchers and a frightful toll in untaught minds and blighted lives--for adherence to the letter and spirit of the American Constitution."

John Pittman, "NEGRO AMERICANS AND  
FOREIGN POLICY," Masses & Mainstream,  
February, 1955, p. 31

## IX. EDUCATION

1. Mass Struggles Can Improve Education.
2. School Conditions Are Desperate.
3. Closing the Jefferson School Licenses the Right to Disseminate Ideas.
4. The Administration's Plan for School Construction Is Inadequate.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Mass Struggles Can Improve Education

"The fight for adequate and democratic public schools--especially to end the flagrant racial discrimination in the schools of our State and throughout the country--is of major concern to the working class. Truly mass struggles along this line can improve the education of our children, and at the same time help consolidate the alliance of labor with the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples."

Party Voice,  
February, 1955, --No. 2, p. 9

#### 2. School Conditions Are Desperate

"The picture, then, that emerges of the New York City school structure--and we're speaking here only of the physical structure--is that of an absolute shortage which cannot accommodate all the pupils eligible for it, terribly overcrowded with those it does accommodate, and with a large proportion of buildings long over-age and in condition of dilapidation."

"New York City's plight is part of the national picture. Throughout the nation, there are innumerable areas where kids are attending classes in abandoned stores, homes, barns or whatever other emergency structure can be arranged."

"While the battle for a federal school program has to be developed--right now there is no such program--the situation in New York cannot, and need not, wait on this. And in fact, it is not waiting. The sheer pressure of desperate school conditions has resulted in widespread local activity by parents' groups throughout the city for new schools, repair of old schools and currently around the issue of the age requirement. All sorts of local and city movements, taking various forms and with varying demands, have sprung up these past few months as a result of raising the entrance age."

Daily Worker,  
January 3, 1955, p. 4

### 3. Closing the Jefferson School Licenses the Right to Disseminate Ideas

"By engineering this move to close down the Jefferson School, \* Attorney General Brownell is trying to put a padlock on the minds of the American people. Borrowing from the book of Goebbels and Tojo, he is seeking to license the right to disseminate ideas--that is, the right to think."

"In the period ahead, the need for the Jefferson School and the rich body of working class science and culture that constitute its course of study is more pressing than ever. I can think of no better advice for the workers of the metropolitan area--particularly the young workers than to study at the Jefferson School."

Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1955, p. 2

\*The Jefferson School has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



#### 4. The Administration's Plan for School Construction Is Inadequate

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S message on school construction is in line with the rest of the administration's program of providing for social needs with an eye-dropper while giving away to the rich by the truckload."

"Basically, the President's plan is not for substantial grants to states to build the much needed schools, but an offer to purchase bonds, at an interest, if no private purchasers are willing to take the local bonds. The states would owe to the federal government. As on health, we are offered some more 'insurance' of programs instead of real and immediate help."

"Regardless, however, of what form federal school construction aid takes, none of it should go to states that defy and evade the Supreme Court's ban on school segregation. That is the proposal of the AFL. This proposal is all the more in place in view of the ruling by the State Supreme Court of Delaware, holding that the transfer of 10 Negro students to an all-white school as a violation of the state's law. Thus Delaware, like several of the southern states, is openly defying the law of the land--seceding from it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1955, p. 5

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE AND RELIGION

1. The Anti-Communist Crusade Is Aimed at the Soul of the American People.
2. Intellectuals Are Fighting the Threat of Fascism.
3. The Orwell Image Is Destructive of Creative Art.
4. The Intellectuals of This Country Must Ally Themselves with the New Social Forces of Europe and Asia.
5. Socialism Can Be the Basis for the Flowering of Humanity.
6. Criticism and Self-Criticism Are a New Law of Socialism.
7. Sending the Berlin Orchestra to the United States Is a Political Maneuver.
8. Freudian Formulas Are Manufactured in Advance.
9. The "Hero Brute" in Books, Movies, and Television Must Be Replaced.
10. Movies Help Create the Necessary Ideological Atmosphere for the Ruling Class.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Anti-Communist Crusade Is Aimed at the Soul of the American People

"... Perhaps it is time for thoughtful people to realize that to the world at large the anti-Communist crusade in the United States is just as detestable as the anti-Communist crusade in West Germany. Perhaps it is time to realize that hysterical witch-hunting and war mongering is aimed at the soul of the American people just as surely as it was aimed, and continues to be aimed, at the German people."

Samuel Sillen, "NAZI BEST-SELLER,"  
Masses & Mainstream, January, 1955, p. 35

## 2. Intellectuals Are Fighting the Threat of Fascism

"The world of art and culture is not 'attacked as super-structural' by Marxism; it is described as superstructural; that is, as arising from while influencing, the material basis of the social order. Far from sneering at the world of creativity and imagination, Marxism holds, in Lenin's words: 'You can become a Communist only by enriching your mind with the knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.' This is not unrelated to the fact that in the past half century many of the most talented treasure-builders have been Communists, from Barbusse to Dreiser, Gorky to Neruda, Nexo to Eluard."

"Certainly, the realities of American life today are leading many intellectuals to re-examine their ideas and assumptions, and, in many cases, to dedicate themselves to fighting the threat of fascism. It is only in this common struggle that the 'aimlessness' and the 'malice' which Riesman laments can be overcome. It is in this way that there will be recreated the finest qualities of 'our best and most creative spirits.'"

Herbert Aptheker, "The Cadillac Credo of David Riesman," Masses & Mainstream, January, 1955, pp. 8, 14

## 3. The Orwell Image Is Destructive of Creative Art

"...The Orwell literary image is only the reflection of the political line which is forcing America to restore and ally itself with the Nazis, the men of the gas chambers.

"But these Orwellian images, the product of the military necessities of the Cold War and of the generals planning to consume civilization in atomic heat, are not only immoral and destructive of creative art; they are also false to the actual historic development now

taking place. The convulsive approach to an atomic Gotterdammerung, while always a peril so long as the stockpiles are not abolished by humanity, collides with a world-wide peace-seeking humanism which refuses to surrender the planet to the destroyers."

Milton Howard, "ORWELL or O'CASEY?,"  
Masses & Mainstream, January, 1955, p. 26

4. The Intellectuals of This Country Must Ally Themselves with the  
New Social Forces of Europe and Asia

"History is not a conspiracy, the American intellectual has got to learn once again. Lattimore did not 'lose China,' Hiss did not 'lose East Europe at Yalta,' and the Rosenbergs did not cause the Korean War by 'stealing the atomic secret.' It remains for the American intellectual to turn with candor and resolution to tackling the new facts which face the nation in a spirit of historic objectivity. To refuse to drown the Asian Revolution in atomic massacre is not 'appeasement'; it is both prudence and in line with our democratic humanism.

"To refuse to accept the 'end' of destroying Socialism through the means of Nazi fascism-Franco militarism is not 'stupid liberalism' or 'the Kremlin line.' It is the only path back to national sanity and moral health." (The preceding two paragraphs are in italics--Ed.)

"The intellectuals cannot be the decisive force for these changes demanded by the national development. But they can raise again the banners which were once raised with such nobility by Jefferson and Paine, by Emerson, Douglass, Whitman and Lincoln, and according to his own lights by Franklin Roosevelt. For if the intellectuals of a nation, of this nation, fail to ally themselves with the living and growing currents of the age--in this case, peace with the new social forces of Europe and Asia--then they will cease to exist as intellectuals. They may even cease to exist, along with the rest of us, at all."

Milton Howard, "New Realities for the  
Intellectuals," Masses & Mainstream,  
February, 1955, pp. 41, 42.

## 5. Socialism Can Be the Basis for the Flowering of Humanity

"...Today, modern science and technology offer mankind, a longer and healthier life than ever before. They offer him an abundance for all that makes any struggle over wealth obsolete. Yet to achieve these new potentialities for humanity, we must go back to the cooperative way of our Indian forerunners on the continent. They cooperated because they could not survive without doing so.

"Today cooperation--socialism is its modern form--can be the basis for the flowering of humanity."

The Worker,  
January 30, 1955, p. 10

## 6. Criticism and Self-Criticism Are a New Law of Socialism

"The Malenkov resignation is no doubt a new kind of development in world politics. Here we have the top leader of the government getting up before the people who picked him, the Supreme Soviet, and telling them a year later that he finds that he lacks the experience to do the job...."

"Such a statement can only be made by a leader in a different kind of society from ours, and this may explain why our commentators grapple so clumsily and uncomprehendingly with the events. They can't get it. And if they did, they might try even harder to keep the truth from us.

"For what we have here operating before our eyes is the principle that 'criticism and self-criticism are a new law of Socialist society and Socialist development.'

"THERE ARE, of course, contradictions, antagonisms and constant alterations in Socialist society...."

"To solve these problems of social growth, this new society strives to establish the principle of criticism and self-criticism, and the principle of objectivity in the field of government and leadership, the principle of the welfare of all is greater than the 'personality' of any one individual."

Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1955, p. 2

7. Sending the Berlin Orchestra to the United States Is a Political Maneuver

"The coming of a European orchestra to the U. S. is not the issue. We want the widest cultural interchange among nations, so that the contributions of each country including the countries of socialism to the world's common heritage can be appreciated by all. But the move to send the Berlin Philharmonic here is a political maneuver connected with the revival of the Nazi war machine. Is it being done so that we will not hear the cries of fear among the people in West Germany while the Berlin Orchestra fills our ears with great music as they did when they were drowning out the cries of the machine, gas chamber victims?"

Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1955, p. 7

8. Freudian Formulas Are Manufactured in Advance

"IN THE EARLY 1930's a young American physician decided to get a first-hand experience of work with the world-famous founder of what we know today as psychoanalysis...."

"FREUDIANS HAVE been angered and shocked that Doctor Wortis violated the secrecy pact on which analysts depend. But Wortis' record contains nothing that should not and cannot be made public, even by a physician. For what his record shows is that the 'secrets' the Freudians are looking for in their rituals are not relevant to the real problems of real people tackling in action the real issues of the world. The Freudian formulas are manufactured in advance, are based on no evidence, are contrary to a materialist outlook on nature and the world and have built-in 'solutions.' . . ."

Daily Worker,  
February 28, 1955, p. 7

9. The "Hero Brute" in Books, Movies, and Television Must Be Replaced

"By all means halt the corrupting influence of books, TV and movies that teach youngsters that violence is heroic and murder a red-hot thrill. Replace the 'hero brute' by the hero who serves humanity."

Daily Worker,  
March 23, 1955, p. 7

10. Movies Help Create the Necessary Ideological Atmosphere for the Ruling Class

"In 'Six Bridges to Cross' the policeman tells an investigating committee that it is necessary and natural for the law enforcing bodies to have informers all around them. How else, explains the cop, can we get our leads to prevent crime? Instead of depicting the type of society in which crime could not flourish, the movie offers this solution: More informers. These films, glorifying the stoolpigeon, clearly illustrate how the movie medium helps to create the ideological atmosphere necessary to the ruling class whenever the need arises. It is not a coincidence that these films come out at a time when our country is infested with the paid informer. Some justification has to be established for those men and women without conscience, who, with their lies help to send innocent victims to prison. Yes, we have come a long way since John Ford's The Informer."

Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1955, p. 7

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women Are Oppressed under Capitalism.
2. Mrs. Bass Urges Women to Support Move to Free Claudia Jones.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women Are Oppressed Under Capitalism

"On July 19 and 20, 1848, the first Woman's Rights Convention in the United States was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y. It adopted a Declaration of Sentiments, closely patterned after the Declaration of Independence, setting forth the aims of the woman's right movement. . . .

"One criticism can and should be made of the Declaration: It finds in man, rather than in the social system of capitalism and other class societies, the source of the oppression of women."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1955, p. 7

#### 2. Mrs. Bass\* Urges Women to Support Move to Free Claudia Jones\*\*

"Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, prominent Negro woman editor called upon all women interested in safeguarding the Bill of Rights and the Constitution to join a delegation to Attorney General Herbert Brownell on behalf of Miss Claudia Jones.

"Claudia Jones, now imprisoned at the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va., because of her political views, has a serious heart condition. Her many friends throughout the country are asking that her sentence be suspended in order to save her life.

"A flood of wires and letters should be addressed to the Attorney General asking that this valiant Negro woman be set free," said Mrs. Bass."

The Worker,  
April 3, 1955, p. 13

\*Charlotta A. Bass was the Progressive Party candidate for Vice President in 1952.

\*\*Claudia Jones was imprisoned, following her conviction under the Smith Act in 1953.



## XII. YOUTH

1. Socialism Offers Security to Youth.
2. Youth Favors Peace.
3. Our Youth Has Been Plunged into a Fog of Fears.
4. The Labor Youth League Is Bound to Grow.
5. "McCarthyism" Is Restricting Youth.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Socialism Offers Security to Youth

"A visit to the Stanley Theatre this week offers a heart-warming intimate insight into the life of young people in the land of Socialism...."

. . . . .

"Teen-age problems are universal, but the specific form they take depends on the nature of the society in which they arise. In the latest issue of the Sunday Times here, for example, one headline, in a report of the rabbi's sermon reads, 'Plight of Youth Laid to Despair.' The rabbi goes on to say, 'Today's youth face the future without any definite assurance of global survival. Many a youngster has readily succumbed to frustration, despair, and nihilism in seeking security for tomorrow.'

"The rabbi's solution is to offer security to youth in the form of religion.

"Perhaps he ought to see this Soviet film, and get a graphic glimpse of the security offered by socialism to youth in the form of peaceful, constructive work."

Daily Worker,  
January 24, 1955, p. 7

## 2. Youth Favors Peace

"But many still do not know that it took a long and hard fight by the youth of America to break open at least this much of a crack in the State Department's iron curtain. It might come as a revelation that there is a bigger youth movement in this country than is generally realized. And this youth movement is articulate--it favors peaceful solutions for world problems."

Daily Worker,  
March 25, 1955, p. 5

## 3. Our Youth Has Been Plunged into a Fog of Fears

"But even greater is the crime of those who control our society and who have plunged our youth into the noxious fog of fears, for their job, for their life, for their integrity in this society where the stoolpigeon is a federal officeholder in the Brownell department."

The Worker,  
March 27, 1955, p. 11

## 4. The Labor Youth League Is Bound to Grow

"Instead of being scared into silence, as the warmakers hoped, the LYL is becoming an inseparable part of the New York youth community, making its voice heard on all questions which deeply concern youth--juvenile

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

delinquency, police brutality, the great issue of war or peace, UMT,\* unemployment, education and discrimination. It is bound to grow stronger because it speaks for the real aspirations of the overwhelming majority of young people of our land, aspirations which can be beclouded by hysteria, lies and redbaiting, but can never be killed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 4, 1955, p. 5

5. "McCarthyism" Is Restricting Youth

"Military life is interfering with such normal pursuits as school and marriage. Unemployment has struck hardest at youth, the most inexperienced and unskilled. Equality for Negro youths and juvenile delinquency are emerging as No. 1 social issues. McCarthyism is restricting youths right to learn, think and speak."

The Worker,  
January 16, 1955, p. 10

\*Universal Military Training.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

SEPTEMBER 1955 -- DECEMBER 1955

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**September 1955--December 1955**

**January 1956**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative Communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major current issues of national and international significance.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers, Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals, Political Affairs, Masses & Mainstream and Party Voice, the latter being the organ of the New York State Communist Party.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the period from September through December 1955, the line of the Communist Party, USA, was characterized by persistent attempts to foster "the Geneva spirit." Although forced to concede that the conference of Foreign Ministers in Geneva was unsuccessful, the Party re-emphasized the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of the United States, allegedly dominated by "Wall Street," was blamed for the increased tension between Israel and the Arab States and for the failure to resolve the problem of German reunification.

The Party also reiterated its demands for increased disarmament; for the outlawing of nuclear weapons; for the admission of Communist China into the United Nations; for the expansion of East-West trade; and for an increase in the exchange of delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Party propaganda claimed that the United States is opposing the efforts of colonial nations to gain their complete independence, while the Soviet Union was pictured as supporting the principle of self-determination for all nations. The Party also insisted that foreign aid to underdeveloped nations should be limited to economic assistance and that expenditures for military bases in foreign nations should be discontinued.

In the field of domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, gave extensive publicity to the case of Emmett Louis Till, teen-age Chicago Negro whose body was found in a river in Mississippi. The Party demanded Federal intervention by the Department of Justice and the Armed Forces to end the "reign of terror" in the Southern States, particularly in Mississippi. It also called for the enactment of civil rights legislation to protect the rights of Negroes in the South.

The merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was viewed most favorably by the Party. This merger gave the Party an occasion to intensify its demands for increased political activity by the labor movement, to insure the defeat of the "antilabor" Republican Administration in the 1956 elections. The AFL-CIO was urged to fight for higher wages and shorter hours and to elect more women to union offices. The Party also repeated its claims that the current prosperity is based on spending for armaments and that the agricultural crisis is steadily worsening.

The Party noted some improvement in the fields of civil liberties and academic freedom. At the same time, however, it continued its demands for the repeal of all state and Federal anti-Communist legislation and for the granting of amnesty to all imprisoned Communists.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals that the United States Coast Guard Screening Program violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment was hailed by the Party as casting doubt on the legality of the entire Federal security program. The policy of the United States Army of giving dishonorable discharges based on preinduction activity was also criticized by the Party.

Communist appeals for increased Federal aid to alleviate the educational "crisis" were coupled with insistence that these funds should be diverted from military appropriations. The rise in juvenile delinquency was described as a social rather than an individual problem, and the Party's program to cope with this issue called for improved housing, recreational facilities and social welfare services.

B. Conclusions

1. Barring unexpected developments, no major changes in the Party line on international affairs are anticipated. This means, in short, that the Party can be expected to continue its demands for what would amount to a complete reversal of American foreign policy and a virtual capitulation to every proposal offered by the Soviet Union to relieve international tensions.
2. The impending ruling of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 is of crucial importance to the future of the Communist movement

in the United States. The Party can, therefore, be expected to intensify its propaganda against this and other Federal and state anti-Communist legislation.

3. The Party can be expected to continue its attempts to capitalize on the Till case, in view of the widespread protests which this issue has evoked.
4. Since 1956 is an election year, continued criticism of the present Administration is anticipated. While Party propaganda will, in all probability, call for the eventual formation of a new third party, no organizational steps toward this end by the Party are expected.
5. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco recently ruled that the United States Coast Guard Screening Program violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. This ruling can be expected to give added impetus to the Party's demands for the complete abolition of the entire Federal security program.
6. Indications are that the Communist Party, USA, plans to conduct its activities more openly in the future in an effort to regain some of the influence it has lost during recent years. For this reason, the Party can be expected to minimize its ideological and tactical differences with other organizations, and to emphasize specific issues which have a broad popular appeal, e. g., peace, disarmament, employment, economic security, civil liberties, Negro rights, taxes, et cetera.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. "The Geneva spirit" is still alive in spite of the efforts of "Wall Street" to minimize its influence.
2. Peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union is not only possible but essential.
3. The foreign policy of the United States is intensifying the cold war and increasing the possibility of outright warfare.
4. The Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva was unsuccessful because of the intransigence of the United States on the question of German rearmament.
5. Tension between Israel and the Arab States can be resolved only through a collective security arrangement which will include the Soviet Union.
6. The insistence of the United States on rearming Germany is preventing German reunification.
7. The United States should recognize the Communist Government in China, and China should be admitted to the United Nations.
8. Foreign aid should be limited to economic assistance for under-developed nations.
9. There is need for an increase in East-West trade and the interchange of delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Geneva Spirit

"The Geneva spirit is good for America. Disarmament is good for America providing it is world-wide disarmament, and providing it is accompanied by a strict system of international control and inspection.

"America needs no brake on the Geneva spirit. On the contrary it must be spurred...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 8, 1955, p. 5.

"...the chief and most powerful forces opposing Geneva are the monopoly capitalists of the world, particularly those of Wall Street. They have strong interests against the perspective of peaceful co-existence, such as flowed from the Geneva conference. They require the cold war in order to enable them to reap fabulous profits from the roaring armament industries; they need the implied or actual threat of war...so that, with their huge armaments, they can intimidate the peoples of their own and other countries. Especially is all this true of American imperialism, with its objective of world domination. This domination program Washington has by no means abandoned, despite the fact that Geneva gave its war policies and perspectives a rude defeat."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 5.

"But those who are trying to bury 'the spirit of Geneva' are grave-diggers without a corpse. The spirit of Geneva, born of the historic summit conference in Geneva, is still very much alive."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 17, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Peaceful Coexistence

"As for the fundamental antagonisms between the capitalist and Socialist systems, these also are not basically war questions. There is no valid reason whatever why the various peoples cannot live in peace together, whether their social systems are Socialist or capitalist. The advance of Socialism, which is inevitable, in no sense necessitates war. On the contrary, the Socialist movement makes its greatest progress in the struggle against war and warmakers."

William Z. Foster, "Geneva: Background and Perspectives," Political Affairs, September, 1955, pp. 23, 24.

"Historical reasons always existed for friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Their role as pioneers in national development, the character of their peoples, their national resources and the territorial sweep of their countries.

"To those similarities is now added another: Both possess thermo-nuclear weapons capable of reducing each other and the world to a shambles."

"...there is no other way for our own national development and that of other nations in the world except friendly relations with the leader of 900,000,000 inhabitants of the socialist world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1955, p. 5.

## 3. The Cold War

"...the Wall Street imperialists, whose spokesmen Eisenhower and Dulles are, are seeking to re-heat the cold war. And there are many



powerful elements in our country who would be only too happy to again hang a deadly war fear over the world."

"Re-kindling the cold war will re-awaken mass war fears, and there is also in it a potential increase in the danger of war....the gigantic American military machine and its super-aggressive foreign policies are a continuing war danger, and sharpening the cold war can only increase this danger...."

Daily Worker,  
December 23, 1955, p. 2.

#### 4. Foreign Ministers' Conference

"The Geneva foreign ministers conference proved once again that the agonizing reappraisal of our foreign policy is long overdue. It should start with a recognition that the actual issues raised at Geneva will be settled when we drop the rigid and impossible demand that Germany shall be remilitarized and brought into a war alliance."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 18, 1955, p. 5.

"The general inability of the conference to come to any measure of agreement upon other important questions turned around the general disagreement over Germany. The latter was caused because Mr. Dulles came forward with what amounted to his old pro-war policy regarding that country. He wanted to re-unite that nation upon the basis of its rearmament and its affiliation to aggressive NATO, under a reactionary German government."

"THE DISPUTE over the German question ruled out any serious agreement upon other major questions...."

Daily Worker,  
November 17, 1955, p. 3.

"America's interest in the second Geneva remained what it was at the historic summit meeting--to end the whole cold war. This means the people will have to impose their will on those in Washington who want to maintain the atmosphere of the cold war."

The Worker,  
November 20, 1955, p. 13.

5. Tension in the Middle East

"There is a crisis in the middle east and fighting between the Arab states and Israel for two basic reasons:

"First, the State Department uses the power and strength of this nation to protect the steady flow of super-profits for U. S. Standard Oil firms in the Arab countries.

"Second the State Department is maneuvering to set up a Middle East anti-Soviet military bloc as a partner of NATO. That is why it has been sending arms to the Arab states all along."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 30, 1955, p. 5.

"...The only hope for ending the tensions and the fighting in the middle east was through ending all efforts to use the middle east countries as pawns in the cold war.

"...If the Arab countries detach themselves from the military blocs and alliances which the U.S. government has been building in the middle east, and if Israel takes an independent position in world affairs, then a real and lasting peace can come not only to Gaza but to the whole middle east."

Daily Worker,  
September 12, 1955, p. 5.

"The fact is, there can be no solution to the Middle East crisis without the participation of the Soviet Union, which has indicated its readiness to help. Such participation should be welcomed by all who desire that peace which is needed for the Middle East and for the State of Israel in particular."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 1, 1955, p. 5.

"...the hope for Middle East peace lies in Middle East collective security arrangement, including the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker,  
November 1, 1955, p. 1.

6. Reunification of Germany

"...German unification will be possible only if Germany is not remilitarized with its divisions becoming part of a military bloc...."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1955, p. 2.

"A re-militarized Germany would constitute a threat to the Soviet Union and this accounts for the steps the USSR is now taking.

"A re-militarized Germany would also be a threat to our country...."

"The Eisenhower Administration continues to sponsor the anti-American policy of arming West Germany and incorporating Wehrmacht divisions in NATO. America's interests require a united, democratic

Germany which will be allied with no military blocs to the detriment of world peace. That was the spirit of Geneva. That is the need of our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 15, 1955, p. 5.

7. Diplomatic Recognition of China

"...How can we pretend that 600 million don't exist? American national interest, American prestige and American economic interests are hurt by refusal to recognize China."

"There are enormous markets for American goods waiting for us in the Far East. There is a real chance now to end all friction and tension in the Formosa Straits. We can attain those goals by making the Administration negotiate in the spirit of Geneva, not of the China Lobby."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 12, 1955, p. 5.

"Proof that the cold war has not yet been laid to rest is in the fact that China--with its one fourth of the human race, and despite the UN charter--will not be in its place at the UN assembly...."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1955, p. 5.

"...the most populous nation in the world, China, should get its rightful place in the world organization."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 13, 1955, p. 5.

8. Foreign Aid

"THE AMERICAN people should support economic aid to the underdeveloped nations, in accordance with the development needs of these nations, and on terms favorable to them, this aid to be applied and supervised by themselves.

"We should support these nations in their demands for non-interference in internal political affairs, in foreign policy, and in national economic development...."

"In their own right, the American people should strive to discontinue foreign spending for military bases and for the maintenance of puppet regimes, since these serve the aims of the cold war and the pro-colonial policies."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1955, p. 13.

9. East-West Trade

"MEANWHILE Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and other West European countries have increased their trade with the Soviet Union. Most of these countries have also increased trade considerably with China; we conduct no trade at all with China."

"Some day the fact will be realized in Washington that the Soviet Union is not pressing for trade with the U.S. Every day that passes puts us in a worse position compared with our allies who are making trade deals left and right with the Soviet Union."

"Our country above all needs such trade. . . . And we'll need it much more when foreign markets become harder and harder to get."

Daily Worker,  
October 17, 1955, p. 5.

"...If the cold war were ended, and if trade barriers between our country and the Soviet Union were lifted, and if the USSR could buy machinery and other goods of its own choice here, they would also be happy to buy American rice. Right now 14 million hundredweight of rice is rotting in our warehouses. It is the biggest moral condemnation of capitalism since we ploughed under those little pigs in the midst of starvation."

Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1955, p. 5.

10. Increased East-West Contact

"Also there needs to be the most rapid and extensive exchange of East-West cultural, labor, and farm delegations. Let us send to the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies the best of our American democratic culture and heritage--our best athletes, orchestras, artists, scientists, writers, trade unionists, etc., along the lines of the farm and chess delegations. We have much to teach and learn from each other."

National Committee, CPUSA, "The  
Meaning of Geneva," Political Affairs,  
September, 1955, p. 7.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity is dependent on military spending.
2. Taxes of the low-income group should be lowered.
3. The decade of "intellectual terrorism" which followed World War II is coming to an end largely as a result of the Geneva Conference.
4. Paul Robeson should be granted a passport.
5. Continuous congressional investigations have given rise to "public revulsion."
6. The Federal security program should be abolished.
7. The authority of Vice-President Nixon must not be increased while President Eisenhower is ill.
8. The "giveaway" of the country's natural resources should be investigated by Congress.
9. A major program of public works should be instituted.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. False Prosperity

"MONDAY'S STOCK MARKET crash to the tune of a \$14,000,000,000 drop sent shivers through America. It had the closest resemblance to the disastrous Oct. 28, 1929, when stock values dropped a total of \$16,000,000,000 and America dived into the greatest crisis in its history.

"...The President's heart attack induced an economic heart attack...."

"Much of the economy rests on anticipated continuance of military orders."

"U.S. economy is geared to 'anti-Communism' rather than to the realities of economic science."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 29, 1955, p. 5.

"...acute crisis has been delayed in recent years largely through government policies in the interests of big business. Such government intervention has helped guarantee the largest profits in history, with over \$40 billion predicted for 1955 alone. At the same time it has laid the basis for placing the full load of future crisis on the backs of the people...."\*

Celeste Strack, "Economic Laws and  
'Anti-Depression' Programs,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 12.

"...the American economic and political system is becoming more and more entangled in the coils of the fatal general crisis of the world capitalist system. The current American 'prosperity' is based upon sand...."

William Z. Foster, "Thoughts on  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's Autobiography,"  
Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 24.

## 2. Tax Reduction

"The question of taxes has been more of a political football between the two parties than any of the other issues. The annual consequence has been substantial concessions for the corporations and the rich; nothing for the low-incomed people.

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original.



"This has been particularly true since the Eisenhower administration took office..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 20, 1955, p. 5.

"...the cry for tax reductions for the low-income families will gather in volume, especially as corporation profits soar, and as the gap between wages and consumer prices is more seriously felt."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall,  
"Congress and '56," Political Affairs,  
December, 1955, p. 8.

### 3. McCarthyism

"NEVER in the entire history of the U.S. has there been such an onslaught against the popular liberties and constitutional rights of the workers and the whole American people as during the years since the end of World War II in 1945...."

"Taking advantage of existing world tension, and as a means to increase that tension, the reactionaries have outdone themselves in terrorizing the people by various types of McCarthyite practices and legislation."

Daily Worker,  
November 9, 1955, p. 5.

"DURING these years of reaction, the chauvinists and the cold war patrioteers have sought to identify the national interest with their own programs, redefining 'loyalty,' 'patriotism,' and 'Americanism' along blatantly jingoist lines. People were sent to jail, and others still face that

prospect, as a result of thought-control Smith Act trials and committee inquisitions in the name of the same 'national interest,' and a reign of intellectual terrorism was let loose against all who identified the national interest with peace and the welfare of the people...."

James S. Allen, "Democratic Revival and the Marxists," Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, p. 7.

"We are now in the opening phase of a great popular reaction against McCarthyism. Undoubtedly, the stubborn fight of the American people--not the least of which was the valiant battle of the Communists to maintain and extend democracy--helped bring this about. But the decisive element without question was the registering of the ascendancy of the forces for peace at Geneva...."

"From this no one should draw any easy conclusions that the Bill of Rights is back in full operation.... No, the Geneva spirit has by no means changed the Department of Justice or the judicial bureaucracy, despite its vast impact on the world."

Simon W. Gerson, "The Battle Against the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 19, 20.

#### 4. Passport Restrictions

"It is good that our State Department--under the heading of east-west contacts--is lifting passport restrictions on travel to the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. (But why doesn't it end its scandalous policy of refusing to give a passport in the first place to Americans like Paul Robeson?) Any progress in east-west contacts is all to the good...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 2, 1955, p. 5.

5. Congressional Investigations

"For years now, Washington has been the scene of almost continuous witchhunt hearings by one Congressional committee or another: the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Committee and, of course, the McCarthy (now the McClellan) Subcommittee on Government Operations. These hearings have grabbed off the headlines year after year and created so much havoc that finally there was a public revulsion against the sordid proceedings and procedures."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 16, 1955, p. 5.

6. Federal Security Program

"FROM THE LOYALTY PROGRAM came the Attorney General's 'subversive list' which, in turn, spawned the blacklist in private industry, especially in the entertainment field. States, cities and towns got into the act of passing 'anti-subversive' laws and ordinances so that citizens could be tried, convicted and punished three times for substantially the same offense...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 22, 1955, p. 5.

7. President Eisenhower's Illness

"...it is also understandable that there should be deep concern everywhere for how the President's illness might affect the work of fulfilling the promise of Geneva....the question of the possible role of Vice-President Nixon rightly causes grave misgivings."

"Vice-President Nixon--and along with him the Knowlands, Dirksens and McCarthys--must not be permitted to exploit the present situation in order to assume greater power over the affairs of the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 27, 1955, p. 5.

8. Conserve Natural Resources

"End the Giveaway: An offensive through Congressional investigations as well as legislation to stop the handouts to wealthy corporations of our natural resources and national facilities."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall,  
"Congress and '56," Political Affairs,  
December, 1955, p. 12.

9. Public Works Program

"...the type of aid that is needed is one which will result in raising consumer purchasing power plus the construction of such socially useful projects as hospitals, schools, roads and dams to prevnet floods. Such 'New Dealish' steps are needed to be prepared and won for the country as a whole..."

The Worker,  
November 13, 1955, p. 7.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The merger of the AFL and the CIO will strengthen the labor movement in the United States.
2. The AFL-CIO should increase its political activity in the 1956 elections.
3. The Republican Administration is continuing its attacks on the labor movement.
4. Legal action against the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UERMWA) - Independent, and the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (IUMMSW) - Independent, is an attack on the entire labor movement.
5. Excessive corporation profits and increased productivity through automation, should encourage the labor movement to fight for higher wages and shorter working hours.
6. There should be an exchange of labor delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. AFL-CIO Merger

"THE EYES of all America are upon the AFL-CIO merger convention....

"The working people and all genuine believers in progress greet it with warmth and hope. They expect it to bring tremendous strength and vigor to the cause of the common people."

"The continued exclusion of the United Mine Workers and the progressive-led independent unions from the merged labor movement will not sit well with the rank and file workers of the unions. It means a continuation of division. It is also exclusion of the unions that, in the eyes of a great many workers, are most symbolic of the fighting spirit of the '30s when the great march ahead was made possible by a left-to-right unity."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 5, 1955, pp. 1, 5.

"IT IS CLEAR, therefore, that the left and progressive forces should have a two-phased policy towards the merger. First, they should heartily support the fusion itself and strive to give it a progressive program-- in the sense of a more active fight for better wages and living conditions for the workers, in cultivating an active campaign of organizing the unorganized on a broad scale, in guaranteeing the economic, political, social, and trade unions rights of Negro workers, in developing a program of political activity in line with the strength and needs of the working class, and in aggressively cultivating a program of world peace and peaceful coexistence.

"Second, the left and progressive forces should also make a most vigorous fight to democratize the present ultra-conservative constitution proposed for the merged organization. . . . It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that the draft constitution be systematically democratized, looking forward generally to giving the rank and file representation in the conventions, leadership, and policy-making of the organizations. Organized labor in this country needs not only unity, but unity based upon a progressive economic and political program and upon trade union democracy. Only if these facts are borne in mind can the new trade union merged achieve its great potentialities."

Daily Worker,  
December 1, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Labor's Independent Political Activity

"... The American labor movement has far too long, dragged tamely after the two bourgeois political parties and their reactionary leaders

and programs. If the labor movement, during the coming period, lives up to the spirit of the Geneva conference, by fighting against the warmongers and arms profiteers, one of the sure results in the near future will be a substantial increase in independent working class political action; first within the Democratic Party (as outlined in the program of the Communist Party) and ultimately in the direction of creating a great labor-farmer party, worthy of a labor movement with some 16,000,000 members."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 14.

"...The role of the monopoly government and particularly the policies of this Administration demand a strengthening of the independent political role of labor, and require that the labor movement throws its full weight into the 1956 election struggles."

Frank Brewster and Mark Logan, "Automation: Abundance For Whom?," Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 42.

"...it is clear that from now on the idea of a labor party must be included along with all other thoroughly American means which labor has to use in order to achieve thoroughly American goals."

Daily Worker,  
December 14, 1955, p. 4.

### 3. Republican Administration Is Antilabor

"Since the 'Cadillac Cabinet' took over there has been an effort to revive the 'good old' union-busting days. We have seen it in the numerous

strikes dragging out for months, in the mass recruiting of scabs, increased use of armed guards and more provocation of violence...."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1955, p. 6.

"...The fundamental aim of the Republican party up until 1945 was to prevent the enactment of New Deal legislation and since 1945 to replace such measures with bonanzas for Big Business and with frankly repressive anti-labor laws...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 27, 1955, p. 5.

"...Labor has to launch an offensive against the Republicans to expose completely and convincingly the pro-big business and anti-labor nature of the Eisenhower regime."

Daily Worker,  
October 31, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Decertifying Unions

"ATTORNEY GENERAL Brownell's move to 'decertify' the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers under the Butler law, passed 17 months ago was hardly a surprise. But the timing of Brownell's move dramatizes clearly the basically strikebreaking nature of the statute under which a union can be barred by the Subversive Activities Control Board as a representative of workers.

"Brownell's first action under the law, aimed at the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers earlier this year, came just as that union was in the midst of its big copper strike. The UE, simultaneously with the IUE, is waging a strike against Westinghouse Electric."



"... There is a far-reaching sinister conspiracy against labor in Brownell's move, and it should be fought with labor's full strength."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 22, 1955, p. 5.

5. Corporation Profits

"LATEST REPORTS, showing 1955 will mark an all-time high for corporation profits, give clear evidence that recent price hikes in steel, auto, oil, telephone and other fields were not necessary to 'compensate' for wage raises, as claimed by the corporations."

"A glance at the list of profit reports for the first nine months... makes the wage raises won in 1955 look small indeed."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1955, p. 2.

"You need only take a glance through the Wall Street Journal of recent days to recognize that GM\* pretty much reflects the trend for the big corporations in general. The bigger they are, the closer they come to GM's profit showing. There is, unquestionably, a boom for the rich."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 28, 1955, p. 5.

6. Automation

"... Not all labor organizations have begun to shape policies to meet the challenge of automation, and only a few trade unions have as yet

\*General Motors Corp.

adopted a militant program based on a class awareness of their membership's best interests."

"Nevertheless, the widespread fear and dissatisfaction of the great mass of rank and file trade unionists is breaking through and finding expression in the policies of some unions...."

"Coming more and more to the fore in all these programs is the struggle for the shorter work week with no reduction in pay. This issue gives every promise of emerging in the near future as the number-one demand of the labor movement...."

Frank Brewster and Mark Logan,  
"Automation: Abundance for Whom?,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1955, pp. 39,  
40.

## 7. Higher Wages and Shorter Hours

"The shorter workweek must become labor's No. 1 demand if it is to be fortified to some degree against another slump."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 5, 1955, p. 5.

"The labor movement should continue to press for its program, combat complacency on the economic front and fight all the harder for the shorter workweek and higher wages. It should never be forgotten that every bust in history crashed down upon the people when it was least expected."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 28, 1955, p. 5.

"...The basis is becoming clearly laid for more substantial demands on the employers in wages and hours. When the final 1955 profit figures hit the public eye, labor's case will be stronger than ever."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1955, p. 2.

8. Exchange of Labor Delegations with the USSR

"One immediate task of no little importance in the struggle to realize the peace perspectives of Geneva is to send an American labor delegation to the USSR to establish contact with the great trade unions of that country....Politicians, newspapermen, actors, businessmen, scientists, farmers, women, clerics, and the youth are sending one delegation after another, to improve cultural and political relationships between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. It is intolerable, therefore, that organized labor should fail to fulfill its progressive peace role in this general respect. Like the workers in other countries are doing, the organized trade unionists in this country should also send their delegations to the U. S. S. R. and invite the Soviet workers to have their union representatives visit this country."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva:  
The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 13.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The crisis in agriculture has assumed "tragic proportions."
2. The Republican Administration is attempting to eliminate the small farmers.
3. Farmers should unite in political action to gain 90 percent of parity.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. The Farm Crisis

"While the decline in farm prices began under the Truman administration, it has assumed tragic proportions for many small farmers, dairy farmers, chicken farmers and owners of small cotton and tobacco acreage in the South, under the Eisenhower-Benson regime."

Daily Worker,  
September 28, 1955, p. 4.

"...Since February, 1951 farm prices have declined by almost 25 percent, while the prices of the goods which the farmer must buy, and the taxes he must pay, have remained at about the same level."

"The result has been a widening gap between the prices of the things he needs to farm, and to sustain his family, and the prices of the goods he sells.

"Savings are withdrawn from the bank and consumed to keep family and farm going, repairs to machinery, equipment and structures are

permitted to go by the board, and family expenditures are drawn in wherever possible."

"...The real program of the Administration, which has been stated repeatedly in less publicized channels, is to let the mounting crisis cut down the number of farmers."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1955, p. 3.

## 2. Republican Farm Program

"Meanwhile Agricultural Secretary Ezra T. Benson has been making a statement daily either denying there is anything wrong with the agricultural situation or promising firm steps to correct it. Benson, viewing the problem from the aspect of the big farmer, appears to be satisfied. The big farmer is growing bigger, while the small farmer is being wiped out. Once wiped out, Benson argues, the small man is no longer a farmer and his problems are no longer part of the agricultural picture."

Daily Worker,  
September 20, 1955, p. 2.

"...Benson's position has been a do-nothing one on the grounds that small farmers who should be eliminated are being driven out. Hence their problems are no longer the concern of the Agriculture Department. The big farmers are geeting along in Benson's view, and so there is no crisis in agriculture.

"Eisenhower's Big Business cabinet is not opposed to this view...."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1955, p. 4.

### 3. Fixed Price Supports

"An ear to the ground will pick up some highly-significant rumblings across Illinois and throughout the Midwest. Farmers are in a tightening economic squeeze--and the outcry from them is becoming increasingly political.

"The dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower administration's farm program is clearly audible...."

The Worker,  
November 20, 1955, p. 3.

"A true program for rewarding abundance would be one that would stimulate consumption among the many millions of Americans who do not get enough to eat--through food-stamp plans, expanded school lunches, etc.--as well as one which would share our abundance with the hundreds of millions of peoples throughout the world living on a starvation level.

"Farmers of all organizations and political views need to unite their ranks now for a bitter congressional battle next year around the 90 percent price support program pledged by the Democratic leaders. Their interests would be further advanced, however, if abundance were truly rewarded through a program subsidized directly by the government."

The Worker,  
September 25, 1955, p. 10.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The nations of Asia, Africa and the Middle East are in the process of gaining their complete independence.
2. The "collapse" of colonialism is accelerating the ultimate defeat of capitalism.
3. The United States is opposing the attempts of colonial nations to achieve their independence as part of its attempt to dominate the entire world.
4. The Soviet Union has consistently supported all attempts of colonial nations to gain their freedom.
5. The United States holds Puerto Rico as a "colony," and controls most Latin-American nations.
6. The overseas colonies of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal are demanding the right of self-determination.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The Revolt Against Colonialism

"Tremendous changes have taken place on the continent of Asia since the end of the Second World War. Colonial and semi-colonial countries inhabited by hundreds of millions of people have liberated themselves from foreign domination for the first time in history.... Such a development signifies a real change in the world relationship of forces, a change in favor of the forces of peace and national independence...."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1955, p. 5.

"All Asia and much of Africa is now surging with revolt against the imperialism which has held and oppressed their countries for so long. The Arab countries of the Middle East, despite their reactionary governments and the fact that they are maneuvering unscrupulously with the major imperialist powers--Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal and the U.S.--are also historically a part of the great Asian-African revolt against imperialism...."

Daily Worker,  
October 12, 1955, p. 4.

## 2. Significance of the Revolt Against Colonialism

"The general significance of this situation is that the vast colonial and semi-colonial system of capitalism, which originally embraced the majority of mankind, is being hopelessly shattered. People's China which battered its way completely out of the maze of imperialist controls, is pointing the general way that this vast colonial revolt is heading."

"...colonialism is one of the foundation pillars of world capitalism and imperialism. The growing collapse of colonialism is, therefore, increasing the general crisis of capitalism and thereby hastening it on to its inevitable doom."

Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1955, p. 2.

## 3. The United States Supports Colonialism

"...Why should the United States find itself in a dilemma on the colonial issue... The reason, of course, is quite obvious: The United States, despite its various anti-colonial pretenses and the deep anti-colonial sentiments among Americans, has consistently supported the colonial powers



against the peoples seeking freedom. Whether it be France in Morocco and Algeria, Holland in Indonesia, or Britain in Cyprus and Kenya, the United States has thrown its support to the colonial powers."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1955, p. 5.

"...the most disgraceful aspect of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy is its support of every racist and colonial power in the world--from Asia to Africa to Latin America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 6, 1955, p. 5.

"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM as one of its key objectives in its drive for world mastery for Wall Street, has been trying to reverse this general anti-colonial revolution.... Both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations had a two-pronged policy in this respect. On the one hand, they tried, as best they could, to stamp out, in one way or another, the increasing revolts of colonial and semi-colonial peoples; and on the other hand, they sought to reduce the whole capitalist and socialist world under their own domination. They even dreamed of making satellite countries not only of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and of the socialist nations but also of dominating the other capitalist powers, Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, etc."

Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1955, p. 2.

#### 4. The Soviet Union Opposes Colonialism

"But the record of votes in the United Nations will show that ever since the first UN meeting the Soviet Union has voted on the side of colonial people whenever a colonial issue came before the world organization. The record will also show that whereas the U.S. used to abstain on the issue

of whether UN should merely agree to discuss colonial questions, at this session, it is the U.S. delegation which switched and voted against the mere right of discussion."

Daily Worker,  
October 11, 1955, p. 5.

5. Colonialism in Latin America

"Castillo Armas has been under fire in his own country\* and throughout Latin America and even here. The fact is, since he machine-gunned his way to office as an agent for United Fruit Co., his regime has been steeped in scandal...."

"Castillo Armas is typical of the dictators foisted on so many Latin American countries by our State Department and Wall Street corporations and investment houses...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1955, p. 5.

6. Colonialism in Puerto Rico

"Puerto Rican history since the 1870s reflects the restlessness of a people who have struggled against colonial regimes under different modes of imperialist governments but all brutal. The present is worst of all."

"Puerto Rico at present is a most subjected colony. It cannot have trade or any other kind of relation with any part of the world. Puerto Rico does not enjoy the right to determine anything about its products or its

\*Guatemala.

customs house or the ruinous competition by U.S. of some of its industries. In a word, Puerto Rico is still fully tied to the Wall Street yoke."

The Worker,  
September 25, 1955, pp. 11, 14.

## 7. The Colonial Powers

"...The French are sitting on a volcano in North Africa. So too for the British in Cyprus.

"And so too, for the white supremacists in the Union of South Africa, and also for the colonies of Belgium and Holland in Africa, and for Portugal's enclave in India (Goa) and for the French West African empire and for the enormous British colonial empire in Africa as well as in South East Asia.

"The people of Indonesia are not going to stand for Dutch rule of Irian, or West New Guinea.

"...the demand for realization of the United Nations charter promise of self determination will find stormy repercussions in the colonial world...."

Daily Worker,  
September 27, 1955, p. 5.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed.
2. Communists now in prison for violation of the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
3. Legal action against Communist Party members should be discontinued until the United States Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950.
4. The Steve Nelson case is an attack on all organized labor.
5. The use of confidential informants has fallen into disrepute.
6. The United States Supreme Court should review the "clear and present danger" doctrine in the light of the Geneva Conference.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Repeal All Anti-Communist Legislation

"Above all, Americans should join with the repeated position taken by numerous organizations in demanding repeal of the Hitlerite Smith and McCarran Acts. There must be an end to the shameful continuance of Smith Act arrests and an amnesty for all victims of the Smith Act and other anti-democratic legislation."

Daily Worker,  
December 5, 1955, p. 2.

"...an end to Smith Act trials, to the Nazi-like McCarran Registration Act, to the racist McCarran-Walter Act, to the Taft-Hartley prosecution of labor leaders, to such union-busting moves as the indictment of the C.I.O. United Automobile Workers Union on trumped-up charges of violating election laws...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Struggle to End the Cold War at Home," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 28.

"...Our national concentration in the near future must be to defeat the several matters which await U. S. Supreme Court decisions. To repeat them, they are:

"1. The Internal Security Act of 1950, commonly known as the McCarran Act and its revised version, the Communist Control Act of 1954.

"2. The membership section of the Smith Act.

"3. The case of Steve Nelson.

"Even within the framework of these points, top priority must be given in all districts, without exception, to the McCarran Act. Even in states where local Smith Act cases will take place shortly, this outlook must be established...."

Ibid., p. 44.

"...The defeat of these laws constitutes the main task of all democratic forces." \*

Ibid., p. 34.

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"...save the Bill of Rights, free political prisoners, smash ... pending Smith Act and sedition act indictments, and illegalize all thought-control statutes."

Daily Worker,  
November 15, 1955, p. 7.

"...Attorney General Brownell should be called on to halt all pending 'conspiracy' and 'membership' trials and McCarran hearings until the Court acts...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. The Case of Steve Nelson

"Of all the labor frameup cases of this period, one of the very worst is that of Steve Nelson..."

"NELSON'S CASE is highly important, representing as it does an extreme danger to reaction in the courts. It is also doubly important in that the defense's challenge to the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania Sedition Law also carries with it a challenge to the legality of the many anti-labor laws that have been rammed through various state legislatures during the past ten years...."

"The Nelson case is now in a critical stage.... This should stimulate general activities in the defense, the collection of funds, the sending of protests to Attorney General Brownell and the like."

Daily Worker,  
November 9, 1955, p. 5.

### 3. Confidential Informants

"Also, as a result of pro-democratic pressures, the government's whole system of lies peddled about through its infamous informer system faces collapse...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Struggle to End the Cold War at Home," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 29.

"...The anti-Communist myths which the Justice Department and perjurous paid informers and Judge Medina put over at the original Foley Square trial, and with which democracy suffered its greatest setback in 150 years, have now worn thin. The paid informer racket--to which Medina gave his judicial blessing--has now been exposed as a cruel and shameful hoax."

Daily Worker,  
November 15, 1955, p. 4.

### 4. United States Supreme Court

"IT IS PRETTY widely agreed that the U. S. Supreme Court's 1955-56 session, which opened yesterday, is going to have as great an impact on the nation's course as almost any other in our history.

"The cases to come before the court involve the constitutionality of the McCarran Act; the so-called 'Communist Control' Act of 1954; the Smith Act as it involves both the membership and 'conspiracy' sections; the numerous state sedition laws and the federal 'immunity' act nullifying the Fifth Amendment; sections of the Walter-McCarran Act; the nation's anti-trust laws, and other important issues.

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 4, 1955, p. 5.

"...certainly the fact of the Geneva Conference and the prospects for peace have impressed many with the need for the court taking a new look at the whole 'clear and present danger' theory under today's conditions.

"The Court should void the McCarran Act and throw out the Smith Act cases coming before it, clothed as they are in illegality from start to finish...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1955, p. 5.



## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Disarmament should be carried out under a system of mutual inspection.
2. The Communist nations have reduced their armed forces.
3. The manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons should be prohibited.
4. Military appropriations should be reduced and the savings used for a program of public works and improved social welfare services.
5. The Army security program operates in violation of the law.
6. The Coast Guard Screening Program is illegal.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Disarmament

"There are many and urgent tasks before the peace forces in this central job of easing world tensions and ending the cold war--such as the reunification of Germany, the reactivization of NATO and SEATO,\*the revitalizing of East-West trade, the re-establishment of cultural relations, the seating of People's China in the United Nations, the American evacuation of Germany, the dismantling of the U.S. world network of airbases, and numerous other problems.... The center of this whole complex of diplomatic problems is the general question of world disarmament. This is the key to nearly all the other issues. So long as the arms race is allowed to continue, the cold war will go on in one form or another....

"With the whole world crying out that an atomic world war is unthinkable and with even President Eisenhower conceding that the Soviet Government sincerely desires peace, it becomes increasingly difficult for the arms

\*Probably should read "the deactivization of NATO and SEATO."

monopolists (save for profit considerations) to find any convincing reasons why armaments should be continuously piled up in this and other capitalist countries. From now on the demand for a progressive reduction and eventual abandonment of the arms race will increase in this country, as elsewhere."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 11.

"THAT OUR COUNTRY and the Soviet Union can find agreement on disarmament is shown by the friendly exchange between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin."

"...The issue when the foreign ministers get together in Geneva on Thursday is not inspection VERSUS disarmament. What's needed is disarmament TOGETHER with inspection."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 24, 1955, p. 5.

"The irony is that the Soviet government had accepted the previous Western positions on limitation and reduction of arms. They have also said they would accept President Eisenhower's aerial survey proposal if it is combined with the actual arms reduction plans which had previously been agreed upon."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Communist Nations Reduce Armed Forces

"...the government of the countries of people's democracy and Socialism, fully in harmony with the peace spirit of the world's working masses,

are showing their hearty support of Geneva both in words and in concrete actions. Not only has the U.S.S.R. lifted practically all travel restrictions and issued a sweeping amnesty for political prisoners, but it has also announced a cut of 640,000 in its armed forces, to go into effect at the end of this year. And most recently it has returned the Porkkala base to Finland, forty years before its lease ran out. In the same spirit, that the way to disarm is to disarm, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Albania have also voluntarily decided to reduce their armies by 47,000, 34,000, 40,000, 18,000, 20,000 and 9,000 men respectively...."

"...Just at the time when the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries, upon their own initiative, are deeply cutting their armed forces, the Eisenhower Administration is letting it be known that, in any event, it intends to keep up and to increase its military strength...."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 7-8.

### 3. Outlaw Nuclear Weapons

"But the peoples of the world want none of the atomic bomb. Not only have they broken the Wall Street 'monopoly,' but they have effectively protested the use of the bomb in Korea and on a world scale. They let it be known categorically at Geneva that the atombomb cannot and must not be employed in war. In the oncoming period, they will surely prohibit both manufacture and use of this barbarous weapon. They will see to it that never again will any government head be able to perpetrate such a devastating outrage as Mr. Truman inflicted upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki and then boast about it."

Daily Worker,  
October 28, 1955, p. 5.

"WE CHALLENGE anyone to give one good reason why our county\* should not accept the offer of the Soviet Union that all test explosions of nuclear weapons be halted at once."

"Scientists have warned that unrestricted H-bomb explosions can harm not only the living but generations still unborn. Self preservation alone should lead us to accept the Soviet offer.

"But most important, such agreement of our country, Britain and the USSR, could be a big step toward the all-important goal of banishing the horror bombs altogether."

"Public opinion can be decisive in bringing about the agreement-- an agreement which would help put our foreign policy in line with the spirit of Geneva."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 1, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Reduce Military Appropriations

"And it is widely agreed by the American people that the time is ripe for Big Four settlements through negotiations, a fact which makes our top-heavy arms budget not only an unnecessary burden but out of tune with the times."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1955, p. 5.

"The relaxation of tensions in the world today is a fact, not a theory.

\*Probably should read "country."

"Thus the demand for reduction in the military budget will increase, together with a demand for greater appropriations for schools, hospitals, roads and other public works so tragically neglected during the cold war years."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall,  
"Congress and '56," Political Affairs,  
December, 1955, p. 8.

"... Because of the current \$40,000,000,000 Eisenhower arms budget, expenditures for housing, agriculture and TVA have been cut, children must go to crowded schools, health facilities continue inadequate, many needed public works have been shelved, and taxes continue to take about a third of the earnings of low-income families."

National Committee, CPUSA, "The  
Meaning of Geneva," Political Affairs,  
September, 1955, p. 6.

"In the 1956 Presidential elections the question of liquidating the cold war, and with it the feverish, overswollen military build-up of the United States, should also be made a vital issue...."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The  
Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 14.

##### 5. Army Security Program

"For when Federal Judge David N. Edelstein declared... that the U. S. Army was violating civil rights when it gave less than an honorable discharge to inductees because of previous, civilian associations, he was striking at a particularly nasty, Army version of the witch hunt.

"It took the Army brass to figure out a routine whereby American boys could first be inducted into the Army and then, well in, be clobbered with the label 'security risk' and finally, be graduated out of the ranks with the damaging diploma marked 'Dishonorable Discharge.'"

"What the Army had been doing, in short, was violating the unmistakable spirit and letter of the law."

The Worker,  
December 18, 1955, p. 7.

"...a soldier, a former convict, who had been convicted of murder, arson or other crimes, had a better chance of getting an honorable discharge from the Army than one who was charged with belonging to an organization listed by the attorney general, the House Committee on Un-American Activities or Army G-2 (Intelligence) as 'subversive.'"

The Worker,  
November 27, 1955, p. 4.

#### 6. U. S. Coast Guard Screening Program

"The vast Federal 'security' dragnet, which jeopardizes the jobs and freedoms of an estimated 10 million Americans, was struck a body blow today in a Federal court decision that waterfront 'screening' procedures are illegal.

"The 2 to 1 decision, rendered yesterday by the U. S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, held that hundreds of seamen and longshoremen were denied 'due process' when screened by the Coast Guard.

"The court specifically condemned the use of anonymous informers and the denial of the right to cross-examine informers."

"Since the Coast Guard's 'screening' procedures were patterned after the general Federal 'security' system, the entire system has been placed in doubt, by this ruling."

Daily Worker,  
October 28, 1955, pp. 1, 2.

7. Germ Warfare

"Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker stamped an okay today on a report urging development of a complete family of chemical, biological and radiological weapons for 'actual use' if necessary. The report, drafted by a Civilian Advisory Committee, decried the public conception that such forms of warfare are 'horrifying in character,' and said they have a 'proper place' in military planning.

"Among other things, the committee proposed appointment of a top-level officer in the Chemical Corps to keep tabs on germ warfare developments and fit them into overall military planning."

Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1955, p. 2.

### VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The case of Emmett Louis Till has horrified the entire world.
2. The Southern States, particularly Mississippi, are undergoing a reign of terror.
3. Federal intervention, with the Armed Forces if necessary, is essential to preserve law and order in Mississippi.
4. Congress should enact antilynching, antipoll-tax and Fair Employment Practice legislation.
5. The Mississippi delegation should not be seated in Congress and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi should be impeached.
6. No Federal funds should be given to public schools which are still segregated.
7. Discrimination against Negroes in industry and housing is still prevalent.
8. The deportation of Claudia Jones violates our democratic tradition.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The Case of Emmett Louis Till

"A hideous crime--the brutal murder of a 14-year-old child--weighs heavy on the conscience of America, and shames our nation before the world."



"Emmett Louis Till was too young to vote; too young to join a trade union. Yet he is dead, murdered by the same forces that kill Negro voters and lynch Negro trade unionists."

Daily Worker,  
September 9, 1955, p. 2.

"GOOD PEOPLE everywhere--in America and throughout the world--feel a deep sense of horror over the outcome of the murder trial in Mississippi.

"The unspeakable kidnaping and lynching of a Negro child has now been capped with a 'white supremacy' verdict that makes the blood run cold."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 26, 1955, p. 1.

"RACISM TRIUMPHED over justice yesterday when an all-white Leflore County, Miss., grand jury refused to indict J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant for the kidnaping last August of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till. In this act and the acquittal of the same two men last Sept. 23 on a murder charge, the racists have emphasized that Negro citizens in Mississippi have no rights they are bound to respect--including the right to life itself."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 10, 1955, p. 1.

"THE SAVAGE LYNCHING of the Till boy must be fought militantly. This has already been well begun by many demonstrations and other activities.... The whole American people should be aroused to the terrible outrage of this boy lynching. And, not the least important, this case should be publicized all over the world. Abroad it will get a powerful

response from the democratic peoples, who already thoroughly hate the U.S. jimcrow system, with all its oppression, exploitation, and murder."

Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Reign of Terror in the South

"There is a virtual reign of terror now in much of the South and especially in Mississippi. It is condoned by the government and conducted by the same class of 'operators' responsible for the lynching system.

"It is a campaign of terror waged in desperation by those who seek to crush the Negro liberation movement, to stop labor organization in the South, to undo, by force and violence, a decision of the United States Supreme Court....

"The Dixiecrats are desperate because they know that the Negro people are absolutely determined to have their full rights and to have them now...."

Editorial, Political Affairs,  
October, 1955, pp. 1, 2.

## 3. Federal Intervention in Mississippi

"Local authorities cannot and will not cope with this emergency. The governor of the state, its district attorneys, sheriffs, senators and congressmen are all in league with the Dixiecrat conspirators who created the crisis.

"Only the immediate and firm intervention of the Eisenhower Administration can restore law, order, and decency to Mississippi. Only the federal government can bring to heel the racist insurrectionists who thumb their noses at the Constitution and Supreme Court of the United States."

"President Eisenhower must be compelled by popular pressure to throw the full moral, political and legal weight of the federal government on the side of justice, assuring the prompt punishment of the murderers of Emmett Till...."

Daily Worker,  
September 9, 1955, p. 4.

"The federal government--particularly Attorney General Herbert Brownell's Department of Justice--must step in without any further delay. The Federal Civil Rights Statute gives the Attorney General not only the right but the inescapable duty to intervene. Protection must be guaranteed the Negroes who are defying death in order to testify. Above all, the case of Emmett Till cannot be closed until justice is done and the full penalty enacted for cold-blooded, deliberate murder."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 26, 1955, p. 5.

"But right now President Eisenhower's ears should ring with the demand from individuals and organizations across the country: Send federal troops to Mississippi! Halt the breakdown of law and order and the racist terror which has gripped that state!"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 9, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Political Action for Civil Rights

"The heart of the Till fight has increasingly been shifted to the arena of political action. As a result, it most probably will become, in one form or another, a vital issue in the 1956 elections.... The basic steps in

the fight to arrest the anti-Negro terror in Mississippi must be along the lines of an all-out political mobilization...."

Edward E. Strong, "The Till Case and the Negro Liberation Movement," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 45.

"WHAT, then, should be the main demands?

"1. Justice in the Till Case: Bryant and Milam must be convicted on the kidnaping charge now pending. They should be tried again for murder, and convicted, on the ground that Negroes were illegally excluded from the jury in Tallahatchie county. Failure to exact the full measure of justice in this case will be signal for a lynchers' holiday in the whole South.

"2. Impeach Eastland: A movement should be started now to remove Mississippi Senator Eastland from the U.S. Senate. His public incitation to violation of the Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling constitutes violation of the Constitution which he is sworn to uphold.

"3. Support Rep. Diggs' Initiative: The Congressman from Detroit has promised to challenge the seating of every Mississippi Congressman when the U.S. House of Representatives convenes in January on the grounds that Negroes, half the population of Mississippi, are systematically barred from the polls.

"4. Pass the Civil Rights Bills: An anti-poll tax law, an FEPC law, a law to protect Negroes' voting rights in federal elections--all these are needed now.

"All social legislation in the next session of Congress should include provisions guaranteeing against segregation in any establishment, facility or activity which utilizes the federal tax money...."

"Strengthen the developing people's movement against lynching!...  
Pass the anti-lynching bill! Pass civil rights legislation! End segregation!  
Full equality for the Negro people--now!"

Daily Worker,  
October 5, 1955, p. 4.

5. Segregation in Education

"Most of the segregated schools which were declared illegal on May 17, 1954, and again on May 31, 1955, are still segregated. White supremacists, using legal technicalities and terror, including murder, have challenged the authority of the high court and federal law and order. Congress has refused to legislate in support of Supreme Court decisions, and the Department of Justice has kept its hands folded while the Constitution and the Supreme Court have been defied.

"...the situation demands a vigorous enforcement policy to carry it into effect."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 9, 1955, p. 5.

"...no federal funds for segregated institutions and to states where there is official resistance to complying with the high court's segregated ruling."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1955, p. 7.

6. Discrimination in Industry

"THE NEGRO WORKERS in the oil, railroad, atomic energy plant construction, aircraft, air transport, textiles and other industries won't be forgetting, you can bet. For although these industries have their

hands knee-deep in the federal pockets, they remain lily-white in most operations above laborer. The exceptions are those plants and locations where trade unions have been able to negotiate hiring and upgrading of Negro workers."

Daily Worker,  
November 8, 1955, p. 5.

## 7. Discrimination in Housing

"Outside of discrimination in the field of employment and education covered in earlier articles, there is another big area in which minority groups--particularly Negroes--suffer grievous discriminations. This is in housing."

"The Negro people are those who have suffered worst from this enormous shortage of decent housing. Just as they are still generally the last to be hired and the first to be fired, so in general they still get the oldest, most rundown, housing in the least desirable sections of our cities and towns.

"'Intrusion' of Negro families into white neighborhoods is still resented with threats of violence, stoning and riots. The Negro ghettos stand out like sore thumbs..."

The Worker,  
September 11, 1955, p. 15.

"It is clear that nothing short of immediate expansion of the now inadequate federal housing program will help ease the housing shortage. And this program has to have guarantees written into the law that there will be no discrimination as to occupancy."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 7, 1955, p. 5.

8. Deportation of Claudia Jones

"Since 1951 the government of the United States, through its immigration officials, has been attempting to accomplish the deportation of Claudia Jones...."

"Claudia Jones was released from prison on Oct. 23. Since then she has not known a day free from harassment and petty persecution, despite the fact that she has been hospitalized, stricken down by the effects of a heart ailment which became aggravated while she was in prison.

"Now in this condition she is to be forcibly separated from her friends, uprooted from her home and familiar surroundings, in middle life driven out into a country she has never known, to begin life all over again without the health and youth that she gave in the service of the American people."

"...The Communist Party emphatically declares that this deportation is inconsistent with justice and our democratic tradition or our national interests."

Daily Worker,  
December 2, 1955, p. 2.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. There is a critical shortage of schools and teachers in the United States.
2. Increased Federal aid for education is essential.
3. Funds should be diverted from military appropriations in order to improve educational facilities.
4. The White House Conference on Education was "rigged" by the Republican Administration.
5. While academic freedom has improved during the past year, further effort will be necessary to end "the cold war on the campus."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The School Crisis

"...the nation's public schools are admittedly in a period of crisis.

"The first critical area is that of school construction. States and localities are unable to assume the load of enough new building to meet the soaring population of the nation. Federal funds are an absolute necessity.

"Secondly, there is the matter of desegregation in those states where the Supreme Court decision is being openly defied, sometimes with force and violence by state and local authorities.

"Thirdly, the teacher shortage which is also related to Federal funds for training schools and for raising teachers' salaries."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 27, 1955, p. 5.



"But low salaries, crowded classrooms, inferior school plants, and increased duties are not the only reasons for school shortage. Teachers have been the especial target of numerous inquisitions resulting in the resignation and dismissal of scores of creative and experienced teachers. Furthermore, the possibility of becoming involved in the type of witchhunt which has plagued teachers in recent years, added to the fear of being censured for what is being taught, has undoubtedly helped steer a number of qualified teacher graduates to other fields."

The Worker,  
September 11, 1955, p. 2.

2. Increased Federal Aid for Education

"...The very lack of federal aid to schools has condemned 2,000,000 of them \* to conditions just a step above absolute illiteracy. By withholding aid, the federal government is exercising its power 'to dictate' that children will receive an inferior education. Similarly, by refusing to make desegregation a condition for continuing present federal aid, the Administration is exercising its power 'to dictate' that Negro children bear the brunt of denial in the education crisis."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1955, p. 5.

"There is no immediate solution in sight to the school problems of this year or the next few years, without the enactment of a strong Federal aid program...."

The Worker,  
September 11, 1955, p. 2.

\*i.e., children - ed.

### 3. The Military Budget and Education

"... There is a close link between the money available for education and the amounts spent for war preparations. If we continue to spend \$34, 000, 000, 000 a year for armaments, there won't be money for education--at least not without further taxes and budget deficits.

"Those who demand heavy federal spending for education--and we are among them--will also need to insist that there be a cut in the vast armaments program...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 22, 1955, p. 5.

"The demand for Federal aid is on the lips of every responsible thinking person... The next step is to transfer the necessary billions of dollars from the cold war treasury and the useless stockpiling of armaments and atom bombs and to channel them into the only reserve that is our real security--our children's education and welfare."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1955, p. 13.

### 4. White House Conference on Education

"DESPITE ITS LACK of democratic procedure and the rigged nature of its structure, the White House Conference on Education had to reflect one of the main demands of parents and educators--federal aid. That the conference reflected this issue, though ever so faintly, is due to the participation and pressure of the labor and Negro delegates. Neither the representatives of organized labor nor of the Negro people would be gagged by the procedure which permitted no discussion."

"While the conference was forced to recognize the immense pressures for effective federal action to meet the school crisis, it hewed pretty close to the Administration line....

"The conference and its outcome only proves that the fight for federal aid to our ailing schools will have to be redoubled in the second session of the 84th Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 6, 1955, p. 5.

##### 5. Increased Academic Freedom

"THE CAMPUSES of our nation were among the first to be hard hit by the pro-fascist offensive generated by the cold-war policy. Through every means, the bourgeoisie attempted to cut off the free inquiry and action which constitute the life-blood of learning...."

"The past year and half, however, marked the beginnings of a new mood among students. It has been characterized by a sharp upsurge in student concern and activity over the major problems affecting students: McCarthyism, peace and civil rights....

"This does not mean that McCarthyism has been routed on the campuses. Not all sections are involved in this fight-back. Ideological confusion has by no means been dissipated. Teachers are still fired, Feinberg laws still exist, classrooms are still largely devoid of controversy, student associations are still proscribed.

"But the tide is beginning to turn...."

"Students' interest in Marxism had never really been squelched. Therefore, with the reverses suffered by McCarthyism there has been a marked increase in the willingness of students to listen to, discuss and debate with Marxists...."

"...But the new winds over the campus are refreshing and invigorating. They bring with them the promise of new successes in the fight for democratic rights. They open the way toward growing struggle for democratic resolutions to the deep crisis that engulfs American education. From all those who honor true learning, who work for peace and democracy, the campus struggles merit close attention and support."

Alita Letwin, "New Stirrings on the Campus," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 54, 56, 57, 62.

#### 6. End the Cold War on the Campus

"The inability of young people to learn freely in the poisoned atmosphere of today's colleges is a tragedy for the entire nation. It becomes the responsibility, therefore, of all the democratic forces who are devoted to learning and reason, who are concerned about the future of our nation's culture and intellectual traditions to radically change this situation. It becomes the responsibility and challenge of labor, and its allies, of Communists and progressives, to fight to end the cold war on the campus.

"This involves the fight to eradicate every aspect of the anti-intellectualism that the McCarthyites have fostered. It means fighting for the repeal of Feinberg-type legislation and the ending of the military stranglehold on education. It means defending the right of students to have exchange programs with other students of all countries. It means working for the end of all forms of racism on the campuses and for greater federal and local appropriations for the schools. The accomplishment of these aims depends in large part upon the extent to which the democratic forces view student struggles as their struggles."

Ibid., p. 61.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE AND RELIGION

1. There should be an increase in the interchange of scientific and cultural delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. American art is dominated by "big business."
3. Scientific progress in the United States has been delayed by "political repression."
4. Atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes and not for the production of additional atomic weapons.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

"Clearly the conciliatory spirit of Geneva cannot be fulfilled without cultural interchange among nations, and particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union...."

"...The fact is that the existing barriers to cultural exchange have been mutually harmful. Both the Soviet Union and the United States will be stimulated and enriched, as they have been in the past, by free contact with the most vital elements in the cultural life of each country."

"...Horizons are changing now. Our best defense, the American people insist, is peaceful co-existence. We deeply share that interest with the Soviet people. It is to our advantage, no less than to theirs, to end the cold war in culture."

Samuel Sillen, "New Outlook for Cultural Exchange," Masses & Mainstream, September, 1955, pp. 9, 13.

"ONE THING should be made clear to those in high places in government and the press. If these cultural exchanges are going to mean anything for Americans a lot of twisted thinking on this subject must go.

"For one thing let's get rid of the idea, expressed so often in our big newspapers, that we're participating in these cultural exchanges for the sole purpose of setting up a 'cultural offensive' against Soviet 'cultural propaganda.'"

"...To vulgarize cultural exchange by tying it to the cold war, as...newspapermen and government officials are suggesting that we do, is un-American and intolerable in the post-Geneva era that we're entering."

The Worker,  
October 9, 1955, pp. 8, 14.

"If Soviet musicians, dancers and other artists come here they'll come not only to perform but to learn. They'll study our stage techniques, our music and dancing and other arts to the end of improving their own work as artists and thereby enriching the lives of the people."

"...the doctors will rather spend their time in an effort to pool their knowledge and their skills to strengthen the battle to end heart disease, cancer, and the hundred and one other diseases that plague mankind.

"This is the hope and the promise in cultural and scientific exchange above and beyond the beginning of building world peace...."

Daily Worker,  
September 7, 1955, p. 7.

## 2. American Art

"...We labor here in the heart of a country that has taken art and made a mockery out of it, that has debased the written word as it has never been debased before, that has made of that bright electronic miracle, television, a medium so shameful that one is grateful for the darkness of the room in which it is viewed, that has made a travesty of the film and a mediocrity of the book...."

Daily Worker,  
November 17, 1955, p. 6.

"But, the social truth is that the writer of honest art for audiences of twenty million is in collision with the dominant social and political ideologies of the big business forces which pay for this culture. There is the hunger of the nation for genuine art, for a sense of its dignity, beauty and for the tragic purgation which gives meaning and direction to its life. There are the calculations of the hucksters for whom this art is nothing but the bait with which to trap the market for soap, cosmetics, vacuum cleaners, razor blades and canned beer. There is the artist himself, the hired hand, who knows, or finds out quickly, that his art creations must be moulded within the fixed limits of an arbitrary series of social values dictated 'from above' in many mysterious ways. These are the elements of the social and aesthetic struggle--for it takes an aesthetic form no less than a political or social one--which are observable in this battle for a new humanist-democratic decade in American culture."

Milton Howard, "Marty,"  
Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, p.54.

## 3. Science in America

"Scientific progress has been severely handicapped by political repression in our country...."

"It is to be hoped that the improved atmosphere created by the Four-Power Geneva Conference, and so quickly extended to the scientific field by the conference on the peaceful use of atomic energy, also held in Geneva, will develop fully and rapidly in our country."

Philip M. Tilden, "Comment on the Svetchnikov Article," Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 54.

"The field of education in the U.S. is another neat example of the direct pressure of socialist achievement on creaky capitalism. The inability of a private enterprise to work out an educational system to meet the needs of the atomic age is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the U. S. Non-existent social status and low pay for almost all the teachers, and science teachers in particular, along with the anti-intellectual virus which is rampant in the society, have brought the country with the highest technical development to a secondary position (behind the Soviet Union) in training new engineers and scientists. The belated recognition of this startling situation is again beginning to force reluctant changes in the U.S. educational system."

Daily Worker,  
November 8, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy

"...it is almost unbelievable to note that not until now could it be reported that for the first time an atomic power-producing reactor is to be built which will be devoted entirely to medical purposes."

. . . . .

"Primary assignment of the reactor will be research and experimentation into the possible uses of atomic energy for the treatment of various cancers. This is a field of tremendous promise, for the relief of cancers which have failed to respond to all other forms of therapy."



"Up to now, with the major resources of atomic energy research directed at production of bombs, it is a field in which the surface has barely been scratched."

"It is encouraging that at last a start is being made in the construction of a medical atomic reactor in Los Angeles, but it is only a start. The job cannot be done unless we stop treating atomic medicine as a very poor relation to atomic destruction."

Daily Worker,  
September 8, 1955, p. 6.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Mothers who work do so because of financial necessity.
2. More women should hold offices in labor unions.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Working Mothers

"How brazenly hypocritical it is to tell mothers to end the neglect of their children by ceasing to work and spending more time at home. Most mothers work not out of neglect of their children but so that their children will have adequate food, clothing and shelter...."

Robert Fogel, "The 'Juvenile Delinquency' Issue in New York State," Party Voice, 1955, No. 8, p. 6.

#### 2. Women in Labor Unions

"...Although the trade unions have probably four or more million women members, it is on the whole a movement led by men. There are practically no women leaders in the top officialdom; a tiny percentage at the middle-line level and a relatively small number in office at the local level. To most women the trade union looks like a 'stag' affair.

"THE PROBLEM of women in the trade union movement are often neglected or handled wrongly. Wage and other type of discrimination is still widespread."

"The backwardness of the unions on the 'woman question' gives the enemies of unionism an excellent opening...."

The Worker,  
September 11, 1955, pp. 2, 12.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. The majority of our children are economically underprivileged and are maturing after a decade of "reaction."
2. Juvenile delinquency is a social problem, rather than a problem of individual parents.
3. Financial insecurity, which requires parents to work, and the cold war are responsible for juvenile delinquency.
4. Improved housing, recreational facilities and social welfare services will reduce juvenile delinquency.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Today's Youth**

"Government statistics make clear that today a majority of our children are growing up in families and in areas unable to provide them with even the barest essentials--excluding such obviously disadvantaged groups as migrant farmers and those in employment that is not covered by minimum wage laws.

"...However, so long as the above social conditions prevail and parents are thus rendered insecure and their children likewise, children cannot remain impervious to violence in any aspect of our cultural life...."

The Worker,  
December 18, 1955, p. 10.

"Nevertheless, reaction has held the upper hand for a decade, exerting the decisive influence in American life, shaping the mentality of the nation and especially of the younger generation. The younger people, who

neither lived through the ferment of the thirties nor felt first hand the world achievement of the victorious war against fascism, and have experienced mostly the reactionary aftermath in this country, grapple with life from premises which stand in direct contradiction to the best in the American heritage. The entire system of public education and of higher learning, the mass media of communication and entertainment, as well as the arts and the sciences, are permeated with the obscurantist ideas of the intellectual underworld, while ideas of enlightenment and progress must fight for recognition."

James S. Allen, "Democratic Revival and the Marxists," Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, pp. 3-4.

## 2. Juvenile Delinquency

"...It is a hundred year old secret that capitalism has had a shattering effect on the family. Unlike feudalism which tended to strengthen the family both as an economic and social unit, capitalism splits it asunder. Mothers and children as well as fathers are drawn into industry. Not only are children deprived of the care and attention of their parents, but they themselves are usually drawn into production under such conditions as to deprive them of the time, opportunity and strength for adequate education, recreation, or the proper development of family relations. Moreover the younger the person is the more menial, temporary, unstable and frustrating is his job likely to be. Hired one day and on the street the next....

"What is wrong with much of the current writing on the subject is that it has taken the question of the break-up of the family and converted it from a social problem of capitalism into a problem of individual parents--of 'good' and 'bad' parents....Of course there are some neglectful and irresponsible parents. But the main pre-occupation of most working-class parents is the hard problem of how to keep their heads above water economically."

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"The whole situation has, of course, been severely aggravated by the heavy atmosphere of uncertainty created by the cold war. This, taken together with the economic factor, has undoubtedly combined and found reflection in all kinds of emotional and psychological pressures in the family.

"In the fight to alleviate juvenile delinquency there is undoubtedly room for family guidance services, for the psychiatrist and other medical services. But these things will have little meaning unless they are put into a vast program of the expansion of public nursery schools for younger children and properly staffed recreational centers for older ones, into a program for job training, slum clearance, higher wages and above all into the framework of a fight for peace."

"Perhaps the most ominous aspect of the picture is the increase in serious crimes committed by youth...."

"It is the cold war which explains the fact that one of the hallmarks of today's delinquency problem is a type of youthful violence and brutality that shocks the consciousness of millions of Americans, young and old alike."

"The connection between the cold war and the delinquency problem is unmistakable...."

Robert Fogel, "The 'Juvenile Delinquency' Issue in New York State," Party Voice, 1955, No. 8, pp. 6, 7.

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major current issues of international and national significance.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers, Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals, Political Affairs, Masses & Mainstream, and Party Voice, the latter being the organ of the New York State Communist Party.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the period from January through April, 1956, a number of issues were featured in the Communist Party line. The foreign policy of the United States, allegedly designed to precipitate an atomic war, was contrasted unfavorably with the policy of the Soviet Union, which was characterized as promoting world peace. The need for peaceful coexistence and greater American-Soviet friendship was stressed. The Party called for the inclusion of the Soviet Union in any discussions aimed at relieving the tension between Israel and the Arab States. Disarmament and the outlawing of nuclear weapons were also emphasized.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was hailed as "a truly historic event," and the dissolution of the Cominform was viewed as a further step by the communist bloc to relax international tension. The toleration of the "cult of the individual" by Stalin, the unjust execution of a number of communist leaders in the European satellite nations, and the prevalence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union were all criticized.

The Party held to its skeptical view of our current prosperity, and called for a reduction in taxes for the low-income group. It also promised to work for the defeat of the Republican candidates in the forthcoming national elections in an effort to return the members of the "Cadillac Cabinet" to private life. While conceding some improvement in the field of civil liberties, the Party warned that the fight against "McCarthyism" is far from over.

The labor movement was urged to fight for higher wages and a shorter work week. Considerable emphasis was placed on the importance of independent political action by labor. The Party also called for the admission of the "progressive-led" unions\* into the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

The Party advocated a return to ninety percent of parity and increased trade with the socialist nations to relieve the farm crisis, for which it held the Republican Administration responsible.

The Party continued its attempts to picture the United States as dominating the underdeveloped nations of the world, and predicted that these countries would eventually adopt socialism as their form of government.

\*Those unions expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950, as communist dominated.

The Party intensified its demands for the repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Smith Act, and the Walter-McCarran Act. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court which, in effect, nullified existing state sedition laws was considered a "tremendous victory." The use of confidential informants was condemned, and Congressional investigations were attacked.

Communist agitation for drastic cuts in the appropriations for national defense continued. The Party claimed that the savings thus effected should be used for a broad program of public works and public welfare services.

Recent developments in the Southern States were interpreted by the Party as evidence of a new "wave of terrorism and lawlessness." The Party's program called for Federal intervention to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the South, the enactment of civil rights legislation during the current session of Congress, and the removal of Senator James O. Eastland from the United States Senate.

Party propaganda insisted that the shortage of educational facilities and school teachers could be relieved only by a large-scale program of Federal assistance.

American culture, science, and art were contrasted unfavorably with similar fields of activity in the Soviet Union. The Party also called for Federal subsidies to promote the development of the fine arts in the United States.

The Party urged that more women workers should be unionized, and called for the enactment of legislation which would guarantee women "equal pay for equal work."

Party attempts to relate juvenile delinquency to international tension continued, as did Party demands for Federal aid to provide improved health, educational, and welfare benefits for the youth of our country.

#### B. Conclusions

1. In an effort to increase its membership and influence, the Communist Party, USA, is striving to create the impression that it is a legitimate American political party, completely independent of the CPSU. However, there are no indications that the Party plans to abandon its previous policy of defending the Soviet Union as the leading socialist nation.
2. For reasons of tactical expediency, the Communist Party, USA, is expected to continue its advocacy of the possibility of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and communist nations. However, no decrease in communist propaganda regarding the intensification of the class struggle in the United States is expected.



3. During his speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in February, 1956, Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev allegedly revised communist theory by conceding that, in certain nations, the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible. The Communist Party, USA, will, in all probability, attempt to capitalize on this alleged modification of communist doctrine and emphasize the claim that it does not advocate the use of force and violence to gain power in this country.
4. In his speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev also urged that the communist and socialist parties correlate their future activities more closely. The Communist Party, USA, can, therefore, be expected to seek areas of agreement with other socialist-oriented organizations in the United States in an effort to develop a broad socialist coalition.
5. As the forthcoming national elections draw closer, Party appeals for the defeat of the Republican Administration will probably be intensified. While Party predictions of the eventual emergence of a new third party are expected to continue, there are no indications that the Party plans to initiate any organizational steps toward this goal in the immediate future.
6. The Communist Party, USA, claims to detect an improvement in the political climate of the United States at the present time. It is, therefore, anticipated that the Party will press its demands for the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and will continue its attacks on the use of confidential informants.
7. None of the recent gains achieved by Negroes in the United States can be traced to the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, in their behalf. However, the Party is expected to continue its attempts to capitalize on Negro demands for complete social, political, and economic equality by exploiting alleged racial segregation and discrimination, as well as any acts of violence perpetrated against Negroes.

\* As a matter of fact, while tactical changes have been instituted, there have been no changes in basic communist theory and objectives.

8. Realizing that its past policies have alienated numerous potential supporters, the Communist Party, USA, is attempting to find a way out of the isolated position in which it now finds itself. The Party is, therefore, expected to stress those issues which enjoy a broad popular appeal, rather than any ideological or tactical differences which may preclude united action with noncommunist organizations for specific common objectives.

## CONFIDENTIAL

### I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policy of the United States is designed to precipitate an atomic war, as opposed to the efforts of the Soviet Union to promote peaceful coexistence.
2. The cold war has been highly profitable to the "ruling circles" in the United States.
3. American-Soviet friendship should replace the present "armed truce" between the two nations.
4. Armaments should be reduced, and the use of nuclear weapons should be prohibited.
5. Foreign aid should be predominantly economic, and should be offered without any consideration of military alliances.
6. Tension in the Middle East can be resolved through negotiations at which the Soviet Union should be represented.
7. The United States should increase its trade with the socialist nations.
8. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was "a truly historic event."
9. Stalin's achievements were weakened because he fostered the "cult of the individual."
10. The revelation of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union represented a "gross departure" from the principles of socialism.
11. The purges in the satellite nations were a "terrible miscarriage of justice."
12. The dissolution of the Cominform will advance the cause of peace.
13. At the present time socialism is stronger than capitalism and, in the future, will further develop.

CONFIDENTIAL

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"As for the past, Dulles' policy, as continually exposed by the Daily Worker, was not one designed to lead the country only to the brink of war in the name of saving world peace, but into actual war itself; for the purpose of advancing the world conquest program of Wall Street."

. . . . .

"AS FOR THE PRESENT, the essential purpose of Mr. Dulles' 'brink of war' policy is to throw dust in the eyes of the American people, in order to confuse and undermine their peace spirit, and to delude them into accepting as effective peace steps, the huge armaments and arrogant foreign policies that Dulles has in mind for this country...."

"As for the future, the treacherous policy is a sinister snare. It is a clumsy attempt to trick the Socialist bloc of nations into taking aggressive actions by making them first believe that, despite all its signs of belligerency, the U.S., in any event will go no further than the war's edge...."

. . . . .

"...the Eisenhower Administration, through its man Friday, Dulles, has been carrying on a policy actually aimed at precipitating a great atomic war."

Daily Worker,  
January 20, 1956, p. 5.

### 2. The Cold War

"The ruling circles in our country have no intention, if they can help it, of voluntarily ending the cold war in the period ahead. For this cold war is a highly profitable affair for them, and not only in terms of armaments production. It is a double-edged weapon--one edge is directed against the Socialist world and the other presses against the

throats of its imperialist rivals. For under cover of various aspects of the cold war, the Wall Street monopolies have been able to penetrate into the economies, markets and raw material sources of the other big capitalist powers, thereby subjugating them to the effective control of Wall Street. In addition, the cold war serves the monopolists as a pretext for massive inroads upon the living standards and democratic liberties of our people...."

Max Weiss, "Geneva and '56,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 7.

### 3. Peaceful Coexistence

"...the issue today is not just co-existence between America and the USSR under present conditions of an arms race. The issue is not just that our country and the USSR won't attack one another. The real issue is the necessity of replacing the arms race with friendship, trade and cooperation between both countries."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1956, p. 4.

"...it is not enough when the two most powerful countries in the world--the U.S.A. and USSR--merely tolerate one another without fighting. We have pointed out again and again that America's self-interest requires American-Soviet friendship...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 16, 1956, p. 5.

"...In brief, the objective of the peace camp is to advance from 'armed truce' to peaceful coexistence."

Max Weiss, "Geneva and '56,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 12.

#### 4. Disarmament

"What America needs is not a bigger and better arms race, and more billions down that drain, but a halt to the arms race. Obviously we need arms limitation and reduction of arms based on international control and inspection."

"It's the height of stupidity to think that in this situation we can dictate terms to the Russians. What's needed of course is bona-fide negotiations--NOW."

Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1956, p. 5.

#### 5. Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

"...Let our country take leadership FOR PEACE. Let us propose continuous big power negotiations till all outstanding issues are settled. Let us take the initiative in proposing world disarmament. Let us start by endorsing such a minimum plan as that urged by Pope Pius XII--an end to all hydrogen bomb test explosions."

Daily Worker,  
February 29, 1956, p. 5.

#### 6. Foreign Aid

"...The under-developed countries there, as elsewhere, need economic and financial aid, without strings, to pull themselves up by the bootstraps. They want such help, not guns or military alliances.... Instead of organizing military alliances against the Soviet Union, let our country compete with the Soviet Union on a peaceful basis to see who can extend the most economic assistance to these areas. Then perhaps the fear which the millions all over the world have of our country will begin to be dissipated."

Max Weiss, "Geneva and '56,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 9.

"Foreign aid is good and necessary from every point of view. But if it is to serve America, if it is to promote a successful foreign policy, it should be predominantly economic, and it should be given without strings attached."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 21, 1956, p. 5.

7. Tension in the Middle East

"It is plain as day that the arms race in the Middle East originated from the efforts of the oil trusts here and in Britain to control the liquid black gold. And it was stimulated by the efforts to build a Middle East military bloc directed against the Soviet Union--the Baghdad Pact."

"The issue of peace in the Middle East, peace which alone can save the independence of Israel, cries out for immediate action. Peace requires an end to the arms race.

"Certainly Israel needs arms for its defense, just as any country anywhere requires defensive armament. But peace won't come from arms shipments. Peace will come by defeating the State Department's ruthless drive for domination of the oil rich Middle East. Peace will come if the Big Four get together to bring Israelis and Arabs together at one table."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 20, 1956, p. 5.

8. Increased Trade with Socialist Nations

"At this very moment the USSR sells to this country ten times as much as we sell to the Soviet Union. Is that how shrewd Yankee traders conduct their business?"

"Our warehouses are bulging with surplus food. Each day it costs American taxpayers \$1 million just to store the surplus...."

"AT THIS VERY moment British and the Soviet leaders in London are discussing a vast increase of trade. The British, by inviting Bulganin and Khrushchev to visit them, are putting butter on British bread. For example, the British want to sell ships and tractors, America too wants to sell such products. But the British are winning those markets in the USSR, in China, and elsewhere."

Daily Worker,  
April 23, 1956, p. 5.

"...America's national interest requires an end to the Cold War, substantial trade with the Socialist countries on the basis of equality..."

"Letter and Reply: East-West Trade,"  
Masses & Mainstream, January, 1956,  
p. 49.

## 9. Soviet Foreign Policy

"...As Lenin and Stalin have stated upon innumerable occasions, and as 38 years of Soviet foreign policy have fully borne out, Socialist international policies are based upon the principles of the peaceful co-existence of all states, regardless of the nature of their internal regimes. This means that the inevitable competition between capitalism and Socialism, which will probably extend over a protracted period, should be carried on within the general framework of world peace and of the friendship of the many peoples...."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of  
Socialism to World Leadership,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 21.



10. 20th Congress CPSU

"The 20th Congress is a truly historic event. It has had a tremendous impact on the whole world. This is because it registered great achievements, as well as projected the way to new advances in the struggle for peace and in the further development of socialism...."

"...Big Business and its press are trying to use the issue of the re-evaluation of Stalin's role to blot out of the people's mind the significance of the Congress for the peace and well-being of the peoples everywhere."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1956, pp. 5, 13.

11. Reappraisal of Stalin

"Stalin, in his earlier years, earned an outstanding reputation as a Marxist, by his great fight against the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bucharin traitors, especially in the big struggle around the elementary question of building Socialism in one country, by the initiation and application of the five-year plans, etc. The issue now is not that he made a number of mistakes during his long leadership; in any event mistakes would have been made in handling the many immense and complex tasks that the USSR has had to face ever since its establishment."

Daily Worker,  
March 28, 1956, p. 4.

"...In the earlier stages of his work up to the middle thirties, Stalin although always an aggressive leader, did not yet markedly display his bureaucratic trends.... But eventually, as it has been made evident, his tendency toward one-man leadership developed, but for reasons that

are not yet clear, but may have been pathological. With his already great reputation as a basis, he managed, egotistically, in the conditions of high discipline prevailing over long periods, to take unto himself undeserved credit for the many huge achievements which the Communist Party and the Soviet people were making and to reduce the practice of collective leadership to the vanishing point. The 'cult' of the individual with all its grave negative consequences, was the result. "\*

"The ultimate result of the process of revaluating Stalin will be a great improvement in the inner-life and general effectiveness everywhere of the Communist parties. . . ."

Daily Worker,  
April 4, 1956, pp. 4, 7.

## 12. Soviet Anti-Semitism

"WE FEEL a deep sense of indignation, anger and grief over the latest disclosures of violation of socialist principles under the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union. We refer to the apparent confirmation this week by a Jewish Communist paper in Poland of the charge that a large number of Jewish writers and other Jewish leaders were framed up and executed and that Jewish culture was virtually wiped out.

"We denounce and protest this crime not only because of the horrible actions themselves. We have here a gross departure from the socialist principles upon which the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the history of man, is founded."

"We register our strong dissatisfaction that the Soviet leaders have not offered any explanation of what took place."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 13, 1956, p. 5.

\*With reference to typographical errors, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining.

"IT IS TRUE that these outrages, which evoke the most profound horror and indignation, were perpetrated by Beria's gang and their predecessors as part of their conscious policy of stirring up national hatreds and animosities and attempting to undermine Soviet society..."

"...their misdeeds and crimes against the Soviet people, including the Jews, did grave harm to the Soviet Union...and reverberated with damage beyond the borders of the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker,  
April 16, 1956, p. 4.

### 13. Purges in the Satellite Nations

"No explanation and no mitigating circumstances can excuse the terrible miscarriage of justice uncovered with the announcement that Laszlo Rajk and his associates were executed by the Hungarian government on false and framed-up charges."

"...The frame-up of Rajk and other Hungarian Communist leaders was a result of the false charges brought against Tito in 1948 by Soviet leaders."

"...We therefore express our most profound indignation and protest against the frame-up and murder of Laszlo Rajk and his associates."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 2, 1956, p. 5.

14. Dissolution of the Cominform

"DISSOLUTION of the Cominform--to which the American Communist Party was never affiliated--is a welcome step."

"The dissolution of the Cominform reaffirms an old truth--that working people everywhere will take their own, national path to socialism. The idea of a common blueprint for socialism was always alien to Marxism."

"The dissolution of the Cominform will help advance the continuing relaxation of international tension. It should encourage the efforts, so necessary for our country, to achieve a lasting peace, possible through understanding and friendship between us and the socialist countries."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 19, 1956, p. 5.

"DISSOLUTION of the Cominform not only created a better atmosphere in the British-Soviet talks but reflected the trend toward unity of socialists, communists and liberals in the fight for peace and democracy...."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1956, p. 4.

15. Socialism vs. Capitalism

"FOR THE PAST FOUR DECADES, since the Russian Revolution of November 1917, the most important political fact in the contemporary world has been the growth of Socialism as an organized social system and the spread of its influence throughout the world...."

"There are now 17 countries which are either actually building Socialism or are definitely orientating in that direction.... Together these countries embrace 900,000,000 people; or about 40 percent of the world's population. They constitute the beginning of the new Socialist world."

"The course of events over the past one-third of a century, with advancing Socialism and a decaying capitalism, amounts to a growing shift in power relationships between the capitalist and Socialist worlds, a shift which is definitely and dramatically in favor of the latter. This shift has now proceeded so far as inevitably to put upon the world's agenda the question as to which of the two systems is presently the stronger, capitalism or Socialism, and in what respects."

"...in various vital respects Socialism, on a world scale, is definitely and concretely the stronger of the two systems. It has shown itself in practice to be the superior of the two systems. This is manifestly the case, as we have seen above, in its incomparably stronger theory, Marxism-Leninism; its far more rapid rate of industrial growth; its much greater ability to develop and apply modern techniques and to extend industrialization to the undeveloped countries; its spectacular advances in science and in the production of scientists; its far more fundamental democracy and racial equality; its more effective improvement of the living standards, health and general welfare of the masses; the greater political unity and solidarity of its peoples; its sounder educational system and general culture; its demonstrated ability to grow in a revolutionary way despite all capitalist resistance, and, last but not least, the leading position of Marxism-Leninism in the world labor movement. Of decisive significance, as the foundation of these several developments is the fact that the dynamics of social evolution, on every front, are operating in favor of world Socialism and against world capitalism."

"The most important practical consequence of the swiftly increasing weight of world Socialism--economically, politically, culturally, diplomatically-- is that this growth, by the same token, will vastly improve the prospect for the peaceful co-existence of all nations, whatever the character of their internal regimes...."

"...From now on, on the basis of a more or less prolonged period of peaceful co-existence, as Socialism begins to enter into the period of its developing superiority on a world scale, the tempo of its forward thrust will become faster. And when the movement actually and obviously goes 'over the summit' and into 'the down-hill pull,' then we may expect still swifter Socialist advances."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership," Political Affairs, February, 1956, pp. 12, 14, 29, 31, 33.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity is based on military spending and over-extended credit.
2. In spite of this prosperity, one half of America's families earn less than the minimum required to live modestly.
3. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
4. A Federal program of public housing is necessary to relieve the housing crisis.
5. Corruption in Government is inherent under the capitalist system.
6. The Republican Administration should be defeated in the 1956 elections.
7. The country is slowly moving toward the restoration of the Bill of Rights to its proper place. However, the recent closing of Communist Party offices and the offices of the Daily Worker, as well as the practice of "blacklisting," indicates that further struggle will be necessary.
8. Communists should not be deprived of pension and Social Security benefits.
9. Morton Sobell should be granted a new trial.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Prosperity

"A MAMMOTH public relations campaign is under way aimed at convincing millions of workers who also are voters--that the Eisenhower

regime is responsible for the prevailing economic condition, hailed by the press agents as 'prosperity.' "

"...this 'prosperity' is based on big armaments expenditures which tend to buoy the economy temporarily as well as on a crazy-quilt credit structure that has grown to fantastic proportions."

Daily Worker,  
February 23, 1956, p. 4.

2. Standard of Living

"But from other sources, we know there are vast section of four people\* who, in the midst of all this record production and income and spending live at a starvation level, or close to it."

"...with all this vaunted prosperity, half of America's families had from \$1, 000 to \$5, 000 less than needed to live modestly!

"Living standards also include the kinds of homes in which people live, schools, health and hospital facilities. The education crisis, and that in health facilities, has been much discussed. The President's Economic Report does little to propose that some of the great wealth be used to overcome these crises."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 26, 1956, p. 5.

\* Probably should read "vast sections of our people."



### 3. Tax Reductions

"Nationally, President Eisenhower has ruled out any tax cut at this time, while the Lyndon Johnson sector of the Democratic Party continues to backtrack on a tax cut also. It will take a big struggle by labor and the people's organizations to force any kind of meaningful tax cut for the majority of the people in this country. Yet such a tax cut would be the biggest wage boost gained by all the workers and is also closely linked with the fight for a peacetime economy."

Lillian Gates, "Albany and Washington  
Astir for '56,"  
Party Voice, 1956, --No. 1, p. 3.

"... The biggest tax burdens are lifted from the shoulders of the rich, and placed on the workers' backs. So no one need wonder why the Cadillac drivers love Eisenhower so much. And Secretary of the Treasury as well."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1956, p. 3.

### 4. Housing Crisis

"SINCE the end of World War II, our country has been faced with a major housing crisis, accentuated in all major industrial and commercial centers....

"... The housing shortage has increased rents, resulted in overcrowding, abandonment of services by landlords. All this has contributed to undermining the general social stability of millions of individual lives."

"The Eisenhower Administration rejects government responsibility for housing for the masses. It says free enterprise will do the job. It has made available billions to private real estate sharks for housing development. But virtually all of the construction is for high-priced apartments."

"Government intervention and only the government can build adequate low cost housing and even low middle income housing for the masses. Government intervention must be seen as the only decisive answer to the mass solution of this question...."

"Public Housing must become one of the key national issues in the '56 elections...."

John Lavin, "Housing,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No.1, pp. 9, 10.

##### 5. Corruption in Government

"EVERY FEW YEARS, one or another aspect of the all-pervasive corruption of our political system pops to the surface briefly and causes a wringing of hands in Washington."

"WE SHOULD note, though, that the scandals involved--whether campaign contributions or direct bribes--are not some passing evils, a mess that can be cleaned up by investigation and corrective measures by Congress. They are part of the profound, all-pervasive corruption which is systematic and inseparable from a society in which wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. They are part, but only part, of the technique by which monopoly maintains its rule in our bourgeois democratic setup."

Daily Worker,  
February 28, 1956, p. 5.

6. 84th Congress

"Labor, and the Negro, farm and other groups allied with it, are, therefore, faced with a difficult legislative year, notwithstanding the large number in Congress who were endorsed by them. It will take an extraordinary movement, aimed primarily at the Big Business administration but also at many of those often responsive to labor, to develop an effective fight in Congress for the pending bills that substantially respond to the needs of the people."

"...There is no time to waste. The members of Congress must hear from their constituents NOW!"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 9, 1956, p. 5.

"During the first session of the 84th Congress critics of the inactivity of the Democratic leadership were put off with the excuse that during the second session adequate legislation would be forthcoming. But the second session is now half over, and the record of Congress is at the same dismal level as last year."

The Worker,  
April 1, 1956, p. 4.

7. 1956 Republican Candidates

"THE GOP and the Big Business interests are throwing their hats in the air.

"Their relentless pressure to get President Eisenhower to ignore his health and run again, has succeeded, and they are already cashing in on what seems to them certain victory."

"THE GOP was determined that Eisenhower run again at all costs because he was such a successful front behind which the Cadillac gang could operate. To turn out the Cadillac Cabinet requires the defeat of Eisenhower...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 2, 1956, p. 5.

"The plot to ride Nixon into the White House on Eisenhower's coattails should be recognized by the American people.... Nixon should not be on the ticket."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 17, 1956, p. 5.

#### 8. Communist Role in 1956 Elections

"...the '56 electoral objectives can be formulated as follows:

"1) To help organize a movement for democratic unity and varied electoral coalitions which express the popular majority's desires... To help build democratic-labor mass movements and electoral alliances capable of influencing the course of the elections and of exerting increasing pressure upon the Administration and Congress which will be elected in '56.

"2) Within this context, to join with labor, the farmers, the Negro people, the small businessmen and the professionals, the women and the youth in their efforts to oust the reactionary Cadillac Cabinet and to make substantial inroads upon the GOP-Dixiecrat majority in Congress..."\*

Albert E. Blumberg, "The '56 Elections,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 20.

\*Underlined words italicized in original.

"For our part, we Communists shall work to defeat, at all costs, the Nixon-Dulles-Knowland, McCarthy-Eastland crew--the most rabid warmongers, pro-fascists, open-shoppers, and white supremacists. But this does not mean that the American Left, which includes the American Communist Party, is going to tail after the Donkey while riding herd on the Elephant."

Eugene Dennis, "After Five Years,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 8.

#### 9. Return to the Bill of Rights

"Whatever the ups-and-downs of the immediate struggle for constitutional rights in the days ahead--and there will be ups-and-downs and zig-zags--the main direction is defined. While the tempo of return towards the Bill of Rights is intolerably slow, it is already clear that some powerful currents are at work in the direction of a restoration of political rights for all."

Daily Worker,  
March 14, 1956, p. 4.

"There are powerful forces trying to stop the return to sanity and constitutional procedure. The End of McCarthyism cannot be taken for granted. It must be fought for every step of the way."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 31, 1956, p. 5.

#### 10. Blacklisting

"These gigantic blacklisting operations, based on faceless informers, are an outgrowth of the old 'loyalty' program that Acheson\* now concedes was a mistake. Chief Justice Warren says that eight million

\*Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State.

Americans are directly affected, and the number is growing daily. Industries as far removed from 'defense' as newspaper and entertainment are firing and blacklisting workers."

Sam Coleman, "On Constitutional Rights,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 6.

11. Closing of Party and Daily Worker Offices

"In flagrant disregard for the freedoms of speech and press... Treasury Secretary George Humphrey's T-Men descended upon the offices of the Daily Worker here in New York and on our branch offices in Detroit and Chicago. They simultaneously seized the national offices of the Communist Party in New York and district offices in various cities.

"In each instance they used the same pretext--the charge that vast sums were owed the federal government for income taxes over a number of years. But the charge is only a cynical camouflage to cover their real intent, to gag this paper and to silence the Communist Party."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 28, 1956, pp. 1-2.

"AMERICANS breathe easier today over the fate of democracy because the Daily Worker and the Communist Party have won back their premises.

"The collapse of the 8-day invasion by the Treasury agents is a resounding victory for freedom of the press, the right of political association, and against illegal entry and seizure."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 5, 1956, p. 5.

12. Restore Pension Benefits to Communists

"The Administrations's attack on the rights of Americans is spreading from this program, now encompassing the pension rights of veterans like Bob Thompson and Saul Wellman, and the Social Security rights of Communist Party employees. How vicious the Administration can become is limited only by the struggle of the people." \*

Sam Coleman, "On Constitutional Rights," Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 6.

"...restore the pensions of Robert Thompson, Saul Wellman, Robert Klonsky and other ex-GIs who are Smith Act victims." \*

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 23, 1956, p. 5.

13. New Trial for Morton Sobell

"FOR GOING ON six years now Morton Sobell, who is at present confined in Alcatraz Federal penitentiary, has been held in jail after having been convicted on trumped-up charges, of 'conspiracy to commit espionage.' Sobell stands condemned to serve a total sentence of 30 years on the American Devil's Island...."

"In the fight for Sobell, the main issue now is to see to it that he is granted a new trial...."

Daily Worker,  
January 9, 1956, p. 5.

\*Thompson, Wellman and Klonsky are communist leaders who have been convicted of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

14. United Front of the "Left"

"...another look needs to be taken at our attitude toward other socialist trends in the country. Up until now, we have tended to view them mainly as competitors for the minds of socialist-minded Americans, and this they no doubt are. The question is whether we do not need to place our main emphasis on developing unity with these currents in order to use our combined strength to expand socialist education in America, though we may differ as regard to political tactics."

Daily Worker,  
April 24, 1956, p. 5.



### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Corporate profits are at an all-time high as a result of Government concessions to big business.
2. Unemployment is rising.
3. Labor should strive for higher wages, a shorter work week, stronger guaranteed annual wage provisions, and a minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour.
4. The labor movement should dismiss any illusions about the possibility of labor-management harmony.
5. The Republican Administration is attempting to discredit the labor movement.
6. The unions previously expelled from the CIO as communist dominated should be admitted into the AFL-CIO.
7. The labor movement should increase its independent political activity.
8. There should be an exchange of labor delegations between the United States and the socialist nations.
9. The American working class should develop an international outlook.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Corporate Profits

"The most spectacular aspect of the 1955 boom was undoubtedly the mountainous profits reaped by the capitalist class....

"...in 1955 profits jumped to record levels. When depreciation allowances are added to profits (a necessary calculation in order to take into account the huge quantities of hidden profit masked as depreciation), the profit picture is staggering. While production between 1953 and 1955 increased only 6%, profits after-taxes rose 27%."

David Goldway, "The Economic Outlook for 1956," Political Affairs, April, 1956, p. 51.

## 2. Republican Administration is Pro-Big Business

"In addition to making military spending and arms production a 'built-in' feature of our economy, the Administration has intervened in the economy to maintain the high rate of profit of Big Business in a number of other ways. Tax concessions, rapid depreciation write-offs, and various similar devices have been developed. It is estimated that the U. S. Treasury alone loses \$8 billion a year through tax loopholes for the rich. Give-aways of natural resources, monetary and credit manipulation--these have been raised to new levels by the Cadillac Cabinet."

Ibid., p. 57.

## 3. Rising Unemployment

"The sharp increases in productivity have meant record profits to the monopoly employers. To labor, they have meant that the boom has not eliminated unemployment, but has left it appreciably higher than in 1953."

"Characteristically, the major weight of unemployment has fallen on the backs of Negro workers, youth, women and other specially oppressed sectors of the population."

Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

4. Higher Wages

"WHEN the AFL-CIO executive council in Miami Beach said labor should get 'substantial' wage increases this year, it was an understatement in the light of the super-profits and the automation-spurred productivity rate the corporations are enjoying."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1956, p. 3.

"If any proof were needed that a 'substantial' round of 1956 raises is in order... the profit figures should remove all doubts."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 22, 1956, p. 5.

5. Minimum Wage

"STARTING THIS morning your wages, if you are among 24 million covered by the Wage-Hour Law, cannot be less than \$1 an hour. Don't let the boss cheat you out of a penny of it, or chisel into the new minimum in any other way."

"Now, for the next big push to extend coverage under the law for the millions of workers still uncovered, like those in the retail and distributive trades. And labor will continue to press for the \$1.25 minimum and shorter hours."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 1, 1956, p. 5.

## 6. Guaranteed Annual Wage

"The lesson is perhaps obvious to all. Expansion and automation have only one aim; to displace the majority of the workers. To make worthless many skills learned over years of hard work and sacrifice. It is too late to save jobs after the workers have been displaced.

"The main strategy of Big Business is to postpone the fight over GAW,\* and every protection to save jobs, until it is too late to benefit the majority of their employees. The big propaganda campaign about 'prosperity' 'boom' and 'record employment' is aimed at slowing down the workers' pressure for GAW. To stall this off 'until later.'"

The Worker,  
March 18, 1956, p. 14.

## 7. Shorter Work Week

"It seems to me that our labor movement has got into a routine of seeking annual wage rounds that bring wages up a few pennies. But sight is lost of some big things that are taking place as a result of which the workers are actually being pushed back and their job and trade security is becoming increasingly more threatened...."

"In the light of the trend it is as old fashioned to limit demands to some small-change raises and adjustments as it is for the employers to use obsolete machines. The shorter workweek, without loss of pay; guarantees and job security are the kind of issues that should be pressed with most vigor."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1956, pp. 3, 14.

\*Guaranteed Annual Wage.

8. No Labor-Management Harmony

"...although America's labor movement is most influenced by the ideology of capitalism there is no country that has as many strikes, as many workers in strikes, such intense strikes and such long strikes, as we have had through American history and continue to have. And nowhere is the contrast between the riches of the real rulers and the condition of the workers, so great.

"...If you recognize there is a class struggle then it follows labor's policy, too, should be a class-struggle policy (or philosophy)....

"If there is a struggle... then it follows we should have a policy of struggle and sow no illusions of a possible class peace."

Daily Worker,  
March 14, 1956, p. 5.

"Our labor leaders should stop kidding their members and the public with 'non-aggression'--'mutual trusteeship' and 'industry council' plans, and get down earnestly to the business of mobilizing the full unity and vigor of labor in support of the long, tough struggles now in progress all over the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 28, 1956, p. 5.

9. Westinghouse Strike

"AFTER 157 days on strike, the 44,000 striking members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) go back to work on terms that provide both substantial improvements and, in a major sense, a rebuff for the company's plan to chisel into their living standards and job security.

"This has been the longest major walkout since the long mine strike of the late 20s. The company displayed the full viciousness and arrogance of the employers that has been mounting through the many long strikes since the advent of the Eisenhower regime. But the walkout also showed that the resistance and tenacity of the workers has mounted to new levels."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 22, 1956, p. 5.

10. Labor Racketeering

"THE RACKETEER issue is a convenient handle useful in the power struggle. And it seems that the Eisenhower administration, in a masterly stroke of strategy, has decided to walk right into the middle of it for its own anti-labor objections. \* Its special racket division of the Department of Justice timed a series of grand jury investigations into labor racketeering, and placed them in New York, so as to... lend encouragement to a split in labor; and second to smear labor as a whole as racket-saturated so as to discredit in the public eye its role in the presidential campaign."

Daily Worker,  
April 20, 1956, pp. 5-7.

11. Organizing Drive in the South

"Of all the immediate tasks facing the AFL-CIO with respect to Negro-white unity none is more important than that of organizing the unorganized in the South.... The demand for organizing the South must reach a level of intensity that will result in the Federation's passing over from words to deeds on this question."

Edward E. Strong, "Developments in the  
Negro-Labor Alliance,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 43.

\*Probably should read "objectives."

## 12. Labor Unity

"There is also the problem of the further process of unity between international unions, State and city councils, as well as C. I. O. -PAC\* and A. F. of L. -LLPE.\*\* The process of further unification should include the various independent unions that are still outside the federation. These unions encompass more than two million workers. They are divided into two main groups. The first group includes such unions as the railroad workers and the United Mine workers and various independent one-shop organizations. The second group includes the independent progressive-led unions expelled by the C. I. O. in 1948. It is clear that the merger convention will bring about new pressures for uniting all these unions within the main stream of labor as represented by the AFL-CIO."

Hal Simon, "The Labor Merger,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 65.

## 13. Labor's Independent Political Action

"UNFORTUNATELY, too much of labor's political action is still of the kind that makes it a tail to the Democrats. That plays into the hands of those who cry 'no politics.' The best step in the direction of defeating those who would weaken labor's political action is the move already begun in some places...to organize labor's forces and its friends, in INDEPENDENT machinery in each congressional district from the precinct up, through which labor can wage its campaign, and spend its political money as it sees fit, for the candidatse of ANY party it may endorse."

The Worker,  
February 26, 1956, p. 13.

"...the pressures of the workingclass on the politicians of the two capitalist parties will reach a stage where a third party will become necessary. . as a major force in our political life. It probably will not be socialist in its beginnings, though this cannot be predicted certainly.

\*Political Action Committee.

\*\*Labor's League for Political Education.

"But as socialism advances on a world scale, and as American capitalism becomes more and more incapable of providing the American people with their needs, the workingclass will pass from the struggle for reform to the struggle for socialism."

Daily Worker,  
April 25, 1956, p. 8.

14. Exchange of Labor Delegations with USSR

"...It is inconceivable that the federation leadership will for long be able to prevent the natural desires of the American workers to see for themselves what is going on in the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies."

Hal Simon, "The Labor Merger,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 64.

15. Proletarian Internationalism

"...And as the years go by and the advance into Socialism becomes faster and upon an even broader scale, the need for proletarian internationalism constantly grows and becomes more decisive. Above all, the American working class has need to be thoroughly international in its outlook and policies."

Daily Worker,  
March 15, 1956, p. 5.



#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The steadily deteriorating farm crisis is contributing to rising unemployment.
2. The farm program of the Republican Administration is designed to aid the large-scale farmers and to drive the smaller farmers from the land.
3. The labor movement should support the demands of the farmers for the restoration of price supports to at least ninety percent of parity.
4. Increased trade with the socialist nations would help to relieve the agricultural crisis.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. The Farm Crisis

"An outstanding contradictory feature of the 1955 boom was the continuing and deepening farm crisis. The boom did not touch the agricultural sector of the economy at all. On the contrary, the farm crisis has deepened during the period of the upturn."

David Goldway, "The Economic Outlook for 1956,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1956, p. 55.

##### 2. Farm Crisis Contributes to Rising Unemployment

"A by-product of the crisis in agriculture is the forcing of hundreds of thousands of people out of farming each year, especially Negro tenants and sharecroppers on the Southern plantations. This phenomenon contributes to the unemployment problem, and could be a

serious factor when a general economic downturn develops. In addition, it is cutting the market for farm equipment and other commodities bought by farmers, and thus weakening the industrial economy as well."

Ibid., p. 56.

### 3. Republican Administration Farm Program

"Furthermore, the effect of government farm programs throughout the post-war period, and especially during the Eisenhower Administration, has been to aggravate the farm crisis. While the government has bought up agricultural surpluses and thereby kept the bottom from falling out of the market for a number of farm commodities, it has at the same time contributed greatly to the growth of large-scale, highly capitalized farms. The pattern of government farm loans is deliberately designed to give aid to the big rather than the small farmers, thus providing a major source of capital for the farm giants in the battle against their small competitors. The current Eisenhower-Benson program of curtailing production, lowering parity ratios, and seeking to drive more farm families off the land, only serves to sharpen the farm crisis."

Ibid., pp. 55-56.

### 4. Veto of the Farm Aid Bill

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER took to the air on Monday night, to try to excuse the inexcusable.

"His veto earlier in the day of the farm aid bill was an outrage against farmers who are feeling the burdens of a continued farm crisis.

"The veto was dictated by the big business interests that run the Cadillac Cabinet and big business 'farmers,' as personified by Ezra Taft Benson.

"... The theory of the Cadillac Cabinet is that only profitable business has a right to continue, that those farmers who cannot make a go of it through no fault of their own, should be driven off the land and leave agriculture in the hands of corporation-farming."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 18, 1956, p. 5.

#### 5. Restore Farm Price Supports

"... President Eisenhower's farm program bears little relation to the main question confronting the farmer right now, that of falling income.

"Hence the program is not likely to divert the small farmers and their allies from their demand that Congress restore the farm price supports in existence before the Eisenhower Administration cut them down in 1954."

"... the small farmer, in alliance with the labor movement, will have to blast out of Congress a far more basic plan, one which the Eisenhower message vehemently opposes; namely, increase of price supports to at least 90 percent of parity.

"It is not an ideal program by far. It is the one that stands a chance of adoption this year."

Daily Worker,  
January 12, 1956, pp. 5, 6.

6. Farmers Need Support of Labor Movement

"It is also time that labor and the people's organizations generally gave more support to the farmers' demands..."

Lillian Gates, "Albany and Washington  
Astir for '56,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 3.

"Labor played an important part last year in the House battle for 90 percent price supports, and can be decisive again. Not only will this help the hard-pressed small farmer, but it will strengthen the bond of worker and farmer in the upcoming elections."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 12, 1956, p. 5.

7. Increased Trade Will Relieve Farm Crisis

"All the world knows about our crisis of surplus food. We are spending one million dollars a day just to store this surplus.... And in this situation Agriculture Secretary Benson says the Administration has been compelled again to turn down offers from the socialist countries to buy some of this surplus. As though they wouldn't be doing American farmers and American taxpayers a favor if they bought this surplus food instead of letting it rot on Liberty ships."

Daily Worker,  
February 1, 1956, p. 5.

"...the foreign markets for U.S. agriculture are slashed by the militarization of official foreign trade policy, by the general shrinkage

of the capitalist world market and the growing competition in it, and by the Government's policy of preventing development of trade with the socialist world."

David Goldway, "The Economic Outlook  
for 1956,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1956, p. 55.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The disintegration of colonialism is a disaster to world capitalism.
2. The Near East, Asia, and Africa are revolting against colonial exploitation.
3. The United States continues to dominate Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands, as well as all of Latin America.
4. Imperialism imposes poverty on colonial nations.
5. Socialism, as opposed to capitalist imperialism, promotes the independent industrial development of colonial nations.
6. The path being taken by the colonial nations will lead to socialism.
7. The United States supports colonialism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Colonialism Is on the Wane

"... One of the many major symptoms of weakening capitalism at present is the continuing break-up of the colonial system. This is an historic disaster to world capitalism as a whole. In this respect the British, French, Japanese, Dutch, American and other capitalist empires are being very seriously undermined...."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956; p. 14.

2. Near East

"One of the highlights of the world situation today is the spreading revolt in the Near East against colonialism and all exploiters and enslavers."

Daily Worker,  
April 18, 1956, p. 5.

3. Asia

"The central purpose of the great national revolution now sweeping over Asia, and led by People's China, is precisely to break the fetters that the imperialist capitalist powers had fastened upon them in order to prevent their industrialization and general national development...."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of  
Socialism to World Leadership,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 24.

4. Africa

"...The African colonial world, from one end of that continent to the other, is also feeling the tremendous revolutionary urge to fight for national liberation...."

William Z. Foster, "Has World  
Capitalism Become Stabilized?"  
Political Affairs, March, 1956, p. 10.

5. Latin America

"This picture of the exploitation suffered...at the hands of the North American monopolies is generally the same throughout Latin America.

"As if this were not enough, in addition to economic control and parallel with it, the North American government makes us the object of pitiless political domination. With the backing of despicable traitors whom they always find at a cheap price, and in alliance with landholding and banking oligarchies, the imperialists impose upon us military pacts, international 'agreements' undercutting the sovereignty of our countries, and repressive laws of every kind. Furthermore, with a systematic plan of ideological penetration, they smother our press and radio and even the universities with their reactionary propaganda; at the same time, they trample upon our culture, our republican traditions, and our national sentiments.

"The contemporary history of our continent is, therefore, the record of a long chain of aggressions and acts of robbery by North American imperialism..."

"In accordance with the fundamental law of imperialist economy to exploit us to the maximum--and as the wave of liberation sweeping through Asia and Africa tears from imperialism tens and hundreds of millions of people--the monopolists try to compensate themselves by redoubling their economic and political penetration in Latin America...."

Galo Gonzales Diaz, "Foster and  
Latin America,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1956, pp. 46-47.

6. Puerto Rico

"...the so-called Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is only a fancy name for what Puerto Rico was and still is--an exploited colony of American imperialism...."



"In short, what is keeping the Puerto Rican workers in low wages forcing thousands of Puerto Ricans to leave Puerto Rico in search for work is Puerto Rico's present status as a colony, its lack of an independent and sovereign position as a nation..."

Daily Worker,  
January 9, 1956, p. 6.

"AMERICAN imperialism's invasion of the Puerto Rican nation mutilated the natural development of the Puerto Rican nation."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1956, p. 14.

7. Philippine Islands

"...Wall Street imperialism...prevents the development of industry in the Philippines. It keeps the country as a feudal-agrarian supplier of raw materials. It allows only such industry as foreign capitalists can properly exploit. It fails to provide genuine economic assistance and technical aid for independent economic development. That's been the role of imperialism before and after independence."

Daily Worker,  
March 28, 1956, p. 5.

8. Imperialism Imposes Poverty

"...The hunger and the misery and the disease which tortures the majority of the earth's inhabitants are man-made. And it was not made by its victims. It was created by those big business interests that controlled the lands and territories inhabited by the brown and the yellow, the black and the red men and women..."

"...imperialism imposed poverty on the majority of the human race."

Daily Worker,  
March 14, 1956, pp. 5, 7.

9. Socialism Promotes Independent Industrial Development

"...But wherever Wall Street dominated and still dominates other countries there is no independent growth of industry.

"And there in a nutshell is the difference between capitalism and socialism in relation to under-developed countries."

Daily Worker,  
March 5, 1956, p. 5.

10. Colonial Nations Moving toward Socialism

"Those capitalist spokesmen who believe that once the colonies have secured some degree of national independence they will 'settle down' and that will be the end of the matter with the whole situation stabilized again on this new capitalist level, are in for a big surprise in this respect. Instead of 'settling down,' half freed from imperialist bondage, these countries will seek actively to industrialize themselves and this they can do only in opposition to the imperialists and in increasing economic and political collaboration with the countries of Socialism. Their ultimate general orientation will be in the direction of Socialism, rather than of classical capitalism...."

William Z. Foster, "Has World  
Capitalism Become Stabilized?"  
Political Affairs, March, 1956, p. 10.

11. United States Supports Colonialism

"But today the Cadillac Administration is lined up on the side of colonialism....

"This is just another field in which American foreign policy must be drastically overhauled.

"The right of people to rule themselves is a grand 'self-evident truth.' "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 12, 1956, p. 5.

"What is wrong with Dulles' foreign policy was being demonstrated not only by U.S. alliances with the colonial powers. It was being exposed in the greedy scramble by Wall Street imperialism to take over the colonies of our 'allies.' But this effort too, was coming up against the revolt of the colonial and semi-colonial people."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1956, p. 12.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Smith Act should be repealed. There should be no further prosecutions under this law, and the communist leaders who have been convicted of violating this law should be granted amnesty.
2. The Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.
3. The constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 should not be upheld.
4. The Immunity Act of 1954 virtually destroys the Fifth Amendment.
5. The reversal of the conviction of Steve Nelson\* for violation of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Sedition Law was a "tremendous victory."
6. Those who have been discharged from employment for invoking the Fifth Amendment should be rehired.
7. Innocent persons are being "victimized" by the use of confidential informants.
8. Congressional investigations have been conducted "in complete illegality."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Smith Act

"...Sixteen Communist leaders are in federal jails under the thought-control Smith Act and about 100 more are facing jail terms if Attorney General Brownell should succeed in his pending prosecutions...."

The Worker,  
January 15, 1956, p. 5.

\*Steve Nelson is chairman of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

"...we Communists have been jailed not for anything we have ever said or written or done--as a matter of fact all that is deliberately disregarded by the courts--but by virtue of stoolpigeon and prosecutor interpretations of the classical works of scientific socialism.

"IT IS HIGH time Americans put a stop to this immoral and undemocratic practice...."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1956, p. 8.

"...the immediate release of all other Smith Act victims, and an end to all further Smith Act prosecutions would help America still more in her recovery from McCarthyism.

"McCarthy has been knocked down, but McCarthyism is far from being counted out. One of the most ominous signs that McCarthyism is not dead, is the activity of the Eastland Committee."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1956, p. 8.

"...The appeal to President Eisenhower by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and other prominent Americans for amnesty for Smith Act prisoners and a halt to the thought-control prosecutions, is more timely than ever."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 6, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Walter-McCarran Act

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S special message to Congress on the immigration laws, described as a 'liberalization' of the McCarran-Walter Act, doesn't come within shouting distance of being that.

"What Eisenhower has done is to propose that 65,000 more aliens be permitted to enter the U. S. But he has pointedly refrained from asking Congress to end the discriminatory quota system which favors white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and largely excludes people from Latin, African, West Indian and other areas."

"The Eisenhower message points up the fact that the iniquitous McCarran-Walter Law should be repealed outright..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 10, 1956, p. 5.

"The broadest civil liberties movement today is around the Walter-McCarran Act, and it may be the first of the cold war legislation to be repealed..."

"...Its repeal or modification, or even its injection into the '56 campaign, would push forward the whole movement against McCarthyite legislation and slow down the vicious deportation drive."

Sam Coleman, "On Constitutional Rights,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 6.

### 3. Internal Security Act of 1950

"That pro-fascist legislative monstrosity, the McCarran Act, falsely alleges that our Party is un-American because it seeks to 'surrender' the United States to 'foreign domination and control.' "

Eugene Dennis, "After Five Years,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 9.

"Mass campaigns on a new broad level are needed to defeat the Big Business-GOP-Dixiecrat plot to...outlaw the Community Party\*...."

Albert E. Blumberg, "The '56 Elections,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 24.

4. Immunity Act of 1954

"AFTER A NUMBER of decisions in recent months in the interests of civil liberties, the U.S. Supreme Court has once again delivered a setback to the Bill of Rights. This it has done with its 7-2 decision asserting the legality of the so-called Immunity Act of 1954.

"This act was drawn up by the Justice Department in cooperation with the witchhunting committees as a knockout blow against the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

"Through the testimony of secret informers--notably Elizabeth Bentley--the Justice Department has attempted to destroy the character and reputation of many officials in the Roosevelt Administration. As part of this political warfare, the Justice Department has refused to permit its perjured informers to be cross-examined by the victims. The only safeguard left to the victims has been the Fifth Amendment, which the Supreme Court now virtually destroys."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 28, 1956, p. 5.

\*Probably should read "Communist Party."

5. State Anti-Sedition Laws

"THE SUPREME COURT'S ruling upholding the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and, thereby, scrapping the conviction of Steve Nelson on state sedition charges and the 20-year sentence, is a tremendous victory for civil liberties and for the struggle to keep the Bill of Rights alive.

"The ruling, in effect, nullifies, for all practical purposes, the sedition laws of 41 states and territories enacted in the World War I-Palmer Raids era and patterned after the vicious laws that were scrapped under Jefferson. The decision was a decisive rebuff to the ultra-reactionary crowd that has sought to revitalize those dead laws and to spur, with state initiative, a greater wave of McCarthyite terror...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 4, 1956, p. 5.

6. The Fifth Amendment

"THE McCARTHYITES who spit out the phrase '5th Amendment' as if they were dirty words will not like the Supreme Court decision in the Slochower case.

"By rejecting the right of New York school authorities to fire the Brooklyn College teacher who invoked the 5th Amendment at a witch-hunting Congressional hearing, the high court has struck a heavy blow at the whole, hysteria-born 'loyalty' structure."

. . . . .

"Clearly, the Slochower ruling will have far-reaching effects in private industry and wherever else, in our national life, Americans have been deprived of employment or other rights and privileges as the victims of witchhunts in which they correctly refused to play the role of stooge."

. . . . .



"...Americans should now require the very prompt rehiring of all those, government and private industry employees alike, whose respect for the Constitution of the United States is confirmed by last Monday's verdict of the Supreme Court."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 11, 1956, p. 5.

7. Confidential Informants

"...the art of the stoolpigeon is extolled by J. Edgar Hoover and his confreres as an honorable occupation that is worthy of the sons of Ben Franklin."

Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1956, p. 6.

"...the whole question of compulsory informing should be looked into in other areas: among the school teachers...and in various contempt cases growing out of the Smith Act prosecutions..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 31, 1956, p. 5.

"...innocent men and women are still being victimized by lying informers from the extensive stables of J. Edgar Hoover and Herbert Brownell."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 15, 1956, p. 5.

8. Congressional Investigations.

"WE DON'T pretend to be able to follow all the mysteries in the war-time trial of Major William V. Holohan and in the accusations against Lieut. Aldo L. Icardi.

"But there is no mystery about the decision of Federal Judge Richmond B. Keech in acquitting Icardi on a perjury charge brought by a House Committee....

"Congress, the judge said, cannot conduct a 'legislative trial and conviction' of an individual....

"Judge Keech's proposition, which is grounded firmly in the Constitution, has direct application to the Congressional witchhunts which have infested the capital for the past several years. Their purpose generally has no relation to legislation but seeks to punish Communists, liberals and New Dealers for crimes which they have not committed and which could not stand up in any court. The perjury racket and the contempt racket were devised by the McCarthys and Eastlands as part of this usurpation of power.

"... But the Icardi decision should go a long way in confirming that Congressional 'investigations' have been long operating in complete illegality. Public indignation should put an end to these unconstitutional practices once and for all."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 23, 1956, p. 5.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Military appropriations should be drastically reduced, and the money saved should be used for public welfare projects.
2. United States military bases in other nations are a threat to world peace.
3. The Soviet Union, which has reduced its armed forces, has no aggressive intentions.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Defense Appropriations

"EISENHOWER had every opportunity to really make this a peace budget....

"The new budget spurns all of these initiatives, all of these pressures for peace. For the first time since the Korean War, the budget calls for an increase in the military ('national security') outlays--from \$41.4 billion in 1956 to \$42.4 billion in 1957. Of the total budget 64 percent is avowedly for military purposes, another 18 percent is continued payment for past wars and various military items are scattered among other sections."

"Within this general program, the major emphasis is on promotion of weapons most destructive of civilian populations...."

"THE KEY issue posed by the budget to the people of America is the old one--Welfare versus Warfare....

"...The 1957 budget is nothing but the fiscal expression of the 'brink of war' foreign policy...."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1956, pp. 2, 13.

2. Reduce the Military Budget

"Congress is in session now. It should hear from an aroused people, from an articulate labor, farm, and Negro people's movement. The people's welfare must not be sacrificed further. Living standards, housing, health and education, civil rights and liberties, must not be kept in a deep freeze by those who would continue the cold war and the colossal arms budget!"

Eugene Dennis, "After Five Years,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 8.

3. American Bases Overseas Threaten Peace

"...so long as the United States continues to squander up to \$40 billion a year on armaments and maintains aggressive air bases all over the world, that long will the danger of war continue in the world; and while the agents of American imperialism remain at the head of the government, the monopoly capitalists will continue to plot and to scheme for world domination. All this is in the nature of the monopolist capitalist beast."

Daily Worker,  
March 1, 1956, p. 5.

4. USSR Reduces Armed Forces

"...Instead of cutting down on the arms budget--as does the post-Geneva budget of the Soviet Union--Eisenhower proposes to spend a billion dollars more on arms than for the present year."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1956, p. 5.

5. Myth of Soviet Aggression

"All the tax burdens of our gigantic military program have been based on the myth of Soviet aggression. The neglect of schools, the lack of funds for low cost housing, the failure to build youth facilities to combat juvenile delinquency--all can be traced to the great expenditures on arms and far flung bases against a non-existent threat."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 4, 1956, p. 5.

# VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. A new wave of terror directed against the rising struggle for equal rights for Negroes is emerging in the Southern States.
2. The "Dixiecrats" in Congress are voiding the United States Supreme Court ruling on desegregation in education.
3. The refusal of the University of Alabama to admit Autherine Lucy is a "national disgrace."
4. The Negroes who are boycotting the bus line in Montgomery, Alabama, should be supported.
5. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi should be removed from the United States Senate.
6. Civil rights legislation should be enacted in the current session of Congress.
7. The Federal Government should intervene to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Southern States.
8. Discrimination against Negroes is still prevalent in industry.
9. The National Delegate Assembly for Civil Rights and the National Deliverance Day of Prayer were high lights in the struggle for Negro rights.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Wave of Terror in the South

"The white supremacists in the South, allied with GOP-reaction, have become the instigators of a new wave of terrorism and lawlessness,

the center of a new conspiracy to subvert the American Constitution by incitement to force and violence."

"...The new anti-Constitution and nullification movement spear-headed by the Mississippi Confederates and the McCarthyite Copperheads must be throttled in its infancy! The Eastlands, McCarthys and Jenners must be driven from public life!"

Eugene Dennis, "After Five Years,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 6.

## 2. Struggle for Negro Rights

"Not since the Civil War and Reconstruction has the struggle of the Negro people for equal rights reverberated with the impact it has today. Not since that period has the fight for equal rights been placed so squarely as a means for making a qualitatively new democratic advance in our country.

"The Negro people, allied with the labor movement as well as growing democratic white forces in the South, is locked in mortal combat with one of the most evil political forces in the life of our country today--the Southern Dixiecrats...."

Max Weiss, "Geneva and '56,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, pp. 16-17.

"The Negro Rights movement is the most powerful democratic current today. It stands at new advanced points, heading for the solution of the big democratic task before our American nation: the realization of the slogan of the Negro Liberation Movement--Free by '63."

Sam Coleman, "On Constitutional Rights,"  
Party Voice, 1956, --No. 1, p. 5.

### 3. Desegregation in Education

"IT IS NOW seven months since the United States Supreme Court issued its final decrees establishing that segregated schools are illegal. But Deep South states are still advancing plans ranging from nullifying federal laws to financing private- school education to evade the ruling."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1956, p. 13.

"It is becoming clearer and clearer as to who is playing politics with the rights to an education of the nation's school children--Negro and white. The Dixiecrat bloc of U. S. Congressmen has served notice that its members will insist upon their right to continue the system of economic robbery of Negro children and mental maiming of all children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 30, 1956, p. 5.

### 4. The Case of Autherine Lucy

"NEGRO STUDENTS have entered one Southern university after another since the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation without incident.

"How is it, then, that the appearance of Miss Autherine Lucy on the all-white campus of Alabama University has erupted in ugly, shocking violence?

"The reason is not hard to find. It lies in the emergence of the new Ku Klux Klan, the self-styled White Citizens Council, dedicated to prevent, by violent and illegal means, the application of the Supreme Court decisions in the South."



"It is a national disgrace that the university authorities have indefinitely barred Miss Lucy from the campus. This is craven surrender or, worse, collusion with the Kluxers. It is not Autherine Lucy but the wretched band of lawbreakers who should have been barred from Alabama University."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1956, p. 5.

"...why doesn't the government act to enforce the law of the land and see that Miss Lucy is admitted to her class in Alabama."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1956, p. 5.

5. Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott

"IF EVER there was a case where Americans were denied fundamental rights under color of law, it is the case of the 115 Negroes indicted by the Montgomery, Ala., grand jury for demanding the right to vacant bus seats...."

"Now the struggle which began over a vacant bus seat has grown to one that affects democracy in Alabama and the nation. Ministers who may have preached or prayed in the interest of the boycott are being arrested. The very right of a Negro to assert his right to the dignity due a human being and to the rights due an American citizen is endangered."

"...our anger at what is happening in Montgomery should be expressed to the Department of Justice with a demand for action."

"...Montgomery should be a spur and an inspiration to more united and spirited action."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 23, 1956, p. 5.

"THE TRIAL and conviction of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on a conspiracy charge in Montgomery, Ala., last week can be described only as an act of 20th Century barbarism. The case against the Rev. King and 89 others, including 24 ministers of the gospel, was, in fact, a defense by Alabama of the right to force Negroes to stand on buses while 10 vacant seats remained reserved for white passengers. By convicting Rev. King, the leader of the 50,000 Negroes who have remained off the buses for nearly four months, the court condoned the sadistic acts of the Montgomery City Lines."

"Humanity must win over barbarism in Montgomery. All aid to the embattled bus protesters!..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 26, 1956, p. 5.

6. Senator James O. Eastland

"NOT ONLY is McCarthyism not dead, McCarthy himself is not dead--he has changed his name to Eastland.

"...For Eastland personifies the alliance of the McCarthyites with the Dixiecrats who rule by physical violence along with political insurrection."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 5, 1956, p. 5.

"Eastland has no right even to sit in the Senate in view of the fact that he has been elected by virtue of the disfranchisement of 500,000 eligible Negro voters in Mississippi and most of the poor whites as well. If McCarthy was censured by a reluctant Senate, Eastland deserves not only to be expelled but prosecuted for his incitement to murder and lawlessness and his leadership of a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy against the nation."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1956, p. 9.

#### 7. Civil Rights Legislation

"It is urgent that the demand for Federal Action Now for immediate passage of civil rights legislation be pressed through resolutions and messages to Eisenhower, through delegations and actions to all local congressmen."

Lillian Gates, "Albany and Washington  
Astir for '56,"  
Party Voice, 1956, --No. 1, p. 3.

"...compel the new session of Congress, despite Eisenhower and the Democratic Congressional leadership, to enact a series of civil rights measures--an anti-lynching law; legislation to guarantee to the Negro people the right to vote; Rep. Diggs' widely-supported proposal to challenge the seating of Mississippi Congressmen on the basis of the XIV Amendment (Sec. 2) to the Constitution; anti-segregation provisions in all social legislation; Federal FEPC;\*etc."

Albert E. Blumberg, "The '56 Elections,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 24.

\*Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

8. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"For the record is clear on the refusal of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration to use all its available powers to carry out the law in the South."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 15, 1956, p. 5.

"Demand that Eisenhower and Brownell act to enforce civil rights in the South."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1956, p. 5.

"It is up to President Eisenhower and the Federal Government to disarm the White Citizen's Councils and halt their subversive activity at once; to insist that the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings be obeyed; to strictly enforce the 1st, 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments."

Daily Worker,  
February 29, 1956, p. 8.

9. Negroes in Industry

"... The lily-white nature of a majority of the highly skilled crafts remains fundamentally unaltered. The problem of wage differentials between Negro and white workers performing the same type of work is still wide-spread. Negro workers still find it almost impossible to advance to more skilled employment in the vast majority of industries. Negro women remain almost totally excluded from basic industry and relegated primarily to domestic work. Entire industries such as textile still register only token Negro employment."

Edward E. Strong, "Developments in the  
Negro-Labor Alliance,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, pp. 39-40.

10. National Delegate Assembly for Civil Rights\*

"The Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington can be a turning point in the political mobilization necessary now in the Negro Rights movement.

"This rally may prove to be as historic in its purpose as Geneva was in post-war politics; the key link strengthening the entire chain of democratic struggles...."

Sam Coleman, "On Constitutional Rights,"  
Party Voice, 1956, --No. 1, p. 5.

11. National Deliverance Day of Prayer

"THE MILLIONS who attend the Day of Deliverance prayer meetings on March 28 formed without a doubt one of the greatest demonstrations of democratic solidarity in the nation's history. The prayers reached not only the heavens but drove home to the participants and other millions the heroic struggle of embattled southern Negroes who are manning the front lines of democracy under the banner of the Constitution and the Supreme Court's interpretation of that document."

Daily Worker,  
April 5, 1956, p. 5.

\*Held in Washington, D. C., March 4-6, 1956.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The cold war, which causes funds necessary for schools to be diverted to military appropriations, is responsible for the educational crisis.
2. A large-scale program of Federal aid is needed to alleviate the critical shortage of teachers and schools.
3. Education under capitalism serves to maintain the existing class relations.
4. The Soviet Union is threatening to surpass the educational level of the United States.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Crisis in Education

"...At this time, notoriously, in the capitalist countries the educational systems are in deep crisis, and nowhere is this crisis more striking than in the United States. In their wild rush for maximum profits and in their eagerness to create a mighty world conquering military machine, the capitalists have shoved away the vast task of properly educating the people."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership," Political Affairs, February, 1956, pp. 27-28.

"No one can claim ignorance of the facts. There are far from enough classrooms for our children; those existing are often

dilapidated and outworn. There aren't enough teachers by far, and their pay is too low."

Daily Worker,  
January 17, 1956, p. 5.

2. Education and the Cold War

"... The fact that the public system of education is in a state of crisis is conceded on all sides. The crisis is due, in large part, to the 'cold war.' Public education has been forced into a policy of retrenchment in all its essential services, and standards of education are sharply deteriorating. The money needed for the maintenance and progress of the system of public education has been diverted to the military budget."

Esther Lewin, "Education,"  
Party Voice, 1956--No. 1, p. 15.

3. Federal Aid Needed

"The Federal Office of Education reports that 476,000 new classrooms costing \$16,000,000,000 will be needed by 1959. This is school accommodation for more than 10,000,000 children. It is beyond realization unless there is massive federal support for a school building program."

"Congressmen... should be impressed with the need to provide some of the money for schools now going to arms."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 27, 1956, p. 5.

"What is needed in Federal Aid?

"1. Direct grants, not loans, to all states, except those states and communities defying the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

"2. The amount of such federal grants to be sufficient to create enough new school plants and replace obsolete facilities, based on the minimum figures suggested by the U.S. Office of Education--fifteen billion dollars.

"3. Appropriation to be made to liquidate the shortage of teachers and provide other needed services.

"4. Appropriations to be made to the states based on the number of school children residing in the state, ages 5-17 inclusive.

"5. Federal Aid to be made available only to the public schools.

"6. Congress to examine and remove the attacks on the civil rights of teachers--a shameful situation reflecting its baneful influence on the education of our children."

Esther Lewin, "Education,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 17.

4. Education under Capitalism

"...The public system of education is part of the superstructure of capitalism. Its function has been, historically, to train the workers to carry out the tasks of production and at the same time to serve as a means to maintain the class relations. Education, too, has always reflected the changes and multiplying problems of capitalism."

Ibid., p. 16.



5. Education in the USSR

"IT'S PRACTICALLY official now--the Soviet Union does not threaten us with military aggression. But the powers that be have discovered a more terrible danger--Soviet school children.

"It seems we are menaced by a veritable children's crusade. So many school boys and school girls are studying so much in the Soviet Union that they threaten to surpass our educational levels. And this, we are told, is worse than hydrogen bomb war."

"... The only threat to us is that the Soviet Union will prove more successful in peaceful economic competition than capitalism.... Let's expand American education. Let's accept the challenge to see who will build more and better schools. Who will give more aid to under-developed countries?"

Daily Worker,  
April 4, 1956, p. 5.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. There should be an increase in cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. American art and literature are no higher than the comic book level.
3. Science, culture, and art are flourishing in the Soviet Union.
4. Federal legislation to subsidize the fine arts should be enacted.
5. All religions should unite to bring about the outlawing of nuclear weapons.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Cultural Exchanges

"Cultural exchange is easy if there's the will to friendship on both sides."

Daily Worker,  
March 14, 1956, p. 6.

"ART IS A SPLENDID ambassador plenipotentiary; through it you get to the heart of a people, and it is hard to hate a nation if you know its folk...."

"So let the cultural delegations come--pass each other on the way with cheery handwaves--and show each other's nation the qualities of their souls."

Daily Worker,  
April 25, 1956, p. 6.

2. American Literature and Art

"...Aside from the products of the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, in the main, art and literature in these lands, above all in the United States, is submerged by the ocean of filthy comic books, crime stories, and reactionary obscurantism...."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership," Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 28.

3. Soviet Science, Culture, and Art

"...In the broad fields of science, of industrial techniques, and of general culture, Socialism likewise stands in the very front line of human progress."

William Z. Foster, "Has World Capitalism Become Stabilized?" Political Affairs, March, 1956, p. 14.

"...Small wonder, then, that American scientists, are themselves stating that both in number and in quality they are in danger of falling behind those in the USSR. Soviet science is now in the very forefront of world science. Outstanding Soviet progress in developing industrial techniques and technicians is fully acknowledged throughout the bourgeois world.

"In art and literature Socialist progress is also being markedly demonstrated...."

William Z. Foster, "The Advance of Socialism to World Leadership," Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 28.

4. Fine Arts Bill

"THE FEW fine plays which we have seen this season reveal great talent in writing, acting and directing. Where the talent is lacking, however, is in a Congress, in the state and municipal legislative bodies which fail to appropriate the necessary funds to subsidize the theatre and other fine arts...."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1956, p. 10.

"Recently... Sen. Lehman (D-NY) introduced in the Senate his Fine Arts Bill S. 3419 which provides for setting up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts...

"... That bill--the best Fine Arts Bill that Congress has had before it since the Roosevelt era--deserves the support of every American who wants to see our culture flourish and become great again...."

Daily Worker,  
April 13, 1956, p. 6.

5. All Religions Oppose Nuclear Weapons

"Surely, America's Catholics, especially those in the ranks of labor, will give prayerful thought to the Pope's Christmas message, and will help popularize his plea to save mankind from the horror of atomic warfare.

"Surely, too, most of America's Protestants and Jews, no less than we Communists, will also support this noble plea. If we peace-loving Americans, of different faiths and beliefs, concert our efforts, we can yet compel Washington to heed the universal popular demand to quarantine the A and H bomb!"

Eugene Dennis, "After Five Years,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 4.

## **XI. WOMEN**

1. Women who work do so because of financial necessity.
2. More women should be unionized.
3. Working women who live on farms must cope with two jobs.
4. Women should receive equal pay when they perform the same work as men.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Women Who Work**

"... Women are thus sharply criticized for going to work and not standing guard the entire day over their children. Those who most often propound this viewpoint provide no answer to working mothers who are forced to go to work, as it takes more than one breadwinner to maintain the family under existing economic conditions...."

Martha Stone, "The Youth,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 43.

#### **2. Women in Labor Unions**

"There are over 20 million women in industry. One third of the working population are women. Less than 3 million are in trade unions.

"In 1953, the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Labor Department reported that 2 1/2 million of the nation's workers are Negro women, or one out of every eight women workers. Three-fourths of the Negro women workers are employed as private household workers, as service workers

not in private households, and as operators in factories, laundries and other work places.

"A small percentage are in various professions, and there are technicians and clerical workers and some in the cultural and business fields."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1956, p. 14.

3. Women on the Farm

"FARM WOMEN have been called the forgotten people. The campaign to force a million of America's five and a half million farm families off the land... is especially tough on the farm women who play a key role in the fight to keep family farms going."

"...women do a double, really a triple job, to help keep the family on the farm, sometimes riding back and forth to work 20-30 or more miles a day, and returning in the evening to the heavy work of farm homemaker..."

Ibid., p. 7.

4. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"At least four bills to prohibit discrimination in wages on account of sex and to enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work between men and women, are at present tied up in the U. S. House Committee on Labor and Education...."

"...Lower wages for women workers mean less for women to spend on food and clothing and shelter and recreation, for themselves and their families. And the practice depresses the wages of men workers too...."

"...national legislation is desperately needed."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1956, p. 10.

## XII. YOUTH

1. Today's youth is suffering from the effects of the cold war and "the reactionary offensive of Big Business."
2. The youth of America is seeking peace and has no desire to serve in the Armed Forces.
3. Juvenile delinquency is a result of "the impact of the war-drive."
4. The Federal Government should initiate a large-scale program of health, educational, and welfare services for the youth of our country.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Today's Youth

"...For what is most characteristic about today's youth problem is the bitter crushing effect on the youth of the cold war, of the reactionary offensive of Big Business during the last decade."

"The youth problem today is marked by a serious assault on the moral fiber of the young generation. Young people face wholesale neglect of economic, educational and social needs, while the suppression of youth's right to learn about the world they live in aggravates the disorientation brought on by the perspective of unlimited militarization."

Martha Stone, "The Youth,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 37.

\*Probably should read "they."



"THE MONEY men are in the saddle, or rather, are at the wheel, and our young are told to worship them. . . . they are told that the Supreme Court of the land has decreed that all children have equal rights to schooling, whatever their color, and they read of Miss Lucy stoned on the campus. . . .

"Day in, day out, hour after hour, they hear life jeering at the text books and the traditions. Do you expect them to walk decorously through boyhood when an elder statesman boasts how he brought a world to the brink of catastrophe?"

The Worker,  
March 4, 1956, p. 12.

## 2. Youth in Uniform

"...The architects of the cold war, who bitterly oppose any disarmament plan and every new step toward peaceful coexistence, are not ready to relax their drive for a generation in uniform...."

"...For youth were called on not only to support the imperialist objectives of Big Business, but to be the instrument for carrying out these objectives--to be the cannon-fodder of Wall Street in its preparations for a Hydrogen bomb third world war. For the first time in peacetime America, conscription and galloping militarism became a dominant fact of life for young people...."

"...Based on negotiations to secure peace and to end the arms race, the pack and the gun must be lifted from the backs of America's youth.

"The best years in the lives of our young men must not be wasted in UMT\* schemes and in military barracks and bases scattered over the globe...."

"As the threat of atomic war begins to recede, the prospect of spending two years in uniform has no appeal for America's youth...."

Martha Stone, "The Youth,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956,  
pp. 36, 37, 38, 40.

### 3. Juvenile Delinquency

"The issue which most dramatically dramatizes the youth problem today and the need for a many-sided program to meet the needs of youth is the issue of 'juvenile delinquency....'"

"The main significance of the juvenile delinquency issue is that it is the most acute reflection of the impact of the war-drive, not just on the 3% of young people who are included in delinquency statistics, but upon the entire young generation. The delinquency issue reveals the entire network of problems which face the young generation, including unemployment, inadequate job training and job placement programs, slum housing, racial discrimination in housing, jobs and schools, inadequate recreational facilities, grossly overcrowded schools, and the impact of McCarthyite repression...."

Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

\*Universal Military Training.

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4. Youth for Peace

"...young voters, as the '52 elections showed, are especially sensitive to the peace issue. The urgent need to enlist them in labor's fight against the Cadillac Cabinet will provide special opportunities to bring the question of Geneva into the mainstream of labor's political action."

Albert E. Blumberg, "The '56 Elections,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 32.

5. Federal Aid for Youth

"...What is called for now is a vast program of federal responsibility and action to build, improve, and desegregate schools, for expanded job opportunity and recreation, for all-around health and welfare provisions for all young people."

"The role of the Party and the Left in the broad people's movements is to help get at the root of the problem and advance legislative programs that will improve the recreational facilities and educational opportunities for the young folks, and fight for a job training program that would raise the wage standards for young people...."

Martha Stone, "The Youth,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1956, pp. 38, 43.

"Of special concern are those issues affecting youth. Proposals for aid to youth, however, without the funds for centers, staffs, facilities are meaningless."

Lillian Gates, "Albany and Washington  
Astir for '56,"  
Party Voice, 1956, -- No. 1, p. 3.

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John Edgar Hoover, Director

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**May 1956--September 1956**

**October 1956**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
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John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Masses & Mainstream.

During the period from May through September, 1956, widespread confusion and dissatisfaction have been prevalent among the members of the Communist Party, USA. Party publications have devoted considerable space to articles which have set forth the views of Party leaders and members regarding the organizational and tactical changes which should be made to enable the Party to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. In view of the wide range of opinions expressed during this discussion, no attempt has been made to incorporate a sampling of these views in this issue of The Communist Party Line.

We should keep in mind that if the Party changes its name and organizational structure, it does not intend to change its philosophy or objective, the communization of the United States by any means effective, legal or illegal.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In recent weeks, the activities of the Communist Party, USA, have presented a confused picture. Party leaders are in disagreement. The rank-and-file members of the Party are bewildered. However, this confusion and bewilderment do not represent a contradiction of the Party line set forth herein. Despite the disorganization within the Party, the Party line today on all the major points delineated herein remains the same.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued its attacks on the foreign policy of the United States which, it alleged, is designed to prolong international tension. Peaceful coexistence and competition with the socialist nations were offered as alternatives. The United States was criticized for not following the lead of the Soviet Union in reducing its military forces, and Party appeals for the outlawing of nuclear weapons continued. The nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt was approved by the Party which urged that this issue be settled through the United Nations.

The Party experienced considerable difficulty in formulating its position on the revelation of Stalin's crimes. It finally approved the explanation offered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but, at the same time, suggested that additional clarification was needed. The United States Department of State was accused of using the revelation of Stalin's crimes to promote international unrest and of attempting to exploit the uprising in Poznan, Poland.

Party propaganda continued to emphasize the "soft spots" in the national economy and repeated its appeals for tax reductions for the low-income group. Considerable emphasis was placed on the importance of

organizing a broad, new socialist coalition based on Marxist principles. The Party maintained that it advocated a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism but warned that "serious class struggle" would be necessary. Party propaganda calling for the defeat of the Republican Administration in the forthcoming national elections continued.

Communist propaganda against the "pro-big business" Republican Administration continued. The American labor movement was encouraged to increase its independent political activity with the view of eventually participating in the formation of a labor-farmer party. The Party continued its protests against the "right-to-work" laws passed by various states and the Taft-Hartley Law. Business interests were charged with using wage increases as excuses for exorbitant price increases. The Party called for greater unity in the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), particularly on the state level, and pleaded for greater international labor solidarity.

Party propaganda attempted to picture the farmers as being on the verge of bankruptcy. The Party viewed the legislation enacted for their benefit during the last session of Congress as coming too late to be effective. The

labor movement and the Negroes were urged to support the farmers in their efforts to keep from being driven off the land as a result of the agricultural program of the Republican Administration.

Great Britain and France were denounced for maintaining colonial regimes in Cyprus and Algeria respectively, and the United States was condemned for lending them its support. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was pictured as supporting the right of all colonial nations to their complete independence.

Communist demands for the repeal of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) continued. The Party urged that the Federal security program be discontinued and condemned the use of confidential informants. In the Party's view, the only constructive legislation enacted in the last session of the 84th Congress was the law which improved social security benefits. The alliance of the Republicans and the "Dixiecrats" was blamed for the failure of Congress. The Party viewed criticism of the United States Supreme Court by members of Congress as an attempt to intimidate the Judicial Branch of the Government.

The Party continued to appeal for substantial reductions in appropriations for national defense so that a large-scale public welfare program could be initiated. American military leaders were urged to

visit the Soviet Union, and the Party called for a congressional investigation of the training program of the United States Marine Corps.

The failure of Congress to enact civil rights legislation was deplored, and the Party viewed the civil rights planks in the campaign platforms of both major political parties as unsatisfactory. The Party called for support for the Negroes who are boycotting the bus line in Tallahassee, Florida, and for the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to continue its work in the Southern States.

The Party noted a revival of academic freedom and insisted that communist teachers should be judged by their professional ability rather than by their political views. The provision of Federal funds for school construction and for increased teachers' salaries was advocated.

The Party called for an increase in the exchange of cultural and religious delegations between nations and in the international exchange of scientific information. Black-listing in the entertainment field was blamed for the deterioration in the quality of American motion pictures. The Party claimed to see a revival in Soviet culture since the death of Stalin and viewed favorably efforts to revive Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. The "public utility monopolists" were accused of delaying the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The Party called for the enactment of Federal legislation which would guarantee women equal pay for performing the same work as men. Congress was also urged to reduce the taxes of mothers who are obliged to work. The increased participation of women in politics was viewed favorably.

Party propaganda claimed that juvenile delinquency is a problem for the community as a whole rather than for individual families. The Party also urged that all children be inoculated against poliomyelitis without charge, and that increased recreational facilities be made available to our youth.

The eventual triumph of socialism over capitalism was confidently predicted, and the Party offered its assurances that this eventuality would solve practically all of the social and economic problems of mankind.

#### **B. Conclusions**

1. The principal immediate objective of the Communist Party, USA, is to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. Communist propaganda is, therefore, expected to emphasize the claim that the Communist Party, USA, is a legitimate political party in the American tradition and is completely independent of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is anticipated that stress will be placed on those social, political, and economic issues which enjoy wide popular appeal, while ideological and tactical differences with noncommunists will be minimized.
2. The Communist Party, USA, in recent months has issued numerous appeals for the eventual organization of a broad, new socialist coalition. Party leaders are, therefore, expected



to participate as frequently as possible in public discussions with representatives of other socialist-oriented groups in an effort to find areas of agreement on issues of mutual interest.

3. In its efforts to form a broad, new socialist coalition, the Party is expected to be less critical of noncommunists and noncommunist organizations than it has been in the past. In an effort to further its immediate aim, it will probably tolerate mild criticism of the Soviet Union by other organizations with whom it hopes to join in united-front activity on specific issues.
4. There is considerable discussion within the Communist Party, USA, at the present time regarding possible organizational changes which would be designed to give the Party a "new look." However, it is not anticipated that any action will be taken by the Party toward this end prior to its next national convention, now scheduled to be held in February, 1957.
5. The Party would find it extremely difficult to continue to operate as at present if the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the membership provision of the Smith Act are upheld by the United States Supreme Court.\* Party agitation for the repeal of these laws is, therefore, expected to be intensified.
6. Propaganda to the effect that the Communist Party, USA, does not advocate the use of force and violence to achieve its goal is expected to continue. However, Party members will still be warned that the "monopolists" will not surrender peacefully.
7. The Party meekly accepted the explanation offered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for Stalin's crimes.

\*The membership provision of the Smith Act provides, in substance, that mere membership in an organization with knowledge that its aim is the overthrow of the Government by force and violence is a violation of the law.

It is, therefore, anticipated that criticism of the Soviet Union in Party publications will be gradually curtailed and will be limited to issues of little consequence.

8. As the national elections approach, Party propaganda calling for the defeat of the Republican Administration is expected to be intensified.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policy of the United States, designed to prolong the cold war, is unpopular throughout most of the rest of the world.
2. The cold war should be ended by the settlement of the outstanding differences between the United States and the socialist nations.
3. Peaceful coexistence and competition between the United States and the socialist nations would be beneficial to our country.
4. The United States has refused to follow the lead of the Soviet Union in reducing military forces.
5. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued as the first step toward the outlawing of these weapons.
6. The foreign aid offered to other nations by our country is designed solely to promote American interests.
7. Egypt was justified in nationalizing the Suez Canal, and this issue should be resolved through discussions in the United Nations.
8. Tension in the Middle East can be resolved through negotiations at which the Soviet Union should be represented.
9. World-wide public opinion forced the United States to recognize the right of other nations to remain neutral.
10. An increase in trade with the socialist nations would stimulate employment in the United States.
11. The United States attempted to exploit the uprising of the workers in Poznan, Poland, "for ulterior motives."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12. The United States Department of State is using the revelation of Stalin's crimes to "incite enmity" toward the socialist nations.
13. The triumph of socialism is "finally imperative."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"THERE IS LITTLE doubt that throughout the world U. S. foreign policy is identified with military build-up. There is equally little doubt that the majority of the world looks with jaundiced eye on such a program."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

"...there is certainly plenty for which to condemn the President's conduct of foreign affairs."

"...Boiled down it adds up to a studied refusal to end the cold war even though the spirit of Geneva has made the continuation of the cold war well nigh impossible."

Daily Worker,  
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

"It is no wonder that America's prestige throughout the world is at its lowest point in history. It is no wonder that American foreign policy is in a crisis and is being reappraised three or four times a day...."

"American foreign policy cannot continue as an instrument of the monopolies. It must be re-shaped with a desire to end, not prolong the Cold War, to encourage, not discourage friendly relations with the countries of socialism. It must have as its goal not the fabulous profits of the trusts, but world peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 24, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. The Cold War

"A year ago we said the Geneva conference spelled the beginning of the end of the cold war. Today that cold war and the accompanying inflated war budget and high taxes is still maintained by artificial stimulation--with many assists from Dulles, Knowland, Nixon and other foes of the Geneva spirit."

"The same public opinion which helped bring about the summit meeting and the Geneva spirit can also bring the whole cold war to an end."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 15, 1956, p. 1.

"But after Geneva it was obvious that the real issue in world affairs could no longer be dodged. The issue was and is the ending of the entire cold war. This requires settling outstanding differences with the Soviet Union and China. Furthermore, the main feature of world politics is that the factors favoring lasting peace are far more potent than those making for war."

"ALL OVER the world the pressures for an East-West settlement are putting American foreign policy in an ugly light. "

Daily Worker,  
July 11, 1956, p. 5.

3. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"There are victories shaping up all right in the world of today. Possibly the biggest is the victory of the policy of peaceful co-existence over the 'positions of strength' and the 'brink of war' diplomacy pursued so doggedly and so long by Dulles and his Democratic predecessors. In both the capitalist and the socialist world the common sense of ordinary men and women has brought victory to the cause of peace. "

Daily Worker,  
June 29, 1956, p. 5.

"... The new era will dawn only as an era of peaceful coexistence between America and the Soviet Union. "

The Worker,  
May 27, 1956, p. 13.

"... peaceful competition with the socialist world is of the greatest benefit for our country. "

The Worker,  
June 17, 1956, p. 4.

#### 4. Disarmament

"A NEW SOVIET threat menaces the peace of mind of officials in Washington. It is the announcement that the Soviet Union will cut its armed forces by 1, 200, 000. "

"There are loud wails from Washington about the propaganda advantage the Russians get from their massive arms reduction. . . .

"The world will hail any real steps toward disarmament. The time is long overdue, for international agreement to cut ALL ARMED FORCES, including our own."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

"...The Administration reacted to the Soviet arms cut with belittling statements and assurances that it would not follow suit. It responded with a request for expanded H-bomb appropriations, and a vigorous campaign to get Congressional approval of the budgeted \$2 billion rise in military foreign aid authorizations.

"Arms cuts can be won only if people--in particular the labor movement--actively demand them. . . ."

The Worker,  
June 10, 1956, p. 2.

#### 5. Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

"Nothing is more apparent than the awesome fact that civilization itself--everywhere--would be imperiled in the event of nuclear war.

"Nothing is more necessary than lifting that possibility from over our heads. Although world tensions have been eased, although the atomic stalemate has itself been a restraining factor, the big powers of the world continue to pile up these ghastly instruments of mass destruction....

"As a very minimum the powers should agree to stop testing H-bombs. At the very least there should be an agreement to stop piling up more of such weapons. And the powers should not cease in their efforts to secure a ban on all A-bombs and H-bombs under a system of international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 3, 1956, p. 5.

"...the agreement to stop all tests would immediately create a better atmosphere in world affairs. It would carry forward the present improved world situation. It would be the natural prelude to agreement on disarmament and on banning and destroying all nuclear weapons under a strict system of international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 22, 1956, p. 5.

"The real issue in respect to ending the peril of atomic bombs has been raised in the proposal to stop all nuclear test explosions.... It is not only moral, not only an aid to peace, and a step to disarmament, it is absolutely foolproof because if any country resumed nuclear test explosions it could be detected instantaneously."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 26, 1956, p. 5.



6. Foreign Aid

"The abrupt reversal of the Washington-London offer to Egypt, admittedly an act of reprisal for the Nasser government's readiness to engage in trade with the socialist countries, emphasized anew--and not alone to the outraged Egyptians--the Big Business concept of foreign aid as a weapon to be used for self-interest first."

"...the cynical basis for foreign aid as conceived by the administration is its role as a counter to Soviet 'threats,' whether economic, cultural or diplomatic..."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1956, p. 4.

"...this Administration and the trusts for whom it speaks view foreign aid as a bribe only, as payment for services rendered."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 30, 1956, p. 5.

7. The Suez Crisis

"The Suez Canal runs through Egyptian soil. It was built by Egyptian hands, and Egyptian blood--the blood of those who died building it--was merged with its waters. In nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Egyptian government is only correcting an historical injustice which permitted Western governments and investors to plunder colonial Egypt of almost a century ago.

"But Egypt is a colony no longer. And if the Nasser government's action in taking over the canal seems sudden and precipitate, the blame for

that is clearly on the shoulders of Secretary of State Dulles and those who, with him, provoked the action with their arrogant treatment of a free, independent Egypt.

"...Dulles abruptly reneged on previous offers to help Egypt build the Aswan High Dam..."

"The action of Britain and France in launching a series of economic reprisals against Egypt should be condemned as an attempt to aggravate tensions. The State Department, which precipitated this crisis, has not yet joined in these moves, and we trust that public protest will keep Secretary Dulles from doing so."

Ibid.

"This country is pledged to the support of the UN charter. That charter specifically bars the use of force and the threats of force. Such threats have been made by the British and French governments.

"This issue belongs before the world organization. The public should let the Administration know that we favor negotiations to settle the Suez dispute, not dispatching of warships and certainly not the threat to send troops to foreign soil."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 14, 1956, p. 5.

#### 8. Tension in the Middle East

"THE AGREEMENT on a firmer truce by Israel and the Arab states is cause for deep satisfaction..."

"But it would be foolish to think that this is more than a first step in getting a lasting Middle East peace. Negotiations have not even begun between Israel and the Arab states. And until such negotiations do take place and do settle outstanding differences, the seeds of conflict remain...."

"... There will be peace, and the Arab states will be forced to recognize the rights of Israel, only if a firm international authority helps bring this about. There will be no peace if the East-West cold war spreads to the Middle East."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 7, 1956, p. 5.

"The time was never more ripe than now for the Big Four--the U.S., Britain, France and the USSR--to consult together on the Middle East situation. Only the power, the prestige, the authority of united Big Four action can bring Israeli-Arab negotiations.

"... Only the bold initiative of the Big Four, acting together, can bring peace to the troubled Middle East."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 22, 1956, p. 5.

#### 9. Neutralism

"WORLD PUBLIC OPINION has kicked back so hard against the Dulles-Nixon attack on neutralism that the Secretary of State ate some of his previous words at his last press conference.

"Dulles wants us to believe that his previous attack against neutralism was misunderstood. He made his apology just a day after Vice-President Nixon reaffirmed his criticism of India's Prime Minister Nehru."

"All in all we'd say that public opinion here and abroad has once again shown how strong it is in shaping the course of world affairs. The head of the State Department could not get away with his position in the face of such mass sentiment...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1956, p. 5.

10. Increased Trade with Socialist Nations

"... If the under-developed nations instead of getting guns with strings got our economic aid partly in the form of our farm equipment, cars, trucks and busses without strings it could meet the job and peace needs of the giver and receiver. There are also more jobs in store by ending East-West trade restrictions... on mutually satisfactory gold payments or barter arrangements...."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1956, p. 7.

11. Poznan Uprising

"No person of good will can feel anything but grief and regret at the terrible loss of life in Poznan, Poland.

"Our deepest sympathy goes out to the Poznan workers whose long-neglected needs were manipulated to explode in violence."

"But in the course of years many grievances accumulated-- justified grievances among the workers about economic conditions. This is frankly admitted by the Polish government. It is also admitted that there were insufficient avenues for the expression of discontent and for securing redress of grievances."

"There is considerable evidence... that this was no 'spontaneous' uprising but a long-planned instigation. Thus, long pent-up grievances were exploited for ulterior motives.

"It was only two years ago that the Saturday Evening Post boasted that the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)--headed by Allen Dulles--was organizing an underground in Poland and in other socialist countries."

"And now, the State Department, headed by the other Dulles-- John Foster--moves... 'to exploit the unrest' with a food offer...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 2, 1956, p. 5.

## 12. Stalin's Crimes\*

"The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union\*\* is a most valuable and important contribution to analyzing

\*The Communist Party, USA, experienced considerable difficulty in formulating its position on this issue. The quotation selected to illustrate the Party's viewpoint consists of excerpts from a statement issued by its national committee. Articles and editorials indicating varying degrees of criticism of Stalin and the present Soviet leaders appeared in the June 6, 1956; June 18, 1956; June 25, 1956; July 2, 1956; and July 3, 1956, issues of the Daily Worker.

\*\*This resolution was adopted on June 30, 1956, and was published in the Soviet newspaper Pravda on July 2, 1956. It was obviously designed not only to answer the questions raised by communist parties throughout the world regarding the reappraisal of Stalin but also to indicate the extent to which future criticism of the Soviet Union would be tolerated.

the origins, effects and lessons of the mistakes made by the CPSU under Stalin's leadership. We welcome it.

"...the resolution reflects the developing relationship of independent and friendly criticism which today marks the fraternal solidarity of Communist parties...."

"...The State Department and the commercial press are trying to suppress the historic contributions which the 20th Congress of the CPSU made especially to promote peaceful co-existence. In a vain effort to rekindle the cold war, they are trying to twist the self-critical revelations about the violations of socialist law and principle that took place in the latter years of Stalin's leadership in order to incite enmity toward the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies."

"The Communist Party of the United States denounces these unprincipled maneuvers of the State Department and the commercial press and calls upon American workers and all other friends of peace to unite more firmly than ever in the fight for peaceful relations between states and against every attempt to revive the cold war. It declares that nothing will ever shake its firm adherence to the principle of international working class solidarity."

"In connection with the questions analyzed in the CPSU resolution, we believe certain aspects of the origins and effects of past violations of socialist law and principle need, and will receive, further study and discussion. Among these are: the question of bureaucratic distortions in a Socialist society, as well as the happenings in the sphere of Jewish cultural institutions and their leadership...."

Daily Worker,  
July 26, 1956, p. 1.

13. Inevitable Triumph of Socialism

"The socialist organization of society, wherein the people themselves own and operate the factories, and all the nation's resources, is finally imperative. The end of the dog-eat-dog era is mandatory, both within our nation and abroad."

Daily Worker,  
May 23, 1956, p. 6.

"...socialism--the end of the private ownership of the means of production and hence the end to the exploitation of man by man, the replacement of the anarchy of production with a planned society--is itself a force for good such as history has never known before. Socialism, evidently, has the power to make itself felt throughout the world even when distorted and violated as it was by the leadership under the direction of Joseph Stalin who, despite his errors and crimes, nevertheless did not depart from the principles of socialist production proclaimed by the revolution of October, 1917."

"The State Department only betrays its nervousness as it repeats and repeats again that socialism is discredited and dead. Socialism has an impressive present and a still brighter future throughout the world. America, despite all that is exceptional about it, is no exception in this respect."

Daily Worker,  
June 14, 1956, p. 4.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. In spite of current prosperity, which is based largely on military spending, there are "many soft spots" in our economy.
2. Although the income of the average family has increased as a result of the efforts of the labor movement, almost one half of America's families earn less than the minimum required to live modestly.
3. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
4. A Federal program of low-cost public housing is necessary to relieve the "desperate" housing shortage.
5. There is still considerable corruption in the Federal Government.
6. While the trend toward fascism in the United States has been curbed, it still remains a danger.
7. Communists must be granted the right of freedom of speech.
8. Improved social security benefits were achieved through pressure by the labor movement.
9. Communists are entitled to social security benefits.
10. Communists are entitled to veterans' pensions.
11. Morton Sobell should be freed or granted a new trial.
12. A broad, new socialist coalition, based on Marxist principles, should be organized.
13. The Communist Party, USA, advocates a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, but it realizes that socialism will be achieved only after "serious class struggle."



14. The Republican Administration should be defeated in the 1956 elections.
15. The "labor and liberal wing" of the Democratic Party was responsible for the selection of its candidates.
16. A Republican victory in the forthcoming national elections would constitute "a peril for the nation."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Prosperity

"... At the present time, although general production is at record high levels, there are many soft spots in the economy, despite all the Keynesian subsidy policies of the Government. Agriculture continues to sink into a slump, there is chronic mass unemployment in the textile and coal-mining industries, and, with a stockpile of 900,000 cars, far-reaching layoffs of workers are also taking place in the automobile industry. Especially since the Geneva Conference... the American industrialists are in a state of confusion and are fearful of the future market prospects."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U. S. (Pt. I), "Political Affairs, July, 1956, p. 30.

"... Militarization and war set off the boom and conditioned its development. But it proceeded--and at present stalls--under its own dynamics. The internal contradictions making for economic crisis are coming to a head."

The Worker,  
June 10, 1956, p. 2.

2. Standard of Living

"... Forty-one percent of the FAMILIES had incomes in 1955 of less than \$4,000, --less than \$77 a week--before tax deductions. An additional 14 percent received incomes between \$4,000 and \$5,000.

"THAT MEANS that roughly half of the families of the United States received income below what the Bureau of National Affairs estimates is the minimum health and decency four-person family budget--\$4,275 or \$82.50 weekly. "..."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1956, p. 5.

"UNDOUBTEDLY the average U. S. family gets more real income than before World War II--one-third more than in 1929, says the Commerce Department. A small enough gain compared with the rise in labor productivity--but important.

"Part of the gain was made possible by reasonably regular employment over the past 15 years and by the employment of more wage earners per family. How much of the gain resulted from wars and ever-high arms budgets is a subject to debate which will be settled finally by future events. Capitalism can rightfully claim credit for these employment-stimulators. \*

"All of the gain was realized by labor, by the organization of the unorganized, by self-sacrificing strikes against resistant capitalists... Certainly capitalism gets no credit for that."

The Worker,  
July 8, 1956, pp. 2-4.

\*With reference to typographical errors, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. In this connection, underlining was not used to indicate combinations of words improperly hyphenated and spaced.

3. Tax Reductions

"SHARP REDUCTION in federal income taxes paid by working-class families earning less than \$6,000 a year is vitally important. Trade unions should speak out immediately demanding that exemptions for each individual and each dependent, now \$600, should be raised to \$1,000.

"Such a reduction could be made easily without impairing any governmental services if the enormous annual outlay for arms were reduced, even by ten percent. . . The steadily relaxing world tensions since Geneva make an even larger cut practicable and desirable."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1956, p. 12.

4. Housing Crisis

"... low-cost housing facilities are becoming increasingly more inadequate and the situation confronting the poorest sections of the population are becoming more desperate as slum clearance drives thousands out of their already inadequate quarters."

Daily Worker,  
May 8, 1956, p. 4.

"It would also require added pressure on Congress to put through at least the extremely modest program of 135,000 public housing units contained in the Lehman bill before Congress. Reports have it that the GOP in the House, helped by some reactionary Democrats, is set to reduce it to 35,000 units per year."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 8, 1956, p. 5.

## 5. Corruption in Government

"There are several big messes in Washington that demand the most ruthless probing. They are:

"1. The mess in the National Labor Relations Board. Senator Morse has called for a probe of the NLRB, and has buttressed his demand by an impressive analysis of how the NLRB has been subverted by its GOP officials into an instrument for management....

"2. The mess in the natural gas lobby. Ever since the revelation of Senator Case, South Dakota Republican, early in the session that an attempt had been made to bribe him to vote for the gas steal, the leadership of both parties in Congress has employed every device of legislative chicanery and deceit to stifle the probe.

"3. The mess in war hysteria and 'defense' profits.... Outstanding among these are the airplane companies whose stake in war hysteria is 100 percent of parity. An honest and thorough investigation of the ties of the plane companies to politicians would probably put the natural gas scandal in the shade."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on Capitol Hill," Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 12-13.

## 6. Danger of Fascism

"Another of the characteristic manifestations of this period has been the development of a strong fascist trend, in the shape of McCarthyism. This threat was cultivated by big business and expressed in many reactionary laws and practices of the Eisenhower and Truman Governments.... Although somewhat curbed in 1954 as a result of national and international mass pressure, fascism still remains a real danger in the United States."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U.S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, pp. 31-32.

"... McCarthyism has not yet been fully defeated and... it is determined to challenge the rise of democratic movements with a counter-offensive. Far from accepting its defeats with equanimity, it lashes back furiously in an attempt to reverse the rising tide of popular democratic expression."

A. Krchmarek, "The Ohio Smith Act Trial,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 58.

7. Freedom of Speech

"The country is beginning to recognize once again that freedom of speech becomes hollow unless it includes freedom for the ideas of Communists...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 22, 1956, p. 5.

8. Improved Social Security Benefits

"THE AMENDMENTS to the Social Security Law passed this week in the Senate and approved earlier in the House were enacted over the opposition of President Eisenhower. They represent a further advance of the legislation first passed during the high point of the Roosevelt New Deal era. Two important new principles are brought into the law: the idea that women should have a right to retire at an earlier age than men; the right of disabled persons to retire before they reach 65."

"The changes are a victory for labor. The trade unions brought into action the most vigorous pressure.... It was the labor movement's refusal to tail the Democratic Party bosses, and its strong insistence on the

bill, that put more vigor into the Democratic legislators and, thereby, put many Republicans, too, 'on the spot' in this election year. It's a lesson that ought to be remembered."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 20, 1956, p. 5.

9. Social Security Benefits for Communists

"RECENTLY the general counsel for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare 'casually' circulated through the Department a memorandum holding that: Communists working within their Party's apparatus were not eligible for social security benefits, because they were 'employees of a foreign government.'...

"On the basis of this memo the heads of several regional Social Security offices struck a number of Communist leaders off the old age pension lists...."

"The government's attempted justification of this unprecedented and illegal attack upon the Social Security Act under pretext of fighting the Communists must forearm the American people...."

"The country must still be aroused if the Social Security Act is to be safeguarded.... Those who fought to realize the Social Security Act must be mobilized to defend it while it is not yet too late."

Daily Worker,  
June 8, 1956, p. 4.

#### 10. Pensions for Communists

"THE ACTION of the Board of Veterans Appeals in refusing to reinstate Bob Thompson's\* disability pension defies every standard of justice and national interest.

"That pension was not a 'privilege' given to Thompson. It was a small token of a nation's debt to a man who was grievously disabled in heroic service to his country...."

"The government instituted pensions for all veterans disabled in line of duty. This was a solemn obligation to those who saved our country in its hour of need."

"The pension rights of all Americans are jeopardized if the Thompson decision is allowed to stand. We urge our readers to write on this matter to their representatives in Congress. Also write to your local newspapers. And send copies to President Eisenhower in Washington."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

#### 11. The Morton Sobell Case

"THE TRAGIC EVENTS of June 19, 1953, will ever remain a poignant, bitter memory for many Americans. On that day, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a young American couple of immense courage and honesty,

\*Thompson, one of the Party's national leaders, was convicted of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act and is now serving his term in prison.

parents of two young children, were put to death by a conscience-less Department of Justice."

"Those who defended the Rosenbergs are now seeking the freedom of Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years as their 'co-conspirator.'..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 19, 1956, p. 5.

"A motion in behalf of Morton Sobell, based on a petition and exhibits which set forth 'the prosecution's knowing use of perjured evidence and its suppression of the facts,' was filed in U. S. Federal Court... The motion asks that a hearing be held to determine the facts and the laws, and that either the sentence be set aside and Sobell freed, or that a new trial be granted.

"By the wilful and intentional use of perjurious testimony by the prosecution, Sobell was denied a fair trial, and wrongfully incarcerated in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence, said the petition...."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1956, p. 4.

## 12. New Socialist Coalition

"...we American Communists, on the basis of our own experience, have come to realize that certain developments in our own country require a 'new look.' And this prompts us to state unequivocally that we can have only the most positive approach to all honest socialist and Marxist-oriented groupings and individuals, whatever our differences may be on certain tactical and programmatic questions. We share the



aspirations of many of these forces for a mass party of Socialism in our country. We, too, want to create the conditions for such a necessary and historic development."

"This of course does not call for any move to try to form a new party of Socialism prematurely. True, socialist currents are growing and will continue to do so, and the activity of diverse Marxist-oriented groups is on the upgrade. Yet the task of organizing a broad, mass party of Socialism, based in substance on genuine Marxist principles, cannot be easy nor quick. We American Communists will do our utmost to help create the pre-requisite for such a development.

"Considerable headway can surely be made in this direction in the next year or two. But this will be a process. It will necessitate sharp political and ideological struggles, as well as our collective participation with the bulk of all the socialist-minded elements in united front activity in concert with other progressive forces....

"In the interim, and as one of the essential pre-conditions for establishing a broader mass party of Socialism, it will surely be necessary to strengthen our Communist Party politically, ideologically, and organizationally--and, above all, to extend its mass influence and United Front relationships."

Eugene Dennis, "For a Mass Party  
of Socialism,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 2, 3.

### 13. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"As for the USA, we American Communists re-affirm that we do not advocate force and violence. We do not consider civil war inevitable nor in any way desirable. We desire and seek constitutional and democratic solutions to current and fundamental problems. We favor and advocate a peaceful and democratic transition to Socialism. \*

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"We Communists and other advanced workers strive for a constitutional and democratic solution to all the problems of today and tomorrow in full recognition of the fact that U. S. monopoly capital is the strongest in the world and one of the most ruthless in furthering its objectives at home and abroad. The U. S. trusts and their political representatives have used and will continue to try to use demagoguery, division and force and violence to one degree or another to halt all social progress and democratic advance here or anywhere else.

"... it is necessary at every juncture to prevent and defeat the stubborn efforts of the economic royalists to thwart the popular will...."

Ibid., pp. 5-6.

"The Communist Party advocates and fights for the most peaceful possible and the legal establishment of Socialism in the United States, by means of a people's front--people's democracy course of development. Knowing so well the lawlessness and brutality of American monopoly capital, the Party has, however, never undertaken, in any sense, to say that such a consummation can be guaranteed or taken for granted. On the contrary, the Party realizes that all such major steps forward by the workers of this country can be won only on the basis of serious class struggle...."

William Z. Foster, "The Road to Socialism, II,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1956, p. 17.

#### 14. 1956 Elections

"... We will likewise focus attention on the main tasks of the moment and the period ahead, especially the forging of a labor-democratic coalition whose potential for effectively curbing the power of the trusts will grow ever more mighty.

"The central objective in the '56 elections is to help create the conditions for the emergence of such an anti-monopoly coalition capable of influencing the next Administration and Congress, and of subsequently bringing into power an Administration and Congress resting on and responsive to such a popular movement and alliance--a government committed to peaceful negotiation and reducing international tensions, to promoting the economic security of the working people at the expense of the monopolies, to upholding the Constitution and enforcing the Bill of Rights...."\*

Eugene Dennis, "For a Mass Party of Socialism,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 7.

"THE UNITY of the overwhelming majority of the trade unions in the current election was strongly underlined with the nearly unanimous endorsement of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket by the 173-member General Board of the AFL-CIO in a special meeting in Chicago."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 14, 1956, p. 5.

#### 15. Democratic Candidates

"THE CONVENTION'S nomination of Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver has given the Democratic party what most observers agree is the strongest ticket the party could put in the field against General Eisenhower. Significantly, these were the candidates supported by the majority of the labor and liberal delegates at the convention, establishing once again the axiom that the Democratic party performs best when it listens to its labor and liberal wing."

. . . . .

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"These are the facts which give the labor and liberal wing of the party the right to have its voice heard on the crucial question of how the campaign shall be conducted."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 20, 1956, p. 1.

#### 16. Republican Candidates

"...the nomination of Dick Nixon, which would put this hero of the Old Guard within a heartbeat of the Presidency, confirms the generally held thesis of labor that a Republican victory, in view of Mr. Eisenhower's health, would constitute a peril for the nation which should be avoided at all costs."

. . . . .

"The labor-liberal objection to Nixon is...that it is both dangerous and morally wrong to place this unprincipled, self-seeking individual in a situation from which he might accede to the highest and most powerful position in our government."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 24, 1956, p. 5.

"...he is a tool of corporate wealth and against labor. Quite simply, he would take our nation to war to defend the Asian interests of U. S. corporations. Quite simply, he would slander, persecute, imprison and ruin honorable men and women whose social and economic views differ from his own neolithic outlook.

"Uncounted millions of labor men and women are looking forward to casting a vote against Nixon on Nov. 6 with a sharp anticipation which we can well understand. Their decision is grounded in their recognition of Nixon's character, record and program..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 24, 1956, p. 5.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. America's "managed economy" is designed to promote the interests of the "monopolists."
2. The Republican Administration is "nakedly pro-big business."
3. The large corporations are endeavoring to maintain a high level of unemployment.
4. The labor movement should initiate a concentrated drive to organize the unorganized.
5. In this organizing drive, special emphasis should be afforded to the Southern States.
6. The minimum wage should be raised to \$1.25 per hour.
7. The labor movement should increase its independent political activity.
8. The ultimate goal of the labor movement should be the organization of a labor-farmer party.
9. The "right-to-work" laws passed by various states are designed to weaken the labor movement.
10. The Taft-Hartley Law should be repealed.
11. The gains achieved as a result of the strike against the steel industry represented "a significant advance."
12. The large corporations are attempting to negotiate long-term, no-strike contracts in order to reduce the effectiveness of labor unions.
13. "Big Business" uses wage increases as an excuse for exorbitant increases in prices.

14. Socialism offers the best solution to the problems raised by automation.
15. Complete labor unity has not yet been achieved in the AFL-CIO, and the unions expelled from the CIO as communist dominated should attempt to merge with unions in the AFL-CIO.
16. The American labor movement should unite more closely with the labor movement in other nations.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Economy

"ONE OF THE most significant economic and political trends in the period of imperialism, especially since World War I, has been the growth of the so-called managed economy in the major capitalist states. This is an expression of state monopoly capitalism. It manifests itself in attempts by the monopolists to control the economic processes generally through governmental manipulation of certain elementary economic factors...."

. . . . .

"Currently, the United States furnishes the most characteristic example of the 'managed economy' type of organization. In the American economy the monopolists, rich beyond comparison, continue to grow and to consolidate their political controls. The combined Morgan-Rockefeller interests now dominate more than \$125 billion in assets. The 'managed economy' is a major means by which such gigantic interests are fastening their grip upon the state and are using it to serve their own purposes...."

. . . . .

"...The countries with 'managed economies' remain capitalist... Their central purposes are to exploit the workers to the limit, to realize

maximum profits for the monopolist rulers, and to protect the capitalist system from revolutionary attacks by the workers and their allies...."

"The 'managed economy' of capitalism, while it definitely facilitates the purposes and the profits of monopoly capitalism, does not overcome the inherent chaos of the capitalist system...."

"For the past four decades or more there has been in the United States a long-term trend toward the 'managed economy.'..."

"The broad significance of all this governmental control was a gigantic infusion of financial subsidies, state and private, into the general economic bloodstream, specifically for the benefit of the big corporations...."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U.S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, pp. 20, 21, 22, 29, 30.

2. Republican Administration Is "Pro-Big Business"

"As for the domestic policy of Ike's administration, it is solidly opposed by the trade unionists of America, the majority of the Negro people and a growing mass of the smaller farmers. It is nakedly pro-big business on every important count...."

Daily Worker,  
July 25, 1956, p. 5.

"...But the 'right to prosper'...belongs only to the billionaire monopolists the Eisenhower administration so loyally serves."

"...neither the jobless auto workers nor the crisis-ridden farmers can look for genuine sympathy or help from an administration whose heart bleeds only for the rich."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 25, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Unemployment

"THE UNITED AUTO WORKERS is justifiably alarmed over the continuing wave of layoffs in the automobile industry. The Department of Labor acknowledged 137,000 were laid off in the industry since January. The union's figure is even higher."

"The situation is just as serious in coal mining and other fields. The workers and unions far beyond auto are watching events in Detroit."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 7, 1956, p. 5.

"The companies are still not satisfied and they would like to achieve in steel what has already taken place in coal--a cut of the number of workers by about half. To make that possible, they'd like to limit the union to a dues-collecting role."



"...The key for them is an insurance of what they call peace in the industry. They want no hindrance from unions for a plan to raise profits to still higher levels and employment to the lowest in the industry's modern history."

Daily Worker,  
June 20, 1956, p. 5.

#### 4. Organizing the Unorganized

"THE DECISION of the AFL-CIO council to launch that long-awaited and much-needed organizing drive in the textile industry may prove to be the most important of labor's recent decisions....

"Every union should be happy to make the needed financial contribution for that drive and give all possible cooperation, because its successful outcome can have tremendous political, economic and social implications for all labor and all America. The target is the major unorganized field in manufacturing. The field is mainly the vast reaction-dominated South. The promise: better conditions for the million textile workers and a South that is a base for progress, not Dixiecratism.

"Every unionist and forward-looking American will pitch in to make this drive a reality. They are waiting for the AFL-CIO to give the signal!"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

"It is also becoming evident, however, that a scatter-shot organizer cannot be very effective. It will take a concentration of a great deal organizing power and funds for a breakthrough in a specific locality--an effort that only the full backing of the AFL-CIO in conjunction with the unions directly involved, can be successful. That was the principle that

was advanced in the merger. But so far, more than five months after the merger convention, there is nothing under way in the way of organizing of the unorganized, north or south."

Daily Worker,  
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

5. Organizing Drive in the South

"Thus, the South is a millstone around labor's neck generally. And if there are unorganized low wage textile mills in the vicinity of organized mines and steel mills, they are a threat to union and wage standards of the organized. The widening of the gap cannot continue indefinitely."

The Worker,  
July 8, 1956, p. 3.

"...The more than 2,000,000 trade unionists in the South are showing considerable maturity... Labor has already a substantial base in Dixie and needn't feel itself like an 'invader' when organizing begins to roll."

The Worker,  
August 5, 1956, p. 3.

"After some hesitation, the AFL-CIO has at last assigned the first batch of organizers to work with the textile and tobacco unions in a key Southern area drive."

Daily Worker,  
September 28, 1956, p. 5.

6. Minimum Wage

"The AFL-CIO has made the issue of minimum wage its No. 1 objective at this session of Congress... Although labor is not satisfied with the \$1 minimum and continues to push its demand that this be boosted to \$1.25, the AFL-CIO is concentrating now on the issue of extending coverage."

Daily Worker,  
May 15, 1956, p. 4.

"Labor's fight on the minimum wage issue nationally... said by AFL-CIO to be a Number One concern in 1956, is running into trouble...."

"...while at the beginning of the session labor hoped to win extension of federal minimum wage coverage this year as it won the \$1 minimum last year, the outlook now appears to be dim. That is, unless the AFL-CIO generally and in particular those unions most directly concerned ...mount a vigorous drive in the near future.

"It would seem that labor can win this fight this year, with both the Democrats and Republicans sensitive to issues in relation to the 1956 election struggle."

Daily Worker,  
May 31, 1956, p. 8.

#### 7. Labor's Independent Political Activity

"...the over-all lack of independent political organization and isolation from the internal Democratic structure makes it always necessary for labor to start from scratch.

"The next step in the evolution of the popular will, as against dictation of the political machine, needs to be mass participation in party primaries, organized through the labor movement and its allies. This will both require and stimulate independent political organization."

Daily Worker,  
June 4, 1956, p. 4.

"...The coalition of labor, Negro people, liberals, small farmers which look to the Democrats for a ticket and platform as an alternative to the Cadillac Cabinet's ticket and platform, will need to keep up its independent pressures both on Congress and on the Democratic Party."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 7, 1956, p. 5.

8. Labor-Farmer Political Party

"American working-class-political action... is now relatively rapidly on the way to the formation of a great mass political party, which will almost certainly take the familiar historic American form of a labor-farmer or people's party; but this time with the workers in the lead. It would be absurd to think that the present situation of 16, 000, 000 organized workers dominated by bourgeois politicians can long continue. The recent merger of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. was, at the same time, a long stride towards independent working class political action. In all likelihood the next real economic or political crisis in this country will bring the new party, now aborning, to fruition, probably through a large-scale split in the Democratic Party."

"This is why it is so necessary, particularly for the Communist Party, in this rapidly ripening political situation, to keep before the workers the ultimate aim of independent political action and a great labor-farmer party, comprising a majority of the American people...."

William Z. Foster, "The Road to Socialism, II,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1956, p. 18.

9. "Right-To-Work" Laws

"THE SUPREME COURT'S unanimous decision to uphold the union shop in the railroad industry is a major victory for the trade union movement. The ruling acknowledges the primacy of the Federal Railway Labor Act of 1951, which authorized the union shop, over so called 'right-to-work' laws enacted in 18 states in which the union shop had been banned...."

"Here is one more instance in which the high court has sharply sustained the authority of the federal law and federal jurisdiction over state encroachments."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 23, 1956, p. 5.

"REPEAL by the Louisiana legislature of that state's misnamed 'right-to-work' law, the first of the 18 states with those anti-labor statutes to do so, may well augur a reverse trend. The victory should give new encouragement to labor's struggle for an end of these laws aimed at weakening unions and curbing organizing efforts.

"If it can be done in Louisiana, it can be done in the other states. The achievement should be a spur to political action by labor. It was the result of an intense drive by the now merged labor movement of that southern state."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 21, 1956, p. 5.

#### 10. Taft-Hartley Law

"The success in Louisiana should also strengthen confidence in the fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. It was the enactment of that law in 1947 that gave the green-light for the 'right-to-work' movements today headed by Fred Hartley, co-author of the law."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 21, 1956, p. 5.

## 11. Steel Strike

"THE BASIC overall terms agreed to between the 12 big steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America...are a significant advance for the steelworkers. They will unquestionably lift labor's 1956 wage round to a higher level.

"The agreement provides only some of what the union asked and the workers justifiably expected. But it is a step forward and some of the gains are of historic importances for the steelworkers and labor generally....

"The employers rightfully boast of their gain, too. They won a three-year no-strike pact (although not the five-year pact they sought). They will try to take advantage of it to cut their labor cost through technological job elimination."

"The new steel pact will put new vigor into labor's pressure for higher wages and other concessions. But it should be borne in mind that there is no automatic application of the 'steel pattern.' Others can come up to it or surpass it only if they show the strength, vigor and solidarity the steelworkers displayed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 31, 1956, p. 5.

## 12. Long-Term Contracts

"The steel companies, like the other major corporations, are putting great emphasis on a five-year pact because they want time without restriction still further to reduce the number of workers through technological changes. They have learned from experience that cutting payrolls and increasing productivity is the real key to superprofits."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 18, 1956, p. 5.

"UNION PEOPLE soon learn that their rates and job security are as strong as the effectiveness of their unions to enforce them. It comes down to the basic right to retain the strike weapon and show a willingness to use it periodically when serious issues come to fore. The employers know this, too, and for that reason have pitched their strategy on getting a five-year contract."

Daily Worker,  
July 2, 1956, p. 5.

"The close interlocking between the steel interests and the auto and electrical firms, suggests that the idea of tying American unions to long no-strike agreements was a long-planned strategy of America's monopolies in the drive to weaken and 'tame' unions."

The Worker,  
June 24, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"...it would be a sorry day, indeed, if the five-year idea--with its stagnating, paralyzing effect--becomes the pattern for union contracts."

Daily Worker,  
June 25, 1956, p. 5.

### 13. Industry Is Responsible for Price Increases

"The companies appeal to the farmers, other workers, small business and professional people to win them as allies against the workers' wage demands. They say this results in price hikes and thus LABOR hurts everybody with its demands. The truth is that it is Big Business which is responsible for the price hikes. It uses the contract demands as an excuse and raises prices out of all proportion to the increases."

Daily Worker,  
July 17, 1956, pp. 5, 7.

"The steel situation offers the most clearout basis for proving that wage increases need have no effect on prices. And the public should be told the facts to counteract the false cry of the corporations that they MUST extort more from the steel purchasers, and increase the danger of inflation."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 31, 1956, p. 5.

#### 14. Automation

"...automation serves to bring home to workers ever more clearly the growing irrationality of capitalist production--the widening contrast between what should be and what exists, as well as between the situation here and that in a socialist country. It raises the question of Socialism with greater urgency."

"The dangers of automation to labor have given rise to a variety of programs for combatting them. These include demands for higher wages, guaranteed annual wage, shorter work week, revision of job classifications, higher pay for automated jobs, broadened seniority groupings, retraining of workers at company expense, relocation allowances for displaced workers, and a number of others.

"Particular impetus has been given to the fight for the thirty-hour week...."

Hyman Lumer, "Automation in the  
Cleveland Ford Plants,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956,  
pp. 31, 32.



"The automation problem is new. And new bold ideas are needed to meet it. If society (rather than private profiteers) owned and operated automation...for human needs it would be a boon to mankind instead of a destructive monster. But this would mean replacing capitalism by socialism."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 3, 1956, p. 7.

15. Labor Unity

"LABOR'S UNITY, less than six months old, is being seriously challenged on many fronts. The recent executive council session of the AFL-CIO had to take notice of the grave developments with an appeal to the affiliates to 'get on with the unity job.'"

"THE AFL-CIO bodies have thus far merged in only six of the states of lesser importance. Merger talks in most of the key spots were slowed as though in response to a signal."

"Unfortunately much of our labor movement is currently just marking time. There is a widespread wait-and-see spirit as though the results of unity are scheduled to drop like manna from heaven."

"There is only one way to meet both the internal and external disrupters; it is to mount the offensive on the political and organizing fronts. That could arouse and mobilize the members and focus the spotlight on those who are in the way--whether the union-busters, the racists or the power-hungry factionalists."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1956, pp. 3, 14.

"...For at least two years, even before there was serious talk of a merger in the labor movement as a whole, we have pointed out that there is no secure future for the unaffiliated (former CIO) unions\* as independent unions, and that they will have no alternative but to seek entry into the main stream through reunification of the workers in their respective fields."

Daily Worker,  
June 11, 1956, p. 5.

16. International Labor Solidarity

"...on this May Day there is a stronger outlook for re-unification of the world's workers than any time since the split of nearly 40 years ago. World developments, including the growth of the camp under socialism to a population of nearly a billion, the casting off of dogmas and prejudices and the trend for more creative thinking in working class ranks, is narrowing the differences that have held apart sections of world labor...."

"OUR TRADE UNION officialdom still clings to its old conservatism and isolation from a substantial section of world labor...."

"In greeting the world's working class on the occasion of this--the 70th--May Day, we voice the hope that before long the workers of America will be truly integrated in spirit and outlook, with the workers of the world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 1, 1956, p. 5.

\*The reference is to those unions expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950 as communist dominated.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The decline in the income of farmers over a period of years has left many farmers on the verge of bankruptcy.
2. Legislation designed to assist the farmers was passed too late to be of effective assistance.
3. The Republican Administration is trying to drive large numbers of farmers from the land.
4. The labor movement and the Negroes should support the demands of the farmers for additional Federal assistance.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Crisis in Agriculture

"Today the farmers are getting not the 100 percent parity which Eisenhower promised at Kasson, Minn., in 1952, nor the 90 percent which he 'guaranteed.' The parity index at this writing is 82 percent! When Ike made his promise, farmers were getting \$20.60 per hundred pounds. After three and a half years of Ezra Benson, they are getting \$16.20--down 20 percent. And 600,000 farmers have gone out of business since he promised to help them four years ago."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 27, 1956, p. 5.

"...many farmers are confronted now not only by loss of income but by loss of farm and home.... The issue here is no longer firm or sliding parity, but survival or bankruptcy.

"...The fact that moratorium vs. bankruptcy, and the destruction of the family farm by the big farms have been raised in this session,\* means,

\*The reference is to the last session of the 84th Congress.

however, that a far more serious situation is in the making on the countryside than many persons think."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on  
Capitol Hill,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 10.

## 2. Farm Aid Ineffective

"... For example, farmers... are not sure what benefits they will derive from the 1956 farm bill, the so-called 'compromise' measure adopted after an Eisenhower veto and a politically-charged debate.

"The soil bank, main feature of the bill, was enacted too late to do the maximum good. Far fewer farmers than anticipated will come under the program. And most of the soil bank payments for unworked or diverted land will be less than \$50 an acre."

The Worker,  
July 8, 1956, p. 3.

## 3. Administration Wants Fewer Farmers

"The grass roots mobilization that turned a Congressional defeat on farm legislation into victory, but was not sufficient to prevent a presidential veto, or to override it, was one of the major struggles this session. The veto by the President, despite its admitted political dangers for the GOP, was clear evidence of the determination by the Cadillac Administration to resolve the farm situation by permitting hundreds of thousands more farmers to be cleaned out.

"The latest farm legislation which, at this writing, seems assured of passage, will contribute very little toward halting the downward

trend in agriculture income, let alone restoring any part of the losses that have been inflicted on millions of farmers during the past several years."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on  
Capitol Hill,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 9.

4. Farmers Need Support

"Similarly, labor and the Negro people's movement should support the demand of the working farmers for legislation at the current session to provide relief."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1956, p. 12.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism perpetuates "illiteracy, backwardness and superstition" in colonial nations.
2. The United States dominates Latin America.
3. The present Government of Guatemala, imposed on that nation by the United States, is totalitarian.
4. Algeria is being terrorized by French troops.
5. A "brutal colonial war" is being waged against Cyprus by Great Britain.
6. The United States is supporting the suppression of the colonial nations.
7. The Soviet Union is supporting the right of colonial nations to their complete independence.
8. The communist nations, along with those which have recently gained their independence, constitute "an international belt of peace."
9. Socialism offers the best solution to the problem of industrializing the colonial nations.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Imperialism Perpetuates Misery

"History shows that imperialist aid to colonial countries...while it may provide some D.D. T. and modern drains, will not help a country to win its independence.

"On the contrary, it will strengthen the economic and political grip of foreign capital, and perpetuate illiteracy, backwardness and superstition."

Daily Worker,  
June 5, 1956, p. 7.

"... India is backward and its people poverty-stricken because of a century and a half of domination by 'Western civilization.' Capitalism had its chance in India. The fruits are all too terrible to tolerate. They are even more terrible in Africa. And in our own back yard, south of the border, the people of many Latin American countries have a life-span of 30 years--another tribute to western civilization, Wall Street brand."

Daily Worker,  
July 9, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Latin America

"... the Latin American governments under puppet dictators are only suppression agencies of the Wall Street monopolies in their own countries..."

Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1956, p. 6.

"Real progress in the Latin American countries can be made only under democratic governments chosen freely by their own people. Along with economic and scientific aid, the Eisenhower Administration must end its efforts to determine the form of government and the governmental policies of the recipients of that aid."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 24, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Guatemala

"The government of Guatemala proclaimed a state of siege yesterday after police fired machine guns directly into crowds of students, mainly girls, killing three university students and wounding at least 19 seriously.

"The totalitarian regime of Carlos Castillo Armas acted after a second day of demonstration in which Guatemalan citizens are demanding elementary civil liberties...."

"It was just two years ago that Guatemala's democratic government was overthrown in an armed putsch organized from abroad by Castillo with the moral, political, diplomatic and military aid of the U.S. government.

"Since then free trade unions have been smashed; land that had been distributed to peasants was returned to the big feudal landlords--the biggest of them being the United Fruit Co. with main offices on Wall Street; suffrage for workers and peasants was limited so that the majority of the population lost the right to vote. And to crown this Castillo suspended even the remnant of civil rights as soon as Guatemalan citizens tried to exercise them."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1956, p. 1.

"Today the blinders are off the eyes of many people who believed Dulles two years ago when he said Guatemala was the victim of a Communist plot....

"And after the massacre of Guatemalan students all Americans of good will should stand up against totalitarianism to the south of us which bears the label--Imposed by John Foster Dulles."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1956, p. 4.

\*This probably should read "with main offices on Wall Street."



4. Algeria

"...The plain fact is that Algeria has become an occupied country living under the daily terror of foreign troops who shoot first and ask questions later...."

"In Algeria... 'free world' activity is spelled out in gruesome detail.... the French lynchers of Algerians 'thought to be accomplices' of independence, have done the spelling."

Daily Worker,  
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

5. Cyprus

"The island of Cyprus is inhabited by half a million people, over 80 percent of whom are Greek. They are Greek in language, tradition, custom, culture, blood relationship, history and every other criterion. They are kept in submission as a crown colony by the bayonets of British troops."

Daily Worker,  
May 28, 1956, p. 5.

"...Furthermore, any killing that goes on in Cyprus is brought on solely because a brutal colonial war of suppression is being waged by foreign troops--the British."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 11, 1956, p. 5.

6. U.S. Supports Colonialism

"The sad, sad thing for us Americans, is that the colonial wars of suppression go on with the moral, financial and military support of our government. In UN our representatives even refused to allow public debate of these questions, as if to emphasize how free the 'free world' really is."

Daily Worker,  
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

"Already U. S. foreign investments place in the shade those of the old European colonial powers. The trend is to tie us up in web of modern colonialism to involve us in every attempt of vested corporate interests to suppress the world-wide movements for modern living standards, based on nationalization of resources and their use for internal development...."

The Worker,  
September 16, 1956, p. 12.

7. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"It's also being admitted that the Soviet Union is playing its part as a factor both for peaceful negotiations as well as in giving strong support to the anti-colonial position..."

Daily Worker,  
August 13, 1956, p. 5.

"...Furthermore the Soviet Union was winning enormous prestige all over Asia, all over the Middle East, and also in Latin America and Africa, because it supported the rights of the colonial and former colonial peoples to control their own destinies."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1956, pp. 4, 13.

8. Colonial and Socialist Nations for Peace

"This May Day will reflect the new situation in the world with special emphasis. Nearly 40 percent of the world's people will celebrate the victory of socialism in their countries.

"Marching closely in step with them is a substantial part of the world, including lands like India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, and others that have rid themselves of the colonial yoke. Together with the socialist world, they comprise a majority of the world's population, constituting an international belt of peace...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 1, 1956, p. 5.

9. Colonial Nations Need Socialism

"WHICH brings us again to the means by which a backward country can develop modern industry most effectively....

"The modern industrial system is social....

"To enable modern industry to flourish, to advance industry with seven league boots and to abolish poverty in the midst of plenty; to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes, to apply automation without disastrous dislocation -- all this requires planning, public ownership and control -- Socialism in other words...."

Daily Worker,  
July 9, 1956, p. 5.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. The Smith Act should be repealed. There should be no further prosecutions under this law, and the communist leaders who have been convicted of violating this law should be granted amnesty.
2. Noncommunists are beginning to realize that the Communist Party, USA, has the right to "a legal existence."
3. The McCarran Act is unconstitutional and is designed to eliminate "political dissent."
4. The Federal security program should be discontinued.
5. The use of confidential informants should be discontinued.
6. The alliance of the "Dixiecrats" and Republicans caused the failure of the 84th Congress.
7. Congressional attacks on the Supreme Court are attempts to intimidate its members.
8. The American public is "fed up" with the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives.
9. "Big Business" controls Congress through lobbying and campaign contributions.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Smith Act**

"... There have been flagrant cases of injustice in the courts of this country, but for callous indifference to human rights and for disregard of

elementary democratic justice, few of these outrages have surpassed the many kangaroo jailings under the Smith Act."

. . . . .  
"To wipe out the Smith Act would constitute one of the big victories for civil liberties in the history of this country...."

. . . . .  
"THE DEMAND for amnesty for the imprisoned Communist leaders and for a moratorium on further Smith Act arrests and prosecutions until the Supreme Court has concluded its second look next fall has risen to new heights...."

. . . . .  
"The big task now is to mobilize the growing spirit of resistance to the Smith Act, and if this is done the fight against the Smith Act can be won."

Daily Worker,  
July 10, 1956, p. 5.

"...President Eisenhower's action this week in signing a law, however, to increase Smith Act penalties to 20 years in jail, is a sharp reminder that there is no intent in Washington to cry quits..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 30, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Public Opinion Changing on Smith Act

"All this tended to create conditions much more favorable for the defense of civil rights and democratic liberties. Questions of constitutional rights assumed greater significance. Broader forces took increasing

interest in the status of civil liberties, and began to do something about it. A marked change also began to be felt in the public mind as to the meaning of the Smith Act trials."

"The important feature of the Ohio trial\* was that for the first time powerful voices outside of the Left were willing and able to speak out boldly on basic Constitutional issues, on the rights of the Communist Party to a legal existence."\*\*

A. Krchmarek, "The Ohio Smith Act Trial,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 59, 62.

### 3. McCarran Act

"The Supreme Court decision returning the McCarran Act issue to the SACB\*\*\* represents a partial victory for American political sanity and the decent opinion of mankind. It is also an effective blow to the political perjury system produced by the Justice Department stoolpigeon stable.

"...the McCarran Act is brazenly unconstitutional.

"The act is more than a licensing law. It is, as President Truman pointed out in his veto message, a grave menace to the rights of free speech, press and association of all Americans. Along with the Smith Act it represents part of a cold-war policy designed to outlaw opposition political parties and crush political dissent.' "

Daily Worker,  
May 1, 1956, pp. 1, 8.

\*The reference is to the trial of eleven communist leaders in Cleveland, Ohio, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

\*\*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

\*\*\*The reference is to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

#### 4. Federal Security Program

"By a vote of 6-3 the U. S. Supreme Court has dealt a heavy and thoroughly deserved blow to the witchhunt program conducted against government employes."

"The Court says that President Eisenhower violated the law when he set up a so-called security program applicable to all government workers. It charges that a 1950 statute on which the President's program was based intended to cover only positions 'concerned with the nation's safety.'"

"The decision is all the more important in view of the fact that published statistics indicate that half of the government workers fired under heresy-screening held 'nonsensitive' positions."

"The government's program, now attacked by the Court, set the pattern for similar witchhunts among state and city employes and in private industry. About 10, 000, 000 Americans are now involved in the screening net."

"However, the only real safety and security for America lies in ending the witchhunting in any kind of post...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

#### 5. Confidential Informants

"Every denaturalization and deportation hearing, every loyalty inquisition which sent a government employee, educator, or industrial worker pounding the streets looking for a job, has likewise been 'tainted' by the false testimony of the professional informers."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1956, p. 13.

"Yet the informer system is at the very heart of the tyranny with which the witchhunters control the right of Americans to hold their jobs, or to choose association freely."

Daily Worker,  
July 31, 1956, p. 6.

"The informer system, on which alone rest the Smith Act prosecution and the Subversive Activities Control Board proceedings, is overdue for the discard...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 20, 1956, p. 5.

6. 84th Congress

"DISILLUSION and disappointment with Congress has been a recurring theme in American political life ever since the first retreats from the New Deal. The 84th Congress which has just adjourned was no exception. Its closing hours witnessed the sell-out of the civil rights bill, about as infamous a betrayal of campaign pledges as the nation has seen in many a year.

"The 84th Congress killed the school construction bill. It enacted a piddling little public housing measure the chief virtue of which is that it keeps the concept of low-cost public housing alive for another two years.

"Its only claim to credit was passage of the social security bill lowering the age at which women will be eligible to 62 and permitting totally disabled workers to collect benefits at 50.

"Instead of any steps to restore the Bill of Rights after the five years of erosion of the McCarthy era, the 84th Congress added new stiff penalties to the Smith thought-control Act.



"Ignored were the platform pledges to labor to repeal or amend Taft-Hartley, and section 14-B, under which reactionary state legislatures have passed the so-called right-to-work laws, still stands. The minimum wage was NOT raised to \$1.25. Prevailing union wage scale were NOT ordered on all government-financed construction.

"The McCarran-Walter immigration act was NOT liberalized and there was no tax cut."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 5, 1956, p. 4.

"Although each legislature sell-out bore a bi-partisan stamp, major responsibility must lie with the Eisenhower Administration.... But the blame must also lie on the shoulders of the Democratic leadership of the Senate and House--especially Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn--who time and again collaborated with the GOP and appeased the Dixiecrats within their own party."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 30, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

"... For the essential fact is that the 84th Congress has failed the people because of the alliance between the Republicans and the Dixiecrats."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1956, p. 5.

#### 7. Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court

"... The denunciation of Chief Justice Warren... by Eastland and McCarthy as a crypto-communist is a dangerous attempt to reverse the recent democratic trend in several of the court's decisions, and to intimidate it against persisting in that course.

"Ever since the court's decision on school segregation the racists and reactionaries in Congress have been searching for methods to revert to the segregated past.

"The more recent decisions in the arena of civil liberties have enraged the McCarthy-Mundt-Eastland cabal even more. In both the Senate and the House a number of bills have been introduced which would substitute McCarthyism for constitutional rights."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 28, 1956, p. 5.

"Chief complaint of reaction against court decisions favorable to democracy is that they undermine 'state's rights.'

"The way is thus set for a coalition of anti-labor Republicans and Dixiecrat Democrats to try to clip the court's wings in behalf of reaction...."

The Worker,  
June 24, 1956, p. 4.

"Eastland and his gang would take from the high court its role as interpreter of the law and granting to the states the power to duplicate federal laws. They would make permanent any interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court which had not been changed for 50 years; and they would make all U. S. citizens subject to laws passed by racist and anti-labor dictatorships parading as state governments.

"... The only answer to these attempts to reverse the timetable of democracy is a stand-up fight in Congress for civil rights and civil liberties. There is no middle ground between law enforcement and illegality, between racist gangsterism and morality."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 19, 1956, p. 5.

8. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"The people are fed up with the Un-American Committee, don't take it seriously, at any rate. In more than one court action, the bench has ruled that the House group has exceeded its legal authority and function."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 29, 1956, p. 5.

"Isn't it about time that the country--and members of Congress in the first place--dropped the idea that the Un-American Committee is too powerful and untouchable a group to be criticized?..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 12, 1956, p. 5.

9. Lobbying and Campaign Spending

"What came of the proposal to limit lobbying activity and to check massive election spending?"

"IT IS not, of course, by chance that efforts to limit either lobbying or campaign spending have come to nothing. What is involved here is the heart of our capitalist political setup, one of the major methods, or techniques, by which Big Business rules the roost, even though we're suppose to be a 'classless democracy' in which every citizen is equal."

The Worker,  
August 5, 1956, p. 3.

## **VII. ARMED FORCES**

1. Military appropriations should be reduced, and the money saved should be used for public welfare projects.
2. American military leaders should visit the Soviet Union.
3. The "Army mess in Europe" should be investigated.
4. The United States is becoming increasingly militarized.
5. The training program of the United States Marine Corps should be investigated by Congress.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Military Appropriations**

"But military buildup remains the preoccupation of the Administration, and of the missile-minded section of the Democrats. As a consequence, billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money are shoveled into the cash registers of the war contractors."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

"THE SERVICE squabble about the effectiveness of various weapons deals with matters which are outside our knowledge, but it's not too hard to get the whiff of the old pork barrel from a controversy involving tremendous amounts of the taxpayer's money."

"There is the pork barrel to end all pork barrels, and there is the reason for the tenacious resistance to, and almost comic fear of, the idea and example of genuine, reciprocal disarmament, the road to peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 24, 1956, p. 5.

"...A square deal for American housing, for school construction, for road building, for slum clearance, for massive war against juvenile delinquency--all depend on cutting military expenditures."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 29, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Visit of Military Officials to Moscow

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER was just out of the ether when acting president Sherman Adams presented him with an 'outline' for rejecting a Soviet invitation to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to visit Moscow. The President concurred with his assistant.

"This is line\* with the dread spreading throughout Washington--that the cold war is dying on its feet...."

"All in all, America is strong enough, we think, to allow its military chiefs to visit the Soviet Union. We doubt very seriously that they'll become communists after only a single visit."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

\*This probably should read "This is in line."

3. U. S. Troops Overseas

"It is understandable that the presence of foreign troops is objectionable for any people. It is also well known that with large numbers of young soldiers thrown among the European civilian population serious frictions are bound to result.

"But something else has been added to the matter of foreign troops and occupying armies. An atmosphere has been created in Germany--and in some parts of Britain and France--not entirely from\* that which obtains in a large part of the U.S. Racism has become a criterion in assessing what social acts do od do not constitute a crime."

"Under these circumstances, it can be asked:

"Is the Army seeking to get out from under the criticism of Europeans by organizing 'rape circuses' with Negro victims?

"Doesn't the entire issue of the occupation army and the manning of foreign bases need investigating and overhauling. . ."

"These latest developments indicate the need for a civilian group to look into the Army mess in Europe, irrespective of what Congress or the Defense Department may do about it."

Daily Worker,  
August 13, 1956, p. 2.

\*This probably should read "not entirely different from."

#### 4. Militarization of America

"... A further characteristic of the development of state monopoly capital in the cold war years, with its 'managed economy' implications, is the widespread militarization of the government, the industries, the colleges, and other key institutions that has recently taken place. General Eisenhower, as President of the United States, is the major symbol of this broad tendency. Many of the top brass are seeking administrative political careers as they approach the time of retirement, and there is also a veritable flood of generals, admirals, and other outstanding militarists into prominent positions in the upper executive echelons of big corporations. It is estimated that 2,000 of them took this route in 1955. Special attention is also being paid by these gentry to occupying the highest posts in the universities. Even as they are tying the industries organically to the state machine, especially in its military aspects, so the top militarists are also making sure that the educated youth are made part of the broad and ever-expanding state-industrial-educational-military apparatus of American imperialism."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U.S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, p. 31.

#### 5. Court-Martial of Staff Sergeant McKeon

"The court of seven Marine officers obligingly dismissed the most serious charges against McKeon and found him guilty only of simple negligence.... The verdict upholds Marine training methods but makes McKeon an individual scapegoat."

"We believe McKeon deserved to be punished. Whether the sentence--busting to private, nine months jailing at hard labor, and a bad conduct discharge--was harsh or lenient can be debated."

"But this doesn't end the case. Everyone knows that McKeon was both the product and instrument of the brutal Marine training system. It was this system that needlessly killed the six young recruits. It is this system which places the Marine Corps even above religion or patriotism... which breeds sadist training officers like McKeon and countless others no different from him--all with the excuse that military discipline requires it.

"The Marines need discipline, as any good fighting armed force does. No marine or veteran of any section of our armed forces will quarrel with this. But we do not believe that esprit de corps means placing the Marines above religion or patriotism--or simple decency and humanity.

"...It seems to us, now that the McKeon trial has ended (pending appeal), that a Congressional investigation into the Marine training system, with public hearings, is still needed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 6, 1956, p. 5.



# VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The Democratic and Republican leaders in the United States Senate, along with the Republican Administration, are responsible for the defeat of civil rights legislation.
2. The civil rights planks of the campaign platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties are unsatisfactory.
3. The Federal Government should intervene to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Southern States.
4. Negroes are still threatened with violence, and they suffer discrimination and segregation in the South.
5. A movement is under way in the South to eliminate racial discrimination.
6. The Negroes who are boycotting the bus line in Tallahassee, Florida, should be supported.
7. Legal action against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in various Southern States is an attempt to outlaw the organization.
8. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court prohibiting segregation in intrastate transportation is "a great victory."
9. The White Citizens' Councils are symbols of revolt against Federal law.
10. Socialism offers the solution to the economic, social, and political problems of the Negroes.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Civil Rights Legislation

"... the civil rights issue has come to dominate the 1956 national electoral scene, just as the issue of McCarthyism dominated 1954. McCarthy went down to crushing defeat two years ago. There is good ground for believing white supremacy can receive a similar setback in 1956, not alone in the national elections but in the concessions that can be forced from the politicians of both major parties in the course of the campaign.

"Focus of the struggle at this moment is the civil rights bill before Congress...."

"The primary test for both parties will be their performance in relation to the vital civil rights program in Congress.

"A second test will be their campaign platforms. Here, the Democratic convention will be the main arena...."

"A third test is election of Negroes to public office...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 5, 1956, p. 5.

"... there was no question as to where the responsibility for killing civil rights bill should lie, and that was on the shoulders of the Democratic and Republican leadership of the Senate, and on the Eisenhower administration."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1956, p. 5.

"...For who can deny that the real purpose of the Dixiecrats (with the active connivance of GOP leader Knowland) in barring civil rights action is to permit the continued shedding of Negro blood with impunity from federal intervention?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 26, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Civil Rights Planks

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS plank adopted by the Democratic national convention over the vigorous protests of the labor-liberal bloc is bad politically and even worse morally."

"This is a Johnson-Rayburn plank. It reveals once again the power and influence which the Dixiecrats and their appeasers wield in the Democratic party..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 17, 1956, p. 5.

"The Republicans, counting on the popularity of their chief standard bearer, the relaxed world climate and the relatively high level of prosperity, are making the big pitch to round up the votes of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and the small business men."

"THUS they have drafted a civil rights plank which goes slightly beyond the Democrat's shabby plank, pledges the GOP to 'accept' the Supreme Court decision, and endorses the civil rights legislation introduced belatedly by the administration in the last days of the 84th Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 22, 1956, p. 5.

3. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"THE SILENCE of President Eisenhower in the face of the orgy of racist violence in Tennessee is inexcusable....

"This is not an ordinary mob which has threatened law and order, life and limb in Clinton, Tennessee--it is a racist mobilization to prevent the enforcement of a federal court order."

"There is then, on the part of the President of the United States, both a moral and legal duty to place the weight of his office on the side of law and order and basic morality. But the country has listened in vain for the needed condemnation and the Presidential pledge to back up United States courts."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 5, 1956, p. 5.

4. Negroes in the South

"...Negroes are still lynched, murdered and assassinated with impunity in Georgia and Mississippi; tens of thousands of Negroes and poor whites are kept from the polls; the hard-core of the feudal plantation system remains; jimcrow, segregation and discrimination are still the degrading routine of Negro life in the South, and in varying degrees all over the U. S. Even in the arena of court struggle, the legal basis of the death-dealing slums and job discrimination are yet to be outlawed."

Daily Worker,  
May 4, 1956, p. 4.

5. The Changing South

"...historic changes are under way in the South. Southern men and women, Negro and white alike, with a militant youth in the forefront, are

beginning to take their destiny in their own hands. The historic outcome of this great development will be to free the South and the nation from the abomination of Jim Crow. American democratic public opinion can only look with favor upon this historic development, and give it united, enthusiastic support. "

Edward E. Strong, "The Defeat of Shivers,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 23.

6. Tallahassee, Florida, Bus Boycott

"...The Tallahassee, Fla., police have ordered the arrest of auto drivers who have volunteered to transport Negroes boycotting the local bus lines.

"It has now been declared a crime in Tallahassee to offer your neighbor a ride if that neighbor is a Negro who refuses to accept a segregated bus seat. This is not only preposterous, arrogant and a subversion of the ends of orderly local government, it is an attempt to make peaceful protest impossible in the face of state-enforced racial restrictions. This un-American--even un-Southern--police order also violates the spirit, if not the letter of the law of the land as it is written into the Constitution and recent U. S. Supreme Court desegregation decisions.

"...And it is a credit to the nation and the Negro people that the Negro Inter-Civic Council which helped organize volunteer drivers for giving protesters rides has announced its intention of standing firm in the face of illegal police intimidation.

"In this the Tallahassee Negroes have followed the example of their Montgomery, Ala., brothers and sisters who maintained 100 percent unity behind their bus protest despite the arrest of more than 90 of their leaders....

"This nation and the world rallied to the support of the Montgomery Negroes. Tallahassee has not yet become a place-name seared into the nation's conscience; but the Negroes of the North Florida city have taken their place beside those in Montgomery who have fought so heroically for realizing the American way of life for themselves. They deserve the support as well as the applause of the nation."

"And the federal government can be asked what it intends to do about this flagrant announcement that klannish jackboots will trample on civil rights in Tallahassee."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 20, 1956, p. 5.

7. Attacks on the NAACP

"IN STATE AFTER STATE--South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and now Alabama--the only effective moderate opposition to the one-party dictatorships is being outlawed. For the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is being declared illegal by various means in these segregated states for no other reason than the group's deep-rooted affirmation of the American system of rule by law.

"In effect, the attacks on the NAACP represent a perversion of the so-called police powers of these states from protecting the security of their citizens into suppressive devices aimed at preventing Americans from expressing, in practice, their allegiance to the United States."

"Voters, North and South, would support moves by the President, through the Attorney General, against the racist persecution of the NAACP and its southern leaders...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 4, 1956, p. 5.

"We trust that the NAACP will win prompt and effective support in the fight to protect its right to function in the South..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 27, 1956, p. 5.

8. Segregation in Intrastate Transportation

"THE SUPREME Court decision banning segregation in intrastate transportation is a great victory for Negro rights and for the rising cause of democracy in our country.

"Extending the application of the principle inaugurated in the anti-segregation school decision, it further undermines the legal foundation of the jimcrow system. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the Negro people and other minorities--and their allies--all over the country. It helps to create even more favorable conditions for the Negro people, their labor and progressive allies, to intensify the people's struggle for ending the whole white supremacy system in the U. S. The NAACP is to be congratulated for its brilliant contribution to this victory."

Daily Worker,  
May 4, 1956, p. 4.

9. White Citizens' Councils

"... 'Gradualism' was supposed to give the South time for adjustment. Instead, it gave the Citizens Councils time to organize, to conjure up ancient Confederate symbols and dredge up old prejudices and hatreds."

Daily Worker,  
May 29, 1956, p. 4.

"... a noisy and bellicose racist minority, holding power in Deep South states and in the federal government, has raised the banner of revolt against federal law and national morality. They have organized the 'white collar Ku Klux Klan'--White Citizens Councils--and rallied 100 southern Congressmen to sign an arrogant 'manifesto' attacking the U. S. Supreme Court, stopping just short of endorsing a new Secession."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 17, 1956, p. 1.

10. Negroes Need Socialism

"... socialism offers to Americans, and especially Negro Americans, the ultimate answer to the economic, social and political problems with which we are confronted...."

Daily Worker,  
June 14, 1956, p. 5.



## IX. EDUCATION

1. American educational institutions are enjoying a revival of academic freedom.
2. Communist teachers should be judged by their ability and not their political views.
3. There is still considerable discrimination in education.
4. Federal funds should be provided for school construction and for increased teachers' salaries.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Academic Freedom

"...There was a rather brief period, some six or seven years ago, when the normal questioning and challenging of college youth had all but disappeared so far as articulate expression was concerned. But for the past few years this icy terror has been receding and today it is a fact that the stirrings on the campus are greater than at any time in some fifteen years."

. . . . .

"...On scores of campuses thousands of students and faculty members have rededicated themselves to the defense of the Bill of Rights and have gone out of their way to make clear that Communists, too, have the same freedoms as have all other Americans and that they mean to preserve and develop their own right to hear all points of view as expressed by their adherents, including Marxism as expressed by avowed Marxists."

"...The change in the past five years is breath-taking."

. . . . .

"...Anything that inhibits the fullest and most complete academic freedom here is a disservice to the education of our youth, an obstacle to the advance of science and beauty and justice; and is unworthy of our country."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Question of Academic Freedom,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1956, pp. 43,  
44, 51.

## 2. Communists as Teachers

"But we wish to confine ourselves to the question of the disqualification of teachers on political grounds, and especially on the ground of being Communists. We think that all regulations having this as their purpose clearly violate elementary tenets of the Bill of Rights and of academic freedom...."

"Let the scholarly works of Communists and let their teaching be subjected to the same tests as all others--the ordeal by experts, the testing by peers...."

"The whole argument for denying Communists as Communists the right to teach amounts to guilt by association and constitutes a bill of attainder...."

Ibid., pp. 47, 50, 51.

"It is time to return to the elementary principle--forcefully enunciated by so conservative a figure as the late Senator Robert A. Taft,

and more recently by the American Association of University Professors-- that a teacher be judged by performance and not by political views.

"The ideologists of the view that Communists cannot be allowed to teach insist that such teachers are under instruction to smuggle in the 'party line.'

"However, in the scores of... trials of alleged Communists, not one allegation has been made of classroom misconduct. On the contrary, almost every teacher tried was spoken of with highest praise by students, parents, fellow-teachers and even principals."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Discrimination in Education

"Further, it is notorious that in our country academic freedom is vitiated to a considerable degree by many kinds of religious, racial and national prejudices. Of these, among the more damaging is anti-Semitism which acts to limit severely the number of Jews permitted in certain areas of study and specialization and which even more severely limits the number of Jews hired as teachers.

"The most devastating single prejudice within this category, however, is of course that directed against the Negro people.... Here the facts are a world-wide scandal--from students facing lynching for daring to seek advanced education, to legalizing third-rate educational facilities for Negroes, to several states now banning by law any teaching that questions the supremacy of white people and to other states prohibiting members of the N. A. A. C. P. from being employed as teachers.

"...There are, for example, severe social pressures directed against female advancement in the areas of advanced scientific study and research and this reacts very adversely against the real academic freedom of women, as students and as teachers.

"Again, economic pressures place the masses at a distinct disadvantage and the rich at a great advantage in terms of scholastic pursuits. Clearly the entire middle and upper class nature of our higher-educational system, from its students, instructors, administrators, trustees, curriculum and subject matter constitutes an overwhelming limitation on full academic freedom. One may simply point out that very, very few people who are domestic workers or coal miners or sharecroppers or longshoremen when they are 18, are going to be college teachers when they are 30."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Question of Academic Freedom,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1956, pp. 46, 47.

#### 4. Federal Aid for Education

"...Now a record of over 40 million Americans will be enrolled in schools and colleges of the land. But as the attendance soars the number of schools and seats lags further and further behind, and the lack of teaching personnel increases.

"Quite obviously this is something the cities and local communities cannot cope with alone. This is a national problem. It concerns the greatest of our resources--America's youth, America's future. The school crisis can be solved only with a massive federal program of aid to education. The country needs federal funds for school construction. And there is a crying need for aid to enable schools everywhere to pay teachers the salaries which their difficult, exacting and most valuable work deserves. To double the salaries of the country's teachers would still not put them at a very high level."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 10, 1956, p. 5.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Art must reflect "the life of the people."
2. Federal aid for the fine arts is necessary.
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of cultural delegations between the United States and other nations.
4. Black-listing in the entertainment field is responsible for the "degeneration" of American motion pictures.
5. Soviet culture is experiencing a revival since "errors of dogma and bureaucracy" have been eliminated.
6. The Soviet Union is encouraging a revival of Jewish culture.
7. There should be an increase in the international exchange of scientific information.
8. The "public utility monopolists" are delaying the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
9. More American religious leaders should visit the Soviet Union.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Art Should Reflect Life

"An abyss seems to have opened between the intellectual cosmopolites of culture, and the people, hungry for word and meaning...."

. . . . .

"No art can develop until it penetrates deeply into the life of the people.

"The source of American culture lies in the historic movement of our people, and the artist must become voice, messenger, awakener, sparking the inflammable silence, reflecting back the courage and the beauty...."

Meridel Le Sueur, "The Dark of the Time,"  
Masses & Mainstream, August, 1956,  
pp. 12, 21.

## 2. Federal Aid for the Arts

"MORE EMPHATICALLY than ever, the question is posed of municipal and federal support for the arts...."

"BASICALLY THE ISSUE is concern for our nation's culture. It is part of the problem that plagues our schools--the shortage of funds to maintain adequate staffs, buildings, and curricula."

Daily Worker,  
June 14, 1956, p. 6.

"LOVERS OF THE fine arts will be pleased to know that the Senate has passed the Lehman Fine Arts Bill (S 3419). The bill called for legislation establishing a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. It now goes to the House where most of the opposition to the bill is to be found."

Daily Worker,  
July 10, 1956, p. 6.

### 3. Cultural Exchange

"...so long as our cultural program remains a political football, we will make progress too slowly, if at all--and at a time when the world, as in Marco Polo's day, yearns to discover the nations that they do not know."

"The arts and letters are the soundest ambassadors indeed, and if they could not show the whole America, as yet, they would reveal an important part, the part which mankind across the oceans does not know. Our people are not Frankenstein's monster, despite everything Frankenstein, in this instance, Wall Street, has said and done."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"LET US STRUGGLE, all together, to lift our Fingerprint Curtain and give warm greetings from our shores to the many sport, dramatic, musical and other artistic organizations from the Soviet, Chinese and the people's democratic countries.

"It will be a great day for peace and co-existence when the President of the United States, his wife and half of his cabinet will be present in the National Theatre in Washington, enjoying an evening of Chinese Opera presented by the Peking Opera Company."

Daily Worker,  
September 25, 1956, p. 7.

### 4. Black-Listing in Entertainment

"BETWEEN 1951 and 1954, 212 motion picture workers were named as Communists or near-Communists or what not. Today none of them is working in the movie industry. Among them were top drawer screen writers, directors, actors and actresses, and other workers at all levels of the vast industry.

"The firing of the 212 represented the subjection of the entire industry to the reactionary orders of as unwholesome a gang of inquisitors as was ever assembled in the U.S."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1956, p. 1.

"Hearst columnists George Sokolsky and Victor Riesel, and Frederick Woltman of the World-Telegram-Sun, stand revealed today as the 'Supreme Court' of a blacklist reaching into virtually every corner of the American entertainment world."

"...a handful of self-appointed censors have managed to wrest control of hiring throughout film, radio and television centers, by terrorizing entworks and sponsors, and establishing McCarthy standards of political purity."

Daily Worker,  
June 26, 1956, p. 1.

"...one of the chief reasons for Hollywood's degeneration into production of what were termed 'B and nervous A productions which just can't meet (television) competition' has resulted largely from the kow-towing Hollywood has done to the un-American\* and the blacklisting of outstanding performers, writers, producers and ideas."

Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1956, p. 7.

\*This probably refers to The Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives.



## 5. Soviet Culture

"...But ravaging errors of dogma and bureaucracy that were declared manifest in other areas of Soviet life had taken their heavy toll in literature and culture as well."

"The playwrights talked about the 'conflictless drama' arguing that socialism had already removed the passionate dissents that operate everywhere in the world. The movies had never recaptured the magic of Potemkin or Chapayev or the masterpieces of Einstein.\* The critics were fearful of expressing an opinion until they heard from 'somebody higher up.' Publishers played it safe, and the worst tragedy of all, it was later learned, writers like the Jewish poet Itzik Feffer had been executed after a frameup."

Daily Worker,  
May 18, 1956, p. 6.

"Soviet films are in the limelight again after a long, long period of drought."

"The Soviet movie artists have been aware of the failings of their productions for some time and have been subjecting their past work to some devastating criticism."

Daily Worker,  
May 2, 1956, p. 6.

## 6. Jewish Culture in the USSR

"The Soviet Writers Organization has worked out a detailed project to revive Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. Included in this project are (1) the establishment of a Yiddish publishing house, (2) opening of a

\*This probably refers to Sergei Eisenstein, the Soviet motion-picture director, who died in 1948.

Yiddish Theatre, (3) publication of a Yiddish newspaper, triweekly for the present, (4) a literary quarterly, (5) calling of a national conference of Yiddish writers and cultural workers."

"...the Soviet Yiddish writers are energetically working on their own writings, as well as helping the commission of the writers' organization and the publishers to re-establish Yiddish literature...."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1956, p. 4.

7. Exchange of Scientific Information

"...science knows no boundaries. Its findings benefit all equally. One would have thought that that is self-evident, but it has not been, at least in modern years. The era of the cold war prevented this common-sense conclusion from being clear as crystal."

"...It appears to auger a dawning recognition in highest circles that all of us are the losers if the present obscurantism continues. Science, like man, must be free, in order to flourish; the oxygen in the air scientists breathe is the free consideration and debate of ideas."

"As it is in science, so it is in all areas of man's wisdom, his accumulated knowledge that we call his culture...."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"...The potential of atom science seems to extend into whole new panoramas, formerly untouched, in man's continuing conquest of nature."

"...the Soviet Union is making available to scientists all over the world its knowledge and its advances in the field."

Daily Worker,  
June 26, 1956, p. 6.

#### 8. Atomic Energy for Peace

"...The further development of atomic energy in the United States for peaceful purposes is now being blocked by the public utility monopolists, who have in their camp a majority of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission, including its chairman Admiral Lewis Strauss."

"Both Britain and the Soviet Union, it is generally agreed, are far ahead of our country in the practical development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

"What is even more important is that no comparable advances are in prospect here unless and until the veto power of the public utility industry is dissolved."

"THE PRIVATE utilities intend to do nothing substantial to advance the development of atomic energy for peace unless and until the federal government and the American people submit to their terms."

The Worker,  
June 10, 1956, p. 10.

9. Visit of Religious Leaders to USSR

"THE COMING visit of five leading American rabbis to the Soviet Union should encourage the trend toward greater intercourse and friendship between the peoples of our country and of the Soviet Union.

"It follows the trip of a representative group of American Protestant churchmen to the Soviet Union...."

"It is good that the Rabbinical Council of America has taken this initiative...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 15, 1956, p. 5.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Federal legislation which would guarantee women equal pay for performing the same work as men should be enacted.
2. The taxes of working mothers should be reduced.
3. American women are playing an increasingly important role in politics.
4. Socialism will provide the "complete solution" to the problem of reducing the burden of housework.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"A national equal pay law is of vast importance to both men and women workers.... Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority groups feel the discrimination even more than white women, although virtually all women are affected."

. . . . .

"Federal legislation is desperately needed. Only 16 of the states and Alaska have equal pay laws, and 32 states do not. The Federal Government has power to regulate equal pay under the interstate commerce law.

"All government contracts should be amended to provide against discrimination because of sex. The executive order as it currently reads, omits 'sex' from its provisions."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1956, p. 14.

## 2. Tax Reductions for Working Mothers

"Comparatively few women in the United States achieve higher training, and even fewer are able to make use of it, although the number of girls who finish high school is about the same as the number of boys, and in intelligence they are equal...."

"There are solutions... One, which can be achieved in the next session of Congress if we put our minds to it, is the passage of a bill introduced in 1956 by Representatives Fine and Multer, both of New York. This bill would raise the tax deduction for the care of children of working mothers from \$600 to \$2,500."

The Worker,  
July 8, 1956, p. 7.

## 3. Women's Role in Politics

"THIS YEAR the majority of Americans of voting age will be women, and working women will be a large proportion of the voters. The Labor and Commerce Departments have just announced that one out of every three people with a job is a woman, and a third of all the wives in the country are working."

"We women are playing a constantly greater role in politics. Political parties need our votes. Let them earn them."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1956, p. 14.

#### 4. Women Need Socialism

"...the working week of American housewives is getting longer, and for the average city housewife is already 100 hours...."

. . . . .

"Short of socialism, can anything be done to cut the burden of housework?

"If you are old enough to remember World War II, then you yourself lived through an era in which many factories in the United States provided services for women very similar to those in the Soviet Union or the People's Democracies today.

"In the Kaiser Shipyards and many of the larger auto plants, for example, there were low-cost cafeterias and restaurants, where the entire family could eat, and not only the one or two who were working. Some plants had a 'carry-home' arrangement for hot meals. In certain factories commercial laundries were opened; a member of the family could bring in the entire family wash, drop it at the laundry, and pick it up completely finished later in the week.

"Some plants set up a shopping service... Women who worked in these plants got rid of an enormous part of the housework, and in spite of the strains of war they actually had more leisure and more time to spend with their families, as well as time for study and recreation.

"Other means to the same end include a vast public housing program for low-income families, providing adequate apartments, and providing also playground space and nurseries and kindergartens and child-care centers and after-school recreation centers for older children, right in the project, adequately staffed. The fight can be resumed against monopoly prices in restaurants, cafeterias, cost of clothing, commercial services, and so on.

"There is a limit to what can be accomplished in this direction under capitalism..."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1956, pp. 11; 14.

"...the answer must lie in social, not individual, channels...."

"...a complete solution awaits world socialism--although...  
much can be done in this direction even under capitalism, if there is constant  
struggle to that end."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1956, p. 11.



## XII. YOUTH

1. Juvenile delinquency is a problem for society as a whole and not merely for individual families.
2. All children should be inoculated against poliomyelitis without charge.
3. Improved recreational facilities should be provided for our youth.
4. Ending the cold war and discrimination, along with Federal aid for education, would solve most of the problems of today's youth.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Juvenile Delinquency

"MANY PEOPLE know that much of the increase in violent expressions of juvenile delinquency can be generally traced to the war atmosphere prevailing in this country for a number of years, the emphasis on brutality and violence in mass medias of communication, the cynical winking at morality by elders and on teen-ageers' frustrations and uncertainty about what future exists for them.

"In such an atmosphere, life itself cannot help but be cheapened."

"WHEN THE BULK of these children sense the lack of attention and concern about their lives, their future, their hopes, we are then faced with the serious juvenile delinquency problem at hand. Regardless of how much the family strives to supply these children with security and ethical codes, they cannot supply all. For many Negro, Puerto Rican and working

families, faced with a daily struggle to make ends meet, it is not even in their power to assure necessary security. The community, society and elected officials of city and state government have a decisive responsibility to these slum ridden teen-agers standing on crowded streets, living in packed tenement apartments, attending overcrowded, understaffed schools, faced with inferior inadequate cultural, craft and sports outlets for their talents."

"IT'S NO WONDER the pentup frustrations and tensions of these youth often erupt in tragic violence. It's no accident that in the absence of concern and outlets they band together into their own groups, the end results often being an aimless loss of life..."

Daily Worker,  
August 1, 1956, p. 8.

## 2. Free Polio Vaccine

"IT'S CLEAR NOW that they've licked polio--medically. Dr. Salk says his tests prove that, given the right doses on schedule, the marvelous vaccine can be 100 percent effective--and that the threat of polio can be wiped out in three years.

"Our question is--why wait?

"No scientific barrier remains. All that's in the way of sure protection for every child across the country--adults, too--is that last barrier--cash.

"While American cash is funnelled out toward mammoth arms projects in the next three years, thousands of children will be killed or crippled by polio--with the cure in our hands!

"One simple, humane thing can be done to prevent this--by the stroke of a presidential pen: divert some of the citizens' taxes to protect the citizens. Simple? Of course. One guided missile, one destroyer less--and we can lick polio for good."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 15, 1956, p. 5.

"As in Canada and several countries of Western Europe, it is time we recognized this as a public health problem, and saw to it that all children received the entire three shots free."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 7, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Improved Recreational Facilities

"...as the cities grow larger and space between buildings crowd the sand-lot--baseball's cradle--into the past, cannot an adequate growth in the number of playgrounds and parks take up the slack?..."

Daily Worker,  
June 1, 1956, p. 6.

"What the future will bring I do not know, for more and more sandlots are being smothered by the gray asphalt, and the streets of my childhood have been turned into speedways. There are more playgrounds now but it is a question whether they are being built fast enough to fill the void."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1956, p. 8.

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"Dozens of private charity and religious groups are working for the children's summertime needs. But no single government agency is wholly concerned with what happens to our school kids when school's out."

Daily Worker,  
June 20, 1956, p. 4.

4. Needs of Youth

"...the real needs and problems of youth--(are) federal aid to education, an end to militarization and the cold war, job protection, minimum wage coverage, union organization, and an end to discrimination."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1956, p. 14.

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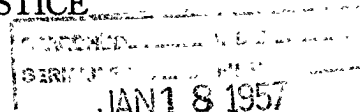


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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**October 1956--December 1956**

**January 1957**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

During the period covered by this monograph, the publications of the Communist Party, USA, have devoted considerable space to articles prepared in connection with the discussion which is now in progress among its members. In these articles, a wide range of opinions has been expressed regarding the tactical and organizational changes which should be adopted by the Party in an effort to increase its influence. In view of the wide variety of opinions expressed during this discussion, no attempt has been made to incorporate a sampling of these views in this issue of The Communist Party Line.

In addition, some recent developments in international relations, particularly those in which the Soviet Union has been directly involved, have produced different reactions among the leaders and members of the

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Communist Party, USA. In the Party's own admission, the discussion over these issues has been, at times, "emotional and impassioned."\* The opinions of Party leaders which are at variance with the position taken by the Party on these issues have been indicated, but not incorporated, in this monograph.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

\*Daily Worker, November 23, 1956, p. 5.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, repeated its appeals for an end to the cold war as a prerequisite for an era of peaceful coexistence and competition between capitalism and socialism. The United States was criticized for failing to take further steps toward disarmament, and the Party intensified its demands for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons. Considerable emphasis was placed on the necessity for another Geneva Conference to relieve the international tensions which developed during the past three months.

Great Britain and France were condemned unequivocally for invading Egypt, and Israel was reprimanded for acting as their agent. The United States was charged with a "heavy responsibility" for the crisis which this action precipitated. The Party extended its "heartfelt solidarity" to the present Polish Government and expressed approval of its "independent" path to socialism. After considerable discussion, the Party finally confessed that the appeal of the Hungarian Government for Soviet troops to suppress the uprising in Hungary was a "tragic error," for which the Soviet Union also shared responsibility. At the same time, however, the Party claimed that additional information would be required before a "final judgment" could be formulated on this issue.

The Party interpreted the re-election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a "serious setback" to the labor movement. The failure of the Republican Party to gain control of Congress was offered as proof that the American public distrusts the "main party of big business." Party propaganda reiterated the claims that the Communist Party, USA, advocates a "peaceful" and an "American" road to socialism. The Party also continued to call for the eventual establishment of a new socialist coalition. An expanded program of social welfare was proposed. Legal action against the Communist Party, USA, was viewed as causing "grave damage" to the Bill of Rights and as contributing to the "erosion" of civil liberties.

Party propaganda urged a reduction in the work week as the best method of coping with rising unemployment. The American labor movement was urged to increase its political activity in order to defend itself against the "Cadillac Cabinet and a Dixiecrat-Republican alliance in Congress." The need for the eventual organization of a labor-farmer political party was also stressed. The use of the Taft-Hartley Law in connection with the maritime strike was cited as evidence of the "antilabor" policies of the Republican Administration. The Party reaffirmed its view that the merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial

Organizations (CIO) into the AFL-CIO represented a significant development in the history of the American labor movement. It urged the AFL-CIO to admit the "progressive-led" unions\* and to initiate an extensive drive to organize the unorganized workers.

The "revolution" against imperialism was interpreted by the Party as evidence of the continued decline of colonialism. The United States was criticized for supporting the colonial policies of Great Britain and France, while the Soviet Union was praised for its support of the right of self-determination for all nations.

The Party continued its demands for the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Law. Congressional investigating committees were accused of fostering a "fascist-like atmosphere," and confidential informants were accused of perjuring themselves over a period of years. The Party urged widespread support for proposals to change the rules under which the United States Senate is governed so that filibusters will no longer be permitted and so that promotions will no longer be based solely on seniority.

The Party continued its appeals for substantial reductions in appropriations for national defense so that a large-scale program of public

\*This refers to those unions which were expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950 as communist dominated.

welfare could be initiated. It also called for the return of all troops in foreign countries to their own nations.

The Party described civil rights as "the foremost domestic issue of the day," and called on the Federal Government to intervene to guarantee Negroes equal rights in the Southern States. Both major political parties were accused of evading the issue of desegregation in public schools during the election campaign. The tactic of "passive resistance," as typified by the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, was hailed as a new and effective weapon in the fight for civil rights. The Federal Government was urged to prosecute members of the Ku Klux Klan\* and the White Citizens' Councils.

Increased Federal aid was urged by the Party to alleviate the shortage of schools and teachers. The closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science, \* allegedly because of "McCarranite-McCarthyite hysteria," was deplored.

Issues affecting farmers, women, and youth received only passing attention. The agricultural program of the Republican Administration was criticized as inflationary. Socialism was offered as the only effective

\*The Ku Klux Klan and the Jefferson School of Social Science have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

solution to the problems faced by women. Juvenile delinquency was traced to the "fact" that our society is "geared to violence and destruction," and the Party interpreted the recent Olympic Games as evidence of the desire of the youth of the world for peace.

## **B. Conclusions**

1. The reappraisal of Stalin, the disclosure of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and the use of Soviet troops to quell the rebellion in Hungary have produced varied reactions among the leaders and members of the Communist Party, USA. While the differences of opinion on these issues are deep, they are not necessarily irreconcilable. Thus far, every effort has been made to reconcile these differences in order to preserve Party unity. Therefore, while there may be some reduction in Party membership, there is no prospect for the complete disintegration of the Party.
2. In recent months there has been considerable discussion within the Party over proposals to change the Party's name and to transform it into a political action organization. However, no major changes in the Party's organizational structure are anticipated prior to the national convention, now scheduled to be held in February, 1957, particularly since Party leaders have not completed plans for the organization of another group to succeed the Communist Party, USA.
3. Should the Party, as a tactical maneuver, change its name and amend its constitution, there is no evidence to indicate that it will change its ultimate goal, the establishment of a communist government in the United States by any effective means, legal or illegal.
4. The eventual establishment of a broad, new socialist coalition has been stressed by the Party in recent months.



Party leaders are, therefore, expected to continue their participation in public and private discussions with representatives of other socialist-oriented groups which, for ideological or other reasons, are not prepared to join forces with the Party at the present time.

5. The Communist Party, USA, is doing everything possible in an effort to refute the charge that it is an agent of a foreign power. It is, therefore, expected that Party propaganda will place greater stress on the claims that the Party advocates a "peaceful" and an "American" road to socialism.
6. If the United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the membership clause of the Smith Act, the Party would find it almost impossible to continue to operate as at present. It is, therefore, anticipated that Party propaganda calling for the repeal of these laws will be intensified.
7. The principal immediate objective of the Party is to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. It is, therefore, anticipated that the Party will stress those social, political, and economic issues which enjoy widespread popular appeal, while minimizing its ideological and tactical differences with noncommunists.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The cold war is responsible for most of the "hardships and difficulties everywhere."
2. The world is entering into a period in which the possibility of the peaceful coexistence and competition between capitalism and socialism is increasing.
3. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued as the first step toward the outlawing of these weapons.
4. The United States is refusing to take any steps toward further disarmament.
5. Another conference of the "Big Four," together with India, is urgently needed to relieve the international tensions which have arisen in recent months.
6. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 inaugurated "a new era in human society."
7. The foreign aid offered to other nations by our country is designed solely to promote American interests.
8. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China.
9. Increased cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union is required to end the crisis over the Suez Canal.
10. The present Government of Poland has adopted an "independent" path toward socialism.
11. Future relations between the Soviet Union and the European communist nations should be based on the principles of full equality and independence.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12. The appeal of the Hungarian Government for Soviet troops to suppress the uprising in Hungary was a "tragic error" for which the Soviet Union shared responsibility. However, there is still insufficient information available to arrive at a "final judgment."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The Cold War

"What the world needs is further relaxation of the Cold War and not a halt to whatever relaxation has already taken place. It is the Cold War tensions of the past eight or nine years that have helped create hardships and difficulties everywhere...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

"...The American people want to hear proposals that will end the cold war and not proposals on how to win the cold war...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending  
Elections," Political Affairs,  
October, 1956, p. 8.

#### 2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"...We are entering into a period where the possibility of war is diminishing and an era of peaceful coexistence between capitalism and Socialism is foreseeable. The competition between the two systems will increasingly center around the economic, scientific, cultural and democratic aspects of life. The system which proves in practice it can best lead the people to these goals will win their allegiance."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending  
Elections," Political Affairs,  
October, 1956, pp. 6-7.

"...the popular mood which has evolved since the conference at Geneva...is a mood of eagerness to consummate the promise of peaceful co-existence by breaking the stalemate of foreign policy..."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1956,  
p. 4.

### 3. Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

"THERE SHOULD be no mistake about it--the proposal to ban H-bomb tests has put the central issue of foreign policy into the middle of this election campaign. The debate on H-bomb testing and on ending the draft throws light on the big question of world politics today.

"If the fight for peaceful coexistence was the basic issue of the post-war decade, today the realistic need is ending the cold war, thus, making this the era of lasting peace. As long as the shadow of nuclear destruction hangs over us peace is incomplete. Banning the tests will be an enormous step toward lasting peace."

Daily Worker,  
October 10, 1956, p. 5.

"...a halt to the test explosions can lead to a chain of events bringing disarmament closer and complete ban of all Hellbombs under strict international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 5, 1956, p. 5.

"The proposal to stop the poisoning of the world's atmosphere by H-bomb tests far transcends a political campaign. As the scientists who

are equipped to answer this question have said--the health of the living and also of generations still unborn are periled by the continuation of the tests."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 17, 1956, p. 1.

"And as for Eisenhower's argument that we can't allow the Russians to get ahead of us the stark fact is that we now have enough bombs to blast Russia and the Russians have enough bombs to blast America practically off the face of the earth."

"The H-bomb issue far transcends politics. The fall-out poisons Democrats, Republicans and Communists alike. The world that would perish in a hydrogen bomb war is the world in which all of us live. The fight to ban H-bomb tests is the first great step in the fight to banish the Hell bombs everywhere."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 26, 1956, pp. 5, 7.

"Eisenhower says this will give the Russians an advantage. But the Russians have officially proposed to us that we both agree to stop the tests.... As has been noted again and again, if any country explodes an H-bomb, it can be detected instantaneously. The White House itself has made that clear time and again."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 4, 1956, p. 5.

"DISARMAMENT and banning the Hell Bombs are not dead issues. The debate that began during our election campaign on banning tests of H-bombs will figure once more in United Nations discussions. Just because the elections are over doesn't mean that the danger of fall-out has disappeared...."

Daily Worker,  
November 12, 1956, p. 5.

#### 4. Disarmament

"UN PROGRESS on the disarmament question clearly requires further negotiations among the major powers. The Soviet proposals made last week for a summit parley on disarmament further narrowed the gulf between East and West. Thus, the Eisenhower aerial inspection plan has been considered an unbridgeable difference between us and the Soviets. But in its statement the Soviet government accepted the idea of aerial surveys on an area extending about 500 miles each side of the division between NATO\* and the Warsaw pact forces. While it has been argued that 500 miles is not enough this Soviet concession obviously opens the way to further negotiations."

The Worker,  
November 25, 1956, p. 2.

"The Eisenhower-Nixon position, on the other hand, blocks any further advances toward disarmament or ending the cold-war. It makes a continued armaments race inevitable, with all its inherent dangers of a nuclear war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 18, 1956, p. 5.

\*This refers to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

5. New Summit Conference

"Geneva presented an agreement among the great powers that all differences among them were to be resolved by negotiations instead of force. For the world's millions, weary of cold-war tensions and alarms, the first summit meeting opened the perspective of ending the cold war and making peaceful coexistence and competition the normal way of life between capitalist U. S. A. and socialist USSR, as well as among all other nations."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

"Both in Eastern Europe and the Middle East peaceful co-existence is being threatened. This is a time for sober reflection but also for quick action. It is a moment for a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin and the heads of the British and French governments."

"The main thing in our view is positive action for peace. That is why a Big Four conference should be held as soon as humanly possible....

"... Guns that are roaring must be silenced everywhere. The world needs a new Geneva, a new summit conference. Our country should take such an initiative immediately. Thus we protect America's security and world peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 5, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

"It is in this respect that the Swiss government's proposal for a new summit conference, including Britain, France, the USSR and India has aroused so much hope. So far only President Eisenhower has

refused to agree to such a conference. But isn't there a great possibility that the events preceding Geneva last year can be repeated? Public opinion will again be decisive."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

6. Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

"HUNDREDS of millions of people throughout the world will be celebrating today the 39th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist land, the USSR.

"They will be celebrating the fact that on Nov. 7 a new era in human society was inaugurated, one that will eventually eliminate all exploitation, war, oppression, that will one day lift the human spirit beyond the limits imposed upon it up to now by dog-eat-dog societies.

"In spite of its initial backwardness and its isolation in a hostile world dominated by a few powerful imperialist nations, the Soviet Union rapidly developed its economic and political strength. Its very existence made possible the great revolutionary movements which liberated a billion people from imperialist bondage in the last decade."

"Today, socialism has come to stay, and we have no doubt that eventually the peoples of all lands, including our own, will replace their outworn capitalist systems with it. This will be done, as the great founder of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin, emphasized, in conformity with the experience and will of the people of each nation.

"This is the first Soviet anniversary since the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress and the Khrushchev revelations regarding the years of Stalin misrule. These revealed that in the course of building socialism there had been terrible distortions both of the democratic process within the USSR and of the relations between the USSR and other Communist movements, including those in Eastern Europe which had state power.



"The Soviet Union has set about correcting many of these distortions. We believe, however, that it would be naive not to recognize that the patterns of Stalin misrule were made possible by profound historic conditions arising out of the original backwardness of Russia under the czars, the immense pressures of a hostile world upon the young socialist country, etc. If this be true, then the process of correction is of necessity a long and painful one.

"We believe the USSR has made immense progress under socialism. We believe it has made and will continue to make great contributions to the freedom, peace and progress of human society. We believe it has proved the validity of scientific socialism as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1956, p. 5.

7. Foreign Aid

"WHAT STRANGE meaning words have for General Eisenhower's State Department. 'Independence' of foreign control really means subservience to the U. S. State Department. The decision to give aid to Yugoslavia is a case in point."

"This latest incident only points up the motives behind the aid given to Yugoslavia from this country ever since 1948. It was not given to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Nor was it given to help heal the conflicts in the Balkans. On the contrary it was part of a calculated effort to maintain the antagonism.

"...the Administration gives aid in order to establish a satellite status for the recipients of aid."

"Not only Communist-led countries, like Yugoslav, \* have objected to the Administration strings attached to aid. India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and for that matter most Asian and Middle East countries have been repelled by this policy."

Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1956, p. 5.

8. Recognition of Communist China

"FROM CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung and Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China have some\*\* statements seeking better relations with the U. S."

"There is obviously no future to a policy which refuses to recognize the existence of one quarter of the human race.

"Nor does it benefit America's national interests to allow Britain, France, Italy and our other allies to build up trade with China while we continue to cut off our noses to spite our faces, in respect to trade."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 29, 1956, p. 5.

"And we think it's high time not only to lift the embargo on news coverage, in China but also on trade and travel and cultural exchange. How long will Americans allow Washington to cut off this nation's nose to spite its face?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 28, 1956, p. 5.

\*This probably should read "Yugoslavia."

\*\*This probably should read "have come."

9. Suez Crisis\*

"The brutal British and French aggression against Egypt has shocked and alarmed the world. In flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, London and Paris have moved to seize the Suez Canal, overthrow the Nasser government and subject Egypt to their domination under a quisling ruler of their choice. The bombs falling on Cairo and other Egyptian cities are the most serious threat to peace since the Korean war.

"An immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egyptian soil, as requested in the resolution voted overwhelmingly by the General Assembly of the United Nations, is the urgent need of the hour. This should be followed by determined international efforts to resolve the Suez Canal problem and the Arab-Israel conflict on a basis that serves the interests of all nations and safeguards world peace.

"Israel's partnership in this aggression can only bring disaster to the hard-pressed people of that country. It is true that for years Israel has been the target of border raids, war threats and economic blockade by Egypt and other Arab states. We Communists have condemned and continue to condemn these acts and policies, which have taken a heavy toll of life and inflicted great damage not only on Israel but on the Arab peoples themselves.

"At the same time, these provocations cannot justify a war of aggression in which Israel acts as the tool of the former oppressors of Palestine and the present oppressors of Cyprus and Africa...."

\*An article by Edward Strong, one of the Party's Negro leaders, which strongly dissented from the views expressed in the quotation cited to illustrate the Party's position on this issue, appeared in the November 22, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker.

"The attack on Egypt is thus directed at the independence of all the Middle Eastern nations. including Israel, and at the anti-colonial liberation movements of Asia and Africa...."

"The Eisenhower Administration, despite its efforts to wash its hands of the brutal aggression launched by its two principal allies, bears a heavy responsibility for the present crisis. It was Dulles who touched off the crisis over the Suez by his sudden and arrogant withdrawal of pro-offered aid to Egypt for construction of the Aswan Dam...."

"Belatedly the Administration now seeks to extinguish the fires which Dulles' brinkmanship helped ignite. It is good that the United States and the Soviet Union have moved along parallel lines in their efforts to halt hostilities."

"Much more is needed than parallel action with the Soviet Union. There should be active consultation and cooperation between the two great powers, together with India and other peace - seeking governments, to implement the UN resolution and end the Middle Eastern war before it gets out of hand."

"Let the voice of the American people also be heard. Send protests to the British and French embassies in Washington. Urge our government to take concrete steps to carry out the UN resolution. Stop the criminal bombing of Egyptian cities. End the shooting and withdraw all foreign forces from Egyptian territory. Halt Arab raids on Israel and guarantee that nation's borders and rights, including the right to use the Suez Canal."

Daily Worker,  
November 6, 1956, pp. 4, 5.

"...A permanent solution of the Middle East crisis still lies ahead. This requires a guarantee of Egyptian sovereignty over the Suez canal, at the same time that the rights of all to free navigation are established. It also requires an Arab-Israeli settlement, and that means bringing both sides around the same table through the UN.

"Such aims can be attained when America and the Soviet Union are on the same side--for peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

10. New Polish Government

"EVENTS show that the Polish government, the Polish Communists and the indomitable Polish working class are advancing the democratization and independence of their socialist regime. The dropping of the slanderous accusations against Wladyslaw Gomulka was a vindication of justice and socialist principles. He was the champion of the independent Polish path to socialism. Today, after four years in jail he is back in the leadership of his party."

"POLAND'S independent course is not an anti-Soviet course, as the entire leadership of the Polish party has reaffirmed. They know that the liberation of Poland from Hitlerism became possible as a result of the Soviet defeat of German fascism. They also know that Polish security from any future German Wehrmacht rests on friendly relations with its big socialist neighbor, the USSR."

"Top-level discussions have taken place between the Polish and Soviet Communist leaders. That differences exist is clearly indicated, but

there are far too few facts on the exact nature of those differences. We uphold the right of all Communist parties to criticize or appraise in a friendly manner, developments in other parties. But such relations require absolutely no interference in the internal affairs of other parties and countries."

"WE STRONGLY condemn the efforts of the Eisenhower administration to utilize this situation to bring about conflict, instead of peace, and to work for the overthrow of the Polish government. This is typical of how big business has always viewed relations with Poland.... But the Polish people have done forever with landlords and big capitalists. They are not now embarked on any retreat from socialism. They are strengthening it to the greatest degree by firmly establishing the democratic foundations of socialism.

"...The interference of the administration could only block the democratization and liberalization which proceeds so inexorably in Poland. In this respect Washington really bases itself not on the Polish workers and peasants but on those in Poland who would try to use the liberalization in order to restroe the old reactionary regime."

"...The hopes of the Eisenhower administration to stir dissension will, we are confident, be frustrated by the historic events now unfolding. And fortunately so, for the security and peace of our own country.

"To the working people of Poland we extend our heartfelt solidarity. Our hand is stretched out to them as they work to reinforce the grand democratic traditions of socialism, justice and equality."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 22, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

11. Soviet-Satellite Relations

"THERE IS MUCH to welcome in the statement of the Soviet government on relations with the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

"The U. S. S. R. is now ready to discuss the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, Hungary and Rumania and Soviet advisers from all of the People's Democracies.

"In announcing this far-reaching change, the Soviet government is compelled to admit that 'in the process of the establishment of the new regimes and the deep revolutionary transformation in social relations (in Eastern Europe after the war) there were not a few difficulties, unsolved problems and downright mistakes, including those in the relations between the Socialist states, violations and mistakes which infringed the principles of equality in relations between Socialist states.'

"The Soviet government also declares that the mistakes in relations among the Socialist states were 'resolutely condemned' at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and speaks of the upheaval by the Hungarian people for democratization as a 'just and progressive movement of the working people.'

"The tragedy has been the slowness to carry out any change of policy since the 20th Congress--not to mention the lapses back into the old Stalinist relations as in the ill-fated Rokossovsky affair in Poland and the events in Hungary....

"It is unfortunate that the Soviet government did not take the needed steps before recent events--if it had, the serious set-back to the cause of socialism might have been avoided. It is to be hoped that the discussions of the 20th Congress--which were only a beginning at de-Stalinization--will now be gone into much more deeply in the Soviet Union and the necessary conclusions drawn without delay.

"This is needed to give full substance to the declaration of principles in the Soviet government's statement: 'United by the common

ideal of building a Socialist society and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the countries of the great commonwealth of Socialist nations can build their relations only on the principle of full equality, respect of territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 1, 1956, p. 5.

## 12. Hungarian Rebellion\*

"Our party's National Committee, meeting in enlarged session last week, considered the recent tragic events in Hungary, their impact on our country, on world peace and on the further development of socialism.

"The National Committee states frankly that, like the party membership as a whole, it finds itself confronted with complex problems of an unprecedented nature. It is therefore not surprising that while we have a common view on many questions we also have differences of opinion. These areas of difference will be resolved on the basis of further discussion by the whole party, as we acquire more facts and a deeper understanding of these events."

\*The statement selected to illustrate the position of the Communist Party, USA, on the rebellion in Hungary represents a compromise of the divergent opinions of Party leaders regarding this issue. It supersedes a previous statement by the Party's national committee which was issued on November 2, 1956, and which appeared in the November 5, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker. The statement cited above criticized the statement issued on November 2, 1956, as "inadequate." It also criticized an editorial on this question which appeared in the November 5, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker for taking a stand on this issue prematurely. While the statement cited above represents a compromise of the views of Party leaders, strong dissenting opinions were subsequently issued by Party Chairman William Z. Foster (Daily Worker, November 21, 1956) and General Secretary Eugene Dennis (Daily Worker, November 29, 1956). An editorial which appeared in the November 26, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker explained that "we do not 'equate' the events in Hungary with the imperialist invasion of Egypt."



"...we are deeply disturbed by the events in Hungary. We are deeply grieved at the bloodshed and destruction in Hungary and are profoundly concerned with the causes and meaning of these events for socialism--as are all party members and other socialist-minded Americans."

"... There is general agreement in the national committee in the analysis of the situation prior to Nov. 4, but divergent views on subsequent developments and conclusions to be drawn from them. The great upheavals in Poland and Hungary were initially and primarily popular upsurges for democratization, for a solution to their economic problems, and for full national sovereignty and equality in their relations with the Soviet Union.

"As a result of the distortions of Socialist policy during the latter years of Stalin's regime and the pressure exerted on the People's Democracies the Communist Parties of these countries had mechanically followed the experiences of the Soviet Union instead of independently developing policies based fully on the national political and economic requirements of their own peoples.

"These wrong policies, aggravated by the stringencies of the cold war, led to the deterioration of economic conditions instead of the improvements that the people had expected from a Socialist society. They led to the imposition of bureaucratic rule, the violation of socialist democracy, the jailing and even execution of leaders of the people, including leading Communists. They resulted in denying participation in the political life of the countries to parties and personalities that represented large sections of the population. They resulted in infringements upon the sovereignty and independence of these nations.

"The 20th Congress of the CPSU recognized the need for correction by calling for an end to the Stalin 'cult of the individual'; for the development of democratic procedures; for equality amongst Socialist nations and Communist parties; for the need and right of each nation to chart its own road to Socialism.

"...However, in our opinion the implementation of the decisions of the 20th Congress was not resolutely carried forward with respect to the other Socialist nations. It is apparent in the light of recent developments in Poland and Hungary that the implementation met with considerable resistance within the CPSU and other Parties.

"Meanwhile, the demands for change in accordance with the promises of the 20th Congress were growing especially in Poland and Hungary.

"The Communist Party of Poland, responsive to the demands of its people, pressed with great determination and courage to correct the wrongs in their country. Such a policy is winning the confidence of the Polish working class and people and the most heartfelt support of Communists and other Socialist-minded people the world over.

"The Hungarian Communist Party, on the other hand, did not grasp in time the need for deep-going changes. Instead they resisted taking the necessary corrective measures. At the last moment, when the Hungarian masses rose in demonstration, they against\* resorted to repression. The Oct. 24 decision of the Gero government to call upon Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to put down the initial popular demonstrations inflamed the situation to a grave crisis. This was a tragic error for which the Soviet Union must also take responsibility. It disclosed the failure of a policy which was not based securely upon the national needs and sentiments of the working class and popular masses in Hungary."

"These grave errors facilitated the open intervention of the forces of reaction within Hungary from abroad. From the beginning, strenuous efforts were made by the Western powers through U. S. -financed Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Project X and other agencies to utilize this crisis for their own imperialist aims and to encourage reactionary and fascist elements to take over the situation.

\*This probably should read "again."

"The role and influence of the reactionary elements within Hungary were bolstered by an influx of exiled fascists, interventionists and agents of Project X across the Austrian border. The Nagy government, retreating before reactionary pressures, lost its capacity to govern and was unable to halt the lynchings, anti-Semitic outbreaks and reign of terror against Communists and progressives.

"From these facts it appears that the Soviet Union decided on the large scale use of troops on Nov. 4 to head off the White Terror and what it considered to be the danger of the formation of an anti-Soviet, Horthy-like regime on its borders, which would threaten not only the security of the USSR and other Socialist countries but world peace as well. It should be borne in mind that the Soviet troops, who had liberated Hungary during the anti-Hitler war were stationed in that country not only under the Warsaw Pact, but also in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement.

"We do not seek to justify the use of Soviet troops in Hungary's internal crisis on Nov. 4. Neither do we join in the condemnation of these actions. Was there no alternative? Was it a grim necessity? There are no ready answers and we are in no position to give final judgment on the Soviet action. On this there are different viewpoints in the national committee and in the Party. With the unfolding of events further clarity on this point will be achieved."

"In any case the use of troops by the Soviet Union in Hungary cannot, of course, solve the basic problems involved. Within Hungary the solution lies in correcting the mistakes of the past, in carrying through in practice the program announced by the Kadar government and in developing a broader government based on the needs and desires of the Hungarian people. We welcome all efforts in that direction."

"It is of the utmost importance that we American Communists do not confine ourselves to evaluating events abroad but give serious thought to the harmful role that our State Department has played in these developments.

Thereby we will help provide the American workers with a greater understanding of what they can do to influence U. S. foreign policy in accord with the peace aspirations of our people."

"We call for the ending of such instruments of subversion and incitement as Radio Free Europe, Project X of the Central Intelligence Agency, and other similar agencies."

"We urge widespread support of the efforts by relief agencies cooperating with the UN and the Hungarian government to assist the people of Hungary. We also propose that economic aid be voted by Congress, without strings, to Hungary, as well as other nations."

Daily Worker,  
November 20, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

## **II. DOMESTIC ISSUES**

1. The Republican Administration has taken no action to reduce the cost of living.
2. There is still "mass impoverishment" in the United States.
3. Our present tax program "is shaped to favor the rich."
4. The Republican Administration has taken no action to reduce prices.
5. An expanded program of social welfare is needed.
6. The "erosion" of civil liberties in the United States still continues.
7. Attacks on the rights of communists have caused "grave damage to the Bill of Rights."
8. Communist activity in the 1956 elections was designed to promote "an anti-monopoly political realignment led by labor."
9. The re-election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a "serious setback" to the labor movement. However, the failure of the Republican Party to gain control of Congress indicated that the American public lacks confidence in "the main party of big business."
10. Greater "unity of the Left" would promote "peace, security and democracy."
11. The Communist Party, USA, advocates "an American path to socialism."
12. The Communist Party, USA, will continue its struggle for socialism.
13. The Communist Party, USA, advocates a peaceful, democratic road to socialism.
14. Robert Thompson, imprisoned communist leader, should be granted a medical pardon, and his benefits as a veteran should be restored.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Cost of Living

"THE COST of living rose for the fourth time in five months, jumping in October to a new record by half of one percent to almost 18 percent above pre-Korean war prices. The government's statisticians say the upward trend will continue.

"The disturbing world situation is contributing further to the trend with the invasion of Egypt causing a fuel crisis in Europe, already influencing a rise in fuel and gasoline prices and increasing profits for the oil sharks.

"The C. of L. index reflects already in part the upward movement in prices set off by the extortionate price hike on steel last summer. The new auto prices contributed heavily to the new rise of the index, bringing the cost of transportation to 11 percent of the average workers' family budget--equal to more than a third of the amount spent for food.

"The President has already said he doesn't think the government should do anything, and he even gave comfort to those who say wage increases are responsible...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

### 2. Standard of Living

"...in the United States, the boasted land of capitalist 'prosperity,' the workings of the law of mass impoverishment are to be seen. Notwithstanding the enormous productivity of the workers, over 10 per cent of American families are now existing upon incomes of less than \$1,000 per year, and more than one-half of the total number of families receive less than \$4,000 annually... At the very bottom levels of poverty are the Negro people, with their sub-normal standards regarding wages, jobs, civil rights, housing, etc...."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs,  
November, 1956, pp. 33-34.

### 3. Taxes

"The inequity of the tax policy, as already mentioned, is reflected in our entire system of taxation which is framed with a view to transferring the chief burden of taxes from the people with the highest incomes to the people with very moderate and low incomes, from the multimillionaire and corporation magnates to the workers, farmers, and small businessmen."

"IF THE government were to enforce the law and collect this \$16.5 billion in taxes due from, but not paid by, wealthy individuals and corporations, the burden of taxation on the low and middle income groups could be substantially lower. Still greater reductions in the burden of taxation on these groups could be achieved by reforming our entire system of taxation which is shaped to favor the rich."

The Worker,  
November 4, 1956, p. 10.

### 4. Prices

"The steel price hike last summer signaled a rash of price increases in numerous fields, forcing the sharpest monthly price increases on cost of living items in many years.

"The Eisenhower Administration has been silent on the price hike that followed the strike, and there is no word from Administration spokesmen on the new hike in the offing."

Daily Worker,  
October 30, 1956, p. 3.

### 5. Expanded Program of Social Welfare

"The ending of the cold war is beginning to re-cast the outlook of the American people. The prospect of peaceful co-existence, the potentials of automation and the atomic age, the new strength of the organized labor and Negro people's movements--all have combined to nurture thoughts of new social advance....

"To move forward, America must take up where the New Deal left off.

"The New Deal ended with our entry into World War II...."

"This 15-year arrest of social reform has accumulated a tremendous backlog of unfulfilled social needs...."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1956,  
pp. 5, 6.

#### 6. Civil Liberties

"...although the atmosphere of McCarthyism is somewhat cleared and the hoopla surrounding it is in a lower key, the day-by-day erosion of our civil liberties continues amidst incredible pretense that everything is fine."

"Let us put our own house in order. The day is not yet come when we can justifiably proclaim to the world that civil liberty is securely, indivisibly guaranteed to all Americans."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 27, 1956, p. 5.

"To speak up now for a return to the Bill of Rights for all Americans is to help provide the climate in which the courts can undo, at least in part, the havoc played by the Vinson decision in 1951.\* To

\*This refers to the decision of the United States Supreme Court which upheld the conviction of eleven members of the national board of the Communist Party, USA, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.



speak up now is to defend the best of America's priceless heritage of the democratic tradition."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1956, p. 10.

"...end the witch-hunt of the last ten years, with its Congressional inquisitions, loyalty-security programs, and the inevitable system of faceless informers..."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

#### 7. Attacks on Communists

"It is true that Brownell can boast that he hurt the Communist Party. But Adolph Hitler made the same boast. In fact many of the Justice Department prosecutions had their origin in the infamous Nuremburg decrees.

"What Brownell would like the public to forget is that the anti-Communist witchhunts not only hurt the Communists but inevitably did grave damage to the Bill of Rights and to the entire political climate of the country.

"Brownell has nothing to boast of--except that he provided the legal framework for McCarthyism and betrayed his oath of office to uphold the Constitution."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 9, 1956, p. 5.

"Civil liberties are indivisible, the winds of freedom cannot be cajoled into blowing over one man's roof but not another's."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1956, p. 5.

8. Communist Role in 1956 Elections

"... We do not nor will we endorse any Party or candidate. However, we are not unmindful of the fact that labor and its allies are struggling to oust the Cadillac Cabinet of Eisenhower and Nixon.

"We associate ourselves with labor's objective...."

"Our Party in this campaign has no candidates of its own. The political repressions under which we still suffer and the discriminatory election laws make this impossible.

"Nor do we endorse any candidates or parties. We hold and shall continue to maintain a critical attitude towards all candidates and parties. But we stand with labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the small businessmen and the professionals. We support their fight for economic and social progress, for peace, for democratic rights and an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression against the Negro people and other minorities.

"... we developed a policy that put the main emphasis on movements and coalitions on issues which would be able, regardless of the outcome, to press forward after the elections; on associating ourselves with labor's struggle against the Cadillac Cabinet; on helping weaken the GOP-Dixiecrat grip on Congress; on strengthening the independent political action of labor and its allies, looking towards an anti-monopoly political realignment led by labor."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 5, 13.

9. 1956 Election Results

"THE ELECTION Tuesday was extraordinary no matter how you look at it.

"...But certain facts stand out with unmistakable clarity. One of these is that while the people have been saddled once again with the Cadillac Cabinet, and Richard Nixon has moved a big step closer to the Presidency, the people made it plain that they oppose what these reactionary forces represent.

"The single outstanding result of the elections was, of course, the tremendous plurality for President Eisenhower, which is close to the FDR victory in 1936. This must be attributed not only to his personality and his record in the war against fascism, but especially to the fact that he is associated in the popular mind with the ending of the hated Korean War and with the Summit conference at Geneva. At the same time, there is no doubt that Eisenhower benefited from the fact of the highest employment figures in the country's history."

"...a remarkable feature of this campaign, unprecedented in political history, is that the Eisenhower avalanche was accompanied by a GOP defeat in its bid to control Congress.

"The failure of the GOP to win Congress is a dramatic sign of the lack of confidence the people maintain in the main party of big business--especially on economic matters. The Congress results are, in fact, a gain for the labor movement, which concentrated on these races, although labor suffered a serious setback through the inability to oust the Cadillac Cabinet."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 8, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

"Thus, despite the obstacles of the two party system, the American voters managed to fashion a mandate for peace, civil rights and social progress...."

"These results indicate that many voters look to the executive on the issue of peace but to Congress on economic and social questions. Their vote for Ike was a vote for peace, not for the reactionary domestic policies of the GOP...."

Albert E. Blumberg, "Notes on the Election Results," Political Affairs, December, 1956, pp. 6, 9.

#### 10. New Socialist Coalition

"...we are confident that in the post-election struggles, there will be possible a much greater movement towards unity and collaboration of Left and socialist forces in the common endeavor to strengthen the struggle for peace, security and democracy, to speed a new political alignment, to enhance socialist participation in the people's movements."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, p. 14.

"Finally we should expand our efforts to achieve a better understanding with other genuine socialist and Left forces, not permitting past differences on electoral strategy to stand in the way of joint and parallel action on the major issues. We should encourage a greater initiative on the part of socialist-minded elements for the common aim of strengthening the socialist component in the labor and people's coalition and advancing the process of socialist regroupment in our country."

Albert E. Blumberg, "Notes on the Election Results," Political Affairs, December, 1956, p. 13.

#### 11. American Road to Socialism

"Socialism must open up the perspective of an end to any and all oppression. We stand for democratic socialism. We stand for an American path to socialism which will be unlike any other because our circumstances are different and because we must learn from the tragic mistakes of others."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 30, 1956, p. 5.

"Friends of socialism will welcome, we hope, such earnestness of the Communist Party's firm intent to make major internal improvements and to make its views on the American path to socialism unequivocally clear to the American people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 11, 1956, p. 5.

"But we believe, too, that such attitudes of uncritical idolatry which we formerly embraced toward the USSR were a violation of the spirit of scientific socialism."

"And we believe that while we American Marxists must view world socialist developments with profound sympathy in a fraternal spirit, our primary concern is with the experience, development and aspirations of the American workingclass and the American path to socialism."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1956, p. 5.

## 12. Future of the Communist Party, USA

"...Every previous socialist movement in America made its important contribution and then became a powerless sect..."

"The Communist Party has not only played a bigger part in shaping the labor movement and the social welfare side of the government than any of its predecessors. It is also the first such movement to be determined not to become a sect as the others did, but to re-examine every aspect of its policies, review all its mistakes and, far from disappearing, become a greater force for progress and socialism than ever."

"To what extent the Communist Party in its present discussions will actually achieve this goal, remains to be seen. But the Communist Party is unlikely to...give up the fight against monopoly capitalism and Eastlandism and for socialism...."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1956, p. 6.

"This is a difficult period indeed, but we are confident that we have the resources within our organization to chart a path ahead that in time will enable us to overcome our isolation from the working class and the masses of American people and play a vital and honorable role in the affairs of our country."

Daily Worker,  
October 25, 1956, p. 2.

13. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION of the Communist Party, now before the members of that organization, will undoubtedly receive careful study from friends and foes of socialism alike.

"It is already clear from a first reading of this document that it contains important innovations registering the intention of Communists to improve greatly the democratic functioning of their party. Moreover, it records in language clear and unmistakable the will of American Communists to seek a 'peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process.' "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 11, 1956, p. 5.

14. The Case of Robert Thompson

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has answered the appeal of Mrs. Robert Thompson for the commutation of her husband's Smith Act prison term with the comment that the plea has been forwarded, 'as is usual,' to the Justice Department.

"We submit that the case of Thompson is not routine, and deserves better than routine treatment.

**"Robert Thompson was a World War II hero. Malaria and tuberculosis ravaged his body as a result of his military service.**

**"His rewards from a grateful government have included imprisonment under the Smith Act; a brutal attack by a pro-fascist prison inmate that necessitated a brain operation and left him hovering between life and death, and, to top it, withdrawal of Thompson's disability pension."**

**"Surely justice and elementary decency dictate that Robert Thompson, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross for brave service to his country, shall be promptly granted a medical pardon and the opportunity to win his way back to health in a Veterans Hospital."**

**Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 24, 1956, p. 5.**

### **III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY**

1. Unemployment is rising.
2. The proposal that the work week should be reduced is gaining additional support.
3. The Republican Administration is continuing its attacks on the labor movement.
4. The labor movement should increase its political activity.
5. The goal of the labor movement should be the eventual organization of a labor-farmer political party.
6. Labor unity requires that the "progressive-led" unions be admitted into the AFL-CIO.
7. The labor movement should intensify its drive to organize the unorganized workers.
8. Collaboration between labor and management is "dangerous."
9. The labor movement should eliminate racketeering without expelling large numbers of union members.
10. Government intervention in the recent maritime strike is an indication of the "antilabor" policy of the Republican Administration.
11. Only socialism can solve the problems of the American workers.



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Unemployment

"The situation in the coal fields points up to the most extreme degree, the trend generally in the production industries as technological developments, including automation or semi-automation, take their frightful toll of jobs. Statistics in auto, steel, railroad, maritime and other employment also show more production by fewer workers. In the past decade, while the government's production index shows a rise of nearly 50 percent, employment in manufacturing, mining and transportation showed a drop. And this in face of a rise of about eight million in the civilian labor force. People are shifting to the lower-wage non-productive and service fields, but automation and other technological changes are close on their heels."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1956, pp. 3, 14.

### 2. Shorter Work Week

"The shorter workweek is becoming a REAL issue as union after union, including some of the most important in the country, are putting the demand on the agenda. . . ."

"THE SHORTER workweek has become a crucial question--a job question--for the industrial workers. The 30-hour week is no longer just an agitation slogan. The amazing increase in productivity in the past several years and the consequences of automation and other technological developments has knocked out much of hesitancy or opposition to the shorter workweek in the labor movement. The recent AFL-CIO conference of economic experts and research directors of affiliates called especially on the shorter workweek, is a sign of the times. . . ."

Daily Worker,  
October 3, 1956, p. 5.

3. Republican Administration Is Pro-Big Business

"TWO current federal actions against labor should serve notice that the Cadillac Cabinet is out for blood. One is the indictment of 14 more leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on charges that they filed 'false' Taft-Hartley affidavits. The other is the government's determination to bring to the Supreme Court its charges that the United Automobile Workers Union--1, 660, 000 strong--spent funds 'illegally' in the recent election campaign.

"Both actions result from Big Business' desire to draw labor's political teeth, to rob America's 16, 000, 000 unionists of their first-class citizenship rights.

"THE indictment of Mine, Mill includes most of its executive board.

"It is an act of revenge by the Republican regime against a union that endorsed the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket and played an important role in the reverses the GOP sustained in the Rocky Mountain states....

"Concerning the UAW: Here we see the prosecution of the biggest union of the land because it too abhorred the Cadillac Cabinet regime."

"All in all, America witnesses the hollowness of President Eisenhower's pretensions of a 'modern Republicanism.' These two actions against labor should spur all AFL-CIO's members into prompt action to defend their vital political rights."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 25, 1956, p. 5.

4. Labor's Political Activity

"IF ANY unionist still needs convincing on the importance of pitching into labor's political action drive, they should read the outburst

by Cola G. Parker, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, before a crowd of Detroit businessmen....

"Labor's political action, as AFL-CIO president George Meany properly noted, is strictly limited to candidates of the two old parties. But even that is considered by Parker to be a 'power grab' threat....

"Parker is simply following up the drive begun by the Republicans months before the campaign, when their front man, Senator Goldwater of Arizona, challenged labor's right to engage in political action or even endorse candidates. His crowd is even sponsoring legislation to ban political action by unions....

"The NAMers squeal like stuck pigs because labor's increased participation in political action hurts them. What better argument do we need for still greater intensity in such activity?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 17, 1956, p. 5.

"A LOOK at the House and Senate should certainly dispel ideas that labor can now take it easy politically. The dominant influence is strongly anti-labor, just as it was in the 84th Congress. But experience in both Congresses since the Eisenhower administration took over, proved that labor and its allies can make up for much of this deficiency by 'extra-Congressional' grass-roots activity."

"Such 'extra - Congressional' grass-roots activity has now become pretty much the recognized pattern of labor political and legislative action in America.... So in the next four years the labor movement will be kept busy with legislative activities that combine the work of representatives and friends in Washington with popular campaigns back home."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1956, p. 3.

5. Labor-Farmer Political Party

"... There is beginning to emerge in American life the tentative outline of an effective political alliance of labor, the farmers, the Negro people and small business against the common enemy of the American people--the great monopolies."

"... We are a party of socialism. We hold that sooner or later labor and its allies must organize politically with far greater independence if they are to act effectively against the giant monopolies who dominate the life of the nation. Labor will one day not only have to curb the trusts but organize politically so that the trusts become the common property of the American people--that is, organize for socialism."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, pp. 3, 7.

"The expectation is, in labor circles, as a result of this year's experiences, that labor, in finalizing its merger arrangements in the coming months, will also tackle the issue of putting labor into the political arena with two feet, statewide and locally, with emphasis on\* establishing at long last labor's own political machinery."

Daily Worker,  
November 6, 1956, p. 3.

6. Labor Unity

"A YEAR has passed since the convention that united the AFL and CIO into one powerful organization of 15, 000, 000 members. A year is not a long time historically, but much has occurred in the period to confirm the position strongly stressed by this paper that the AFL-CIO merger was a big step forward for American labor...."

\*This probably should read "on."

"...we saw significant strides towards the restoration of the first principle of labor--its life-giving spirit--UNITY.

"The picture is far from ideal. Much of our labor movement is not guided by the spirit of unity and solidarity that fired its founders. But when we look back to what things were like before the merger and the no-raiding agreements--when hardly a union escaped the ravages of raiding; when it was common for rival unions to pass each other's picket lines; when unions often took opposite sides on the political field--then one must be blind not to see the difference."

"...labor's unity is strength to FIGHT more effectively."

"A SIZABLE section of labor in unaffiliated unions is still outside united labor. Among them are the United Mine Workers; the International Longshoremen's Association and most of the operating railroad unions.

"Then there is the group of four independent progressive - led unions, banned from re-entry on false grounds of 'communist' domination. The exclusion of those unions is a far greater loss to labor as a whole than to the unions involved. The influence of the militant traditions and initiative of the progressive-led unions is especially needed in labor today."

"IT SHOULD be noted, nevertheless, that there are some even among the progressive trade unionists who still maintain a super-left attitude towards the merger and the AFL-CIO; who still estimate the merger terms mechanically without taking into account the potential dynamic influence of a working class that is more active and hopeful; who still shut their eyes to the positive achievements and still emphasize the negative features and weaknesses.

"Elimination of such negative approach and the greater integration of the entire progressive current with the main stream of labor is an essential part of the unity process as a whole."

The Worker,  
December 2, 1956, pp. 8, 9.

7. Organizing the Unorganized

"THERE is a big question, however; how long is it possible for ORGANIZED labor to drive ahead while two-thirds of the workers of America remained unorganized, with the gap between the strongly protected and the unprotected workers getting ever wider?"

"But the labor movement is heading towards a dead-end in its wage struggle and shorter hours (which would boost hourly rates even faster) unless its base is broadened to more millions of unorganized workers. The unorganized are a drag on its progress. Moreover, the labor movement will face new anti-labor legislation with the consent of many deceived workers and others outside union ranks, if it does not move seriously to narrow the gap between union and non-union wages by organization."

The Worker,  
December 9, 1956, p. 14.

8. Labor-Management Harmony

"...there has been a working (unofficial) class collaboration agreement between the monopoly capitalists and the top leaders of organized labor, the substance of which is a mutual support of Wall Street's aggressive foreign policies and the maintenance of enormous government 'defense' expenditures of about \$40 billion yearly."

\*This probably should read "is."

"This setup has facilitated the securing of considerable wage advances for the more favored workers, while for the capitalists it has meant gigantic profits. The relative ease with which the stronger trade unions in this country have been getting wage boosts during the cold war years cannot be ascribed simply to the 'boom' conditions that have prevailed generally in industry through most of these years. Nor can the tender solicitude of the higher labor leaders for enormous 'defense' appropriations be explained merely upon the grounds of their 'fear' of a Soviet invasion.... Altogether, for the workers, this collaboration with the employers for such war-like and profit-mongering ends is a dangerous one. It is provocative of the war danger, it cultivates an eventual economic crisis, and it tends to fortify political reaction."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs, November, 1956, pp. 39-40.

#### 9. Labor Racketeering

"THERE IS NO QUESTION about the need of waging a struggle against racketeering. And racketeering and gangsterism is much more strongly entrenched in the American trade unions than most leaders in American labor care to admit. But there is something wrong about the kind of a fight against racketeering and gangsterism that turns into a fight against the thousands of workers who make up the affected unions. There is something wrong about the kind of fight that gives comfort to the employers and enables them to profit from it. The AFL-CIO as the AFL before it, does not show an ability to CONVINCE the rank and file workers and win them away from their leaders.

"Expulsion and like sledgehammer methods have been the historic answer of the top bureaucracy of labor, with disastrous and costly consequences....

"The policy is that if you can't force conformance then smash 'em. This line springs from the bureaucratic tradition that differences of view cannot be tolerated in a trade union movement. It rejects voluntarism and autonomy rights. It is evidence of ideological and moral weakness--inability to convince, a fear to test views and policies in a free and open market place."

"It is time the AFL-CIO re-examined its policy with the view to breaking with a course that calls for periodic expulsion of tens and hundreds of thousands of workers."

Daily Worker,  
October 22, 1956, p. 5.

#### 10. Maritime Strike

"NOW THAT Election Day is past, and there's no need to put up a pro-labor front for vote-getting purposes, Eisenhower has tossed the Taft-Hartley Act at the 60, 000 longshore strikers."

"The shipowners obviously needed help, faced with the most solid coast-wide dockers strike in Atlantic and Gulf history, and with the West Coast longshoremen acting in solidarity. The shipowners got this help, too. First, the NLRB\* obliged by getting a federal court injunction forbidding the International Longshoremen's Association from bargaining for an industry-wide pact. Then, the antilabor government in Washington came through with the Taft-Hartley assault.

"No wonder the shipowners refused to bargain seriously with the I. L. A.

"The NMU\*\* and ILWU\*\*\* have given fine examples of labor solidarity. But where are the New York and national AFL-CIO?"

\*This refers to the National Labor Relations Board.

\*\*This refers to the National Maritime Union of America - AFL-CIO.

\*\*\*This refers to the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union - Independent.



"The merged labor movement faces a major challenge today in the longshore struggle. It seems to us that the answer lies in SOLIDARITY, in revitalizing labor's traditional slogans of unity against the employers."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 26, 1956, p. 5.

"... But application of T-H to the dock strike was a clear example of the use of the law to help the employers. It is equally clear that the potential use of the law encouraged the employers to both provoke the strike and prolong the unsettled situation on the waterfront along the coast."

The Worker,  
December 2, 1956, p. 4.

"... The leaders of the AFL-CIO should look the facts in the face and declare the organization's full support of the strike."

Daily Worker,  
November 19, 1956, p. 5.

#### 11. Workers Need Socialism

"... Only under Socialism, with the industries owned by the people and the political power in the hands of the workers and their allies, will the workers be able to raise their living standards to the maximum and to make these standards safe from all attack."

"... More and more, on a world scale, the workers are taking the offensive in defending and improving their living standards against all employers' attacks and against the general impoverishment

tendencies of obsolescent capitalism. The CPUSA\* should do all possible to strengthen in our country this basic trend of the international labor movement. Especially it should lay stress upon developing the counter-crisis programs of the trade unions. These must be based, not upon the 'trickle down' theories of Keynesism, but upon real attacks against monopoly capitalist profits. The Party must help to ready the workers to fight militantly for these when the acute need appears, as it will. It must cultivate among the masses the meaning of Socialism, as their only guarantee of prosperity."

"These recent innovations in Communist theory and policy do not constitute a weakening or an abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, as so many comrades these days assume, but its development in order to meet rapidly changing world conditions. They are not class collaborationist, but are based upon the class struggle. In this country, they tend to lay the basis for ever-closer working relations between the Communist Party and the great masses of organized and unorganized workers...."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs, November, 1956, pp. 36, 41, 42.

\* This refers to the Communist Party, USA.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The decline in farm prices is continuing.
2. The farm policy of the Republican Administration is encouraging inflation.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farm Prices Dropping

"...Oct. 15 farm prices again were down for the fourth successive month--although by a hairline 0.85 percent. Secretary of Agriculture Era Taft Benson tried to prevent this election eve occurrence by announcing, one hour before release of the news, that the government was ready to buy \$100 million of pork and pork products. When his proclamation failed to wipe out the hairline decline, he immediately announced that the drop was 'slight' and 'seasonal.' "

The Worker,  
November 11, 1956, p. 5.

##### 2. Administration's Farm Policy

"The President spoke as his own agricultural department disclosed Americans will next year pay higher prices for less meat.

"He could have taken note of the fact that his own administration's policy of squeezing out many small farmers and concentrating production of food in fewer hands has contributed to the rising cost of food products.

"He could have further noted how the administration's policy of encouraging scarcity by paying farmers to cut crop acreage, is keeping up food prices."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 21, 1956, p. 3.

"... The government's policy to 'help' the farmers by a program of scarcity, and its edicts tightening money for mortgages and financing of other purchases, far from discouraging this inflationary trend, are furthering it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

V. COLONIALISM

1. Colonialism is on the wane.
2. The anti-imperialist "revolution" is growing in intensity.
3. Imperialism has always been accompanied by "murder and robbery."
4. Great Britain is maintaining a colonial regime in Cyprus.
5. The imperialist powers are "drenching Africa with blood again."
6. The United States supports colonialism.
7. The Soviet Union opposes colonialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Decline of Colonialism

"Thus, although there is a Middle East crisis one aspect of it is that the colonial powers have been weakened and the anti-imperialist movement in North Africa and the Near East has been strengthened...."

Daily Worker,  
November 21, 1956, p. 5.

"...The invasion of Egypt can well mark a new phase in the decline and fall of colonialism which set in with the winning of Indian independence, the Chinese revolution, and independence for Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon and other lands."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

"... The tide of colonial empire is ebbing. Crossing it are the strong winds of national liberation...."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1956, p. 2.

2. Anti-Imperialist 'Revolution'

"... For the Asian-African revolution has already liberated India, Burma and Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and started China and Viet-Nam on the Socialist path.

"And this revolution--as it sweeps forward--will bring control of their natural resources to the oppressed peoples of the Mid East.

"That's why the imperialists are drawing their guns today."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1956, p. 10.

"BUT A NEW DAY IS DAWNING. The Asian - African revolution is rolling West and South from China, Viet Nam, Burma, India and Egypt. And the African peoples are listening with hope to the Egyptian radio, which speaks in their own language. 'Africa for the Africans' is becoming the cry."

"The struggle against imperialism is becoming more intense in every continent of the world."

The Worker,  
November 11, 1956, p. 13.

3. Imperialism Brings Murder and Robbery

"IMPERIALISM HAS meant murder--mass murder--and robbery from the beginning. It meant murder and robbery when the British looted India.... It meant murder and robbery in the Philippines when Gen. Arthur MacArthur was hanging guerrillas wholesale and giving the 'water cure' to dozens of imprisoned mayors...."

"But the imperialists wallowed deepest in African blood. For tens of millions of African farmers and herdsmen were butchered in the slave raids of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. And tens of millions more perished since modern imperialism began two generations ago."

The Worker,  
November 11, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

4. Cyprus

"It was crime compounded by crime that Cyprus was the staging area from which the British and French launched their invasion of Egypt. Cyprus is under colonial rule. Only military force keeps Cyprus beneath the British flag. Some 80 percent of the people there are Greek. They have shown on many occasions their strong determination for union with Greece. But action for self-determination in Cyprus is a crime punishable by hanging. Even the church has become an object of continuous persecution because the priests and bishops of Cyprus support the will of their communicants."

Daily Worker,  
November 12, 1956, p. 5.

5. Africa

"IMPERIALISM is drenching Africa with blood again. The weapons are different now than in 1882 when Prime Minister Gladstone burned Alexandria and bombarded Port Said. For Eden and Mollet are

murdering the darkskinned people of Egypt faster in 1956. They are murdering them with high-powered Corsair bombers from American production lines and with rapid fire artillery instead of smooth bore cannon....

"But the imperialists's aims are the same as 74 years ago. They aim to put the chains of imperialism on the Nile land again. They aim to squeeze the workers and fellaheen of Egypt to the bone and to fatten the bankers of London and Paris. And to terrify all darkskinned peoples who might want to rebel."

"TAKE THE CONGO murders, for instance. Here 20 to 25 million men, women and children died after King Leopold of Belgium took over...."

"The fattest fortunes in Belgium come from this Congo land, where the people now dig uranium and copper and diamonds, and grow palm oil and peanuts for their European oppressors.

"Much of this wealth flows into American and British coffers today. For the Rockefellers and Morgans and the London bankers are big investors in the Belgian Congo firms."

"In South Africa the Negro mine workers are treated like cattle...."

"'Apartheid'--as the South African white rulers call their system--is another spelling for imperialism. And anyway you spell it imperialism means slavery and death."



"Most terrible is the fate of the Kikuyu tribesmen in Kenya, East Africa. Here tens of thousands of men, women and children have been imprisoned by Churchill and Eden. And many hundreds have been executed by their white masters."

The Worker,  
November 11, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

6. United States Supports Colonialism

"...And the fact remains that while the British, French and our own representatives in UN make pious pleas against foreign intervention --British troops massacre the people of Cyprus and Kenya, French troops massacre Algerians seeking self-determination and American troops garrison bases on every continent of the globe while supporting the British and colonial wars...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 30, 1956, p. 5.

"...Our planes, tanks, ships and troops are stationed on every continent, our armed forces stand guard to protect the rich and well-born against the masses...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 29, 1956, p. 5.

7. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"...the Soviet Union has traditionally supported the Asian and African people in their struggles for self determination. Of the big powers only the Soviet Union was truly sympathetic to the Bandung conference. Did this necessarily make the Soviet Union a foe of Israel?"

"While the Soviet Union was supporting the Arab countries against colonialism, this did not mean the USSR was opposed to the national existence of Israel...."

Daily Worker,  
November 2, 1956, p. 5.

"...colonialism is alien to a socialist economy and abhorrent to a Communist movement....it is true that under Stalin there were alien and abhorrent trends within socialist countries and Communist movements. The correction of those trends, particularly after the Yugoslav-Soviet agreement of June, 1955, signified a return to Marxist principles, particularly relating to the different paths to socialism and to international working class solidarity based on absolute equality, on non-interference in the affairs of other parties and on mutual, friendly criticism."

Daily Worker,  
October 19, 1956, p. 5.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The trials of members of the Communist Party, USA, for violation of the Smith Act are a "national shame."
2. Those convicted of violating the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
3. The "fascist-like" Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) is unconstitutional.
4. The Walter-McCarran Act is biased against racial, national, and religious groups.
5. The Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Law should be repealed.
6. Confidential informants have been guilty of perjury over a period of years.
7. Congressional investigating committees are encouraging a "fascist-like atmosphere in the country."
8. The Senate rules by which unlimited debate is permitted and by which promotion is based on seniority should be changed.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Smith Act

"While there have been a total of 160 Smith Act indictments\*--on conspiracy, membership and the collateral 'harboring' charge--from 1948 to date the resistance has not remained static. Increasingly, if unevenly, many groups in the country are beginning to understand that the continued prosecution of Communists under the Smith Act is harmful to the democratic rights of all and to the very Bill of Rights."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1956, p. 3.

\*145 leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have been indicted for violation of the Smith Act.

"...Americans have been convicted in courts, and in the public mind, of conspiring to overthrow the government by force. But... the government admits that Smith Act victims did not teach overthrow of the government at the very same meeting which had been cited to convict them!

"What then remains? A law, and a series of trials unprecedented in our history and, to our national shame, unduplicated anywhere else in the world today."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 11, 1956, p. 5.

"THE JUSTICE Department has devoted considerable manpower and its best talents to the Lightfoot and Scales cases\* in the hope that the Supreme Court will uphold the conviction and affirm the constitutionality of the membership section of the act.

"A victory in these cases would give the department a green light legally to proceed with prosecutions of a number of individuals whom it could not hope to convict of advocating the forceful overthrow of the government, nor of 'conspiring' with others to do so."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1956, p. 7.

## 2. Amnesty for Smith Act "Victims"

"...several hundred of our fellow citizens have added their names to a petition urging both Presidential amnesty for Smith Act victims already convicted and the halting of scheduled trials pending Supreme Court review of the law.

\* Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales, both members of the Communist Party, USA, have been convicted under the membership clause of the Smith Act. They are now free on bond pending their appeals.

"Among the hundreds of signators are clergymen, educators, men and women of prominence in public life across the country. Their action is a heartening sign of the restoration of sanity in America and the revulsion, now common to a majority of Americans, against the bullying persecution of minority opinion that has torn gaping holes in the fabric of democratic liberties."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 5, 1956, p. 5.

"We can think of few acts more in keeping with the holiday spirit or of greater service to the cause of democracy than renewed appeal at this time to President Eisenhower in behalf of the Smith Act victims still in jail."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 20, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Internal Security Act of 1950

"THE SUBVERSIVE Activities Control Board has solved the Supreme Court's order on its ruling on the Communist Party very simply. It eliminated the testimony of three informers who were exposed as perjurers, and who were so named by the court, and it concluded that what was left of its proceedings was enough for its conclusion--that the party and its members must register as 'subversives.' "

"...While the case against the Communist Party is still tied up in legal procedures, steps have already been taken in a big way to outlaw several unions under the most recent Butler bill additions to the original McCarran Law. The Supreme Court shattered decisively the hopes of the government to outlaw those unions under the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. So the Department of Justice is banking on obtaining the same result under the fascist-like Subversive Activities (McCarran) Control Act."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 20, 1956, p. 5.

"...the McCarran Act itself, is in clear violation of the constitutional guarantees of free speech, press and assembly.' "

"We are confident... that the McCarran Act, which set up the board of political censors known as the SACB, will be found unconstitutional.' "

Daily Worker,  
December 19, 1956, p. 3.

4. Walter-McCarran Act

"WHEN REP. FRANCIS WALTER parades as a champion of the open door and the hearty welcome to our shores, it's time to get suspicious.

"Father of the racist law which bears his name, Walter is notorious for his exclusionist principles. He would keep out of America all immigrants save those whose bona fides include a white Aryan ancestry and a properly pro-fascist political history. On the other hand, Walter's ugly bias toward the Latin, colored and other national and religious groupings is clearly reflected in the McCarran-Walter Act."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 22, 1956, p. 5.

5. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"Despite the wishes of the leaders of both political parties, the civil rights of the Negro people were forced into the political arena as one of the major campaign issues. Unfortunately, no comparable mass movement was rallied to project the general issue of freedom from political persecution, and the defense of the Bill of Rights. The repeal of the network of repressive laws which threaten the freedom of every American citizen--the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter Act--was never raised. To all intents and purposes, American civil liberties were not an issue in the election."

Daily Worker,  
November 15, 1956, p. 7.

"...repeal the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith Acts; end Smith Act prosecutions and extend amnesty to all political prisoners."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

6. Confidential Informants

"In one case after another, informers have been exposed as liars.... The Justice Department's informers have been either proven liars in open court or they have ducked a court challenge of their falsehoods."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, p. 5.

" 'THESE FALSE witnesses were hirelings of the FBI, the national political police. They made a living by perjury for years. For they appeared at scores of hearings against progressive foreign-born workers, facing deportation....' "

The Worker,  
October 28, 1956, pp. 9, 14.

"The job has no future. Judas found that out long ago. And the woods are full of worn-out informers, who are of no more use to the Pontius Pilates of 1956. For these two-legged rats wear out almost as quickly as waterfront prostitutes or underworld torpedoes."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1956, p. 9.

7. Congressional Investigating Committees

"WITH THE ELECTION over, the witchhunters did not lose a day in making known their plans for a new drive to revive McCarthyism in

America. Both the Eastland Senate and House Walter committees have announced they will open their old stands without delay.

"But there is a different atmosphere in the country. These committees no longer have the bite they once had....

"It is high time labor took an offensive against these labor-haters and bigots who under cover of congressional authority and anti-Communism are fanning a fascist-like atmosphere in the country."

"Those responsible for leadership in both parties should be reminded of their frequent campaign assurances against McCarthyism. They should be asked to make it known what they will do to stop another McCarthyite binge in America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 13, 1956, p. 5.

"...end the witch-hunt of the last ten years, with its Congressional inquisitions..."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

#### 8. Changes in Senate Rules

"THE NEW Congress does not meet until January, but already the first big fight is under way. And not a day too soon either--because the chance to break the Dixiecrat grip on the Senate comes on opening day. That is when a group of six liberal Democratic Senators, with assistance from some Republicans will wage battle against Rule 22. This rule makes it possible to kill any legislation--especially on civil rights--by way of the filibuster."



"The magnitude of the opening day fight on Rule 22 is of vital importance for the entire 16-point program which the six Democratic Senators have embodied in their 'Declaration of 1957.' "

"Labor and other organizations have a few weeks left in which to mount a drive against the filibuster. Every moment devoted to it will pay off handsomely during the period ahead."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

"BATTLE lines are forming over the liberal Democratic move to abolish the filibuster Rule 22 when the Senate opens Jan. 3."

"However, with the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition in the saddle, the liberal fight to abolish Rule 22 and for civil rights legislation is believed doomed unless an aroused labor and people's movement fights the issue through."

Daily Worker,  
November 30, 1956, p. 3.

"What is in order between now and the opening of Congress in January is work for a bi-partisan agreement to attack and change the seniority rules and Rule 22 of the U.S. Senate. The seniority rule needs to be changed to prevent the shame of a James O. Eastland achieving automatically the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And Rule 22 needs changing to force a Senate vote on civil rights bills after sufficient discussion by giving a majority of those present the right to limit debate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 13, 1956, p. 5.

"But the real test is whether President Eisenhower himself will now use his undoubted influence to line up the majority of Republicans behind the move of the liberal Democrats to abolish filibuster Rule 22 when the Senate starts work Jan. 3."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 4, 1956, p. 5.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Government spending for military purposes should be reduced so that a large-scale program to improve social welfare can be initiated.
2. All troops should be withdrawn from all foreign bases.
3. In the case of Lieutenant Titus Saunders, the United States Air Force "surrendered" to the "Dixiecrats."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. America's Militarized Economy

"However, we do not have an 'old attitude' of a militarized economy. It was thrust upon us during the last decade. Most would be happy to do away with it. That a sharp slash in arms spending would require economic adjustments goes without saying. But these adjustments could be positive and beneficial, harmful only to the profits of arms manufacturers."

"Without support for disarmament, welfare proposals are at least tainted with demagogy...."

The Worker,  
October 21, 1956, p. 4.

"...The crushing burden of armaments restricts social welfare expenditures and hits every low income taxpayer...."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, p. 3.

"What could be a better pledge of allegiance to America than a pledge to fight against the Wall Street forces which have sunk \$40,000,000,000 into arms profiteering and kept one-fifth of the nation ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed?..."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1956, p. 6.

## 2. Withdrawal of Troops from Foreign Bases

"NO PEOPLE LIKES to have foreign troops stationed on its soil. Recent events in Egypt and Hungary have brought this question into sharp focus.

"Of course, the issue isn't the same in those two countries. Foreign troops--British, French and Israeli--are in Egypt as a result of one of the most brazen acts of aggression in the long sordid history of imperialism. Foreign troops--those of the Soviet Union--are in Hungary by agreement between the two countries under the Warsaw Pact, counterpart of NATO, as well as under the Potsdam Agreement (Hungary was part of the fascist Axis)."

"It's time to negotiate the withdrawal of ALL foreign troops from ALL countries--it could be part of the agenda of a new summit conference. This proposal has been repeatedly made by the Soviet Union, only to be rebuffed by Washington, London and Paris."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 2, 1956, p. 4.

"THE WITHDRAWAL of all foreign troops throughout the world to their own soil would open the way to solution of the most knotty problems of world politics. It could lead to the solution of the German problem through the neutralization and unification of Germany. This would bar the way to a revival of German militarism which precipitated two world wars.

"As long as American military bases ring the globe the cold war continues. As long as our government opposes so minimum a step to peace as stopping H-bomb tests, we block the way to permanent solutions of East-West conflicts...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 5, 1956, p. 5.

"THE question of troop withdrawal BY BOTH SIDES in Europe is shaping up as a major issue today...."

"Here then is a capital issue for top level negotiations between our country and the Soviet Union. Doesn't this call for a new summit conference? At any rate it means that high level channels of negotiation must be established between our country and the Soviet Union. Mutual troop evacuation can become a means for spurring disarmament, easing international tensions and ending the whole cold war. It would also enhance sovereignty of all European peoples, West as well as East of the Elbe."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 27, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. The Case of Lieutenant Titus Saunders

"THE U. S. ARMY has the reputation of never retreating, but the Air Force has been forced to surrender, unconditionally, to the Invisible Empire of the Dixiecrats in the case of Lt. Titus Saunders. With no more than a rigged racist 'trial' in Columbus, Miss., of the young Negro officer, the Dixiecrat Congressional brigade began its assaults. Their ultimate demand was the dismissal of Lt. Saunders.

"This week the Air Force caved in, even to the point of giving Lt. Saunders a less than honorable discharge. The victorious 'general' in this successful assault was Sen. John Stennis, the Mississippi Democrat. To

Stennis and his fellow merchants of race-hate Lt. Saunders, wearing the uniform of an officer in the U. S. Army, symbolized integration and Negro first class citizenship. His frame-up on a drunken driving charge in Mississippi represented to the Stennis-type latter-day Confederates a blow against desegregation--and the right of all Negroes."

"The Air Force surrendered on a front which menaces every soldier forced to serve his country in the Deep South."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 7, 1956, p. 5.

### **VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS**

1. The question of civil rights is "the foremost domestic issue of the day."
2. The Federal Government should intervene to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Southern States.
3. Both major political parties are evading the question of desegregation in education.
4. The struggle of the Negroes in the Southern States for their civil rights deserves widespread support.
5. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court which prohibits segregation in intrastate transportation will require strong enforcement by the Executive Branch of the Government.
6. The tactic of "passive resistance," typified by the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, has added new vigor to the fight for equal rights for Negroes.
7. The Department of Justice should prosecute the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan.
8. The Federal Government should take legal action against the White Citizens' Councils.
9. Discrimination against Negroes is still prevalent in industry.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Civil Rights

"Not since the days of the Abolitionist movement and the Civil War has the issue of Negro rights engaged the attention of the nation with such compelling force. The Supreme Court has outlawed segregation in the school system. But in the main it has been left for the Negro people and their children to enforce the decision. The heroism of the Negro people in sending their children into schools as mobs gather and burn Negroes in effigy constitutes one of the most heroic chapters in American history...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 8, 9.

"For every democratic-minded American civil rights is the foremost domestic issue of the day. Shall Negro and white children be protected in the right to learn together? Shall the Negro people of the South enjoy the right to vote? Shall the Negro people walk in dignity and equality in jobs, housing and all other aspects of American life? Will not the winning of civil rights for the Negro people advance the economic and political rights of the great masses of America?"

"On civil rights and civil liberties: prompt Federal enforcement of the Supreme Court desegregation decision through every channel open to the Executive; firm action against those who advocate and practice force and violence against the Supreme Court decision; a legislative program to guarantee full political and economic rights to the Negro people, North and South..."

Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1956, pp. 3, 7.



2. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"The Deep South officials have been permitted to exercise 'local option' on the U.S. Constitution, honoring only those sections of that document they choose. To these confirmed racists no part of the U.S. Constitution applies to Negroes."

"We cannot depend upon Presidential platitudes and states rights promises to advance democracy in the Deep South. It is just about a century late in coming, a century in which there have been too many unsolved murders of Negroes."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 1, 1956, p. 5.

"AT LONG LAST U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell has publicly acknowledged that the Department of Justice has some responsibility for enforcing decisions of the U. S. Court. This is progress. For in calling a meeting of U. S. Attorneys in states with laws which segregate public conveyances Brownell is veering sharply from the do-nothing position he has maintained on rulings of the high court against public school segregation."

"If backed up vigorous action,\* this policy could result in a peaceful transition from segregation to integration on public carriers in the South.

"But why limit the order of business in the scheduled Dec. 10 meeting of southern U. S. Attorneys to the transportation issues? Why not include, also, the issue of school desegregation?

"...Let us not limit ourselves to half-a-loaf of desegregation when the whole loaf is just within our grasp."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 23, 1956, p. 5.

\*This probably should read "backed up by vigorous action."

### 3. Segregation in Education

"JUDGING FROM the speeches of the leading Presidential and Congressional candidates, school integration is a dead issue. Political activity on this issue... is left to those who base their careers on the exploitation of racism."

. . . . .

"The evasions by the leading candidates have left the ears of the Southern voters exclusively to the Negro-baiters and law-defiers."

"Where is President Eisenhower's 'persuasion'?... And what are the Democratic 'moderates' doing in this campaign to 'create a climate of understanding,' which Adlai Stevenson says is so necessary?"

. . . . .

"Here is an issue which, if dealt with, can quicken the pulse of the electorate and make this a more meaningful and vigorous campaign moving towards the realization of basic American principles."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 11, 1956, p. 5.

### 4. Violence in the Southern States

"FOR A WEEK now southern Negroes by hundreds of thousands have been risking prison and even death in a dramatic, non-violent struggle to enjoy constitutional and human rights the U. S. Supreme Court says is theirs. In effect, Negroes, who make up more than half of the bus riders in these southern cities, are saying:

" 'The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that laws requiring separation of the races in public transportation is illegal; we will not degrade ourselves and the federal government by obeying these relics of an immoral era.

"For thus taking their stand beside the U.S. Constitution, the Supreme Court and law and order, Negroes are set upon by policemen, imprisoned, shot at by inspired hoodlums, assaulted on buses and bombed in their homes."

"Where is the follow-up to the brave statement made in November by Attorney General Herbert Brownell to the effect that any effort to enforce segregation laws on buses would be considered by the Department of Justice as a 'crime against the government?' These laws are being enforced in Birmingham, Mobile and Tallahassee. . . . Is crime to go unpunished in states like Alabama and Florida simply because the criminals are infringing only the rights of Negro citizens?"

"IF THE PRESS, the churches, labor unions and civil rights organizations were to support the anti-segregation fight with financial aid and solidarity actions, victory would be a matter of days. It is this type of support, in addition to vigorous activity by the federal government, that is urgently needed.

"The nation as a whole needs to recognize that the southern Negroes are in the van of the fight to extend American democracy. And democracy is indivisible."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 28, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

##### 5. Segregation in Intrastate Transportation

"CONGRATULATIONS are in order to the Negro people of Montgomery, Ala. Their historic bus boycott of more than a year has now been climaxed by a U.S. Supreme Court decision in their favor.

"Moreover, as in every such victory, the implications go far beyond the immediate case. It is expected the court's decision in the bus case will be the basis for outlawing all state or municipal statutes anywhere that require discrimination on public vehicles."

"But this new blow to the shameful 'separate but equal' doctrine has still to be carried out in life."

"President Eisenhower, who has yet to say that he supports the school desegregation decision, should speak out in favor of that decision and of the new bus decision as well. He should call for compliance with the court's ruling, order the Justice Department to swing into action behind the Constitution and mobilize official and public opinion in the South for wiping out an un-American and inhuman situation which has too long disgraced our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 15, 1956, p. 5.

6. Passive Resistance

"THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ruling against segregated local transportation issued last Nov. 13 came on the 344th day of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the boycott movement had cost the local bus company more than \$750,000. The passive resistance movement against second class citizenship had raised the Negro community's estimate of its own strength and had signalled the Negroes' irrevocable commitment against all forms of jimcrow."

The Worker,  
November 25, 1956, p. 1.

"The editorial comment on the Montgomery passive resistance movement... proves that the ground has been prepared for building a communications link between the Negro and white communities...."

Daily Worker,  
December 13, 1956, p. 5.

"Montgomery Negroes have worked out a tactic of mass passive resistance to supplement and combine with that of legal attacks against unconstitutional jimcrow."

"It is a move which deserves the attention and alliance of every group in the country interested in defending the Constitution and expanding democracy."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 3, 1956, p. 5.

"In improving their city, Montgomery's Negroes have affected the fight against racism throughout the United States. They have given the movement for civil rights a new method--passive resistance--and added new and vigorous leaders to the fight."

"We wish the movement every success in Montgomery and in every other city where the illegal and immoral racist system mocks the concept of brotherhood and democracy."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 6, 1956, p. 5.

## 7. Ku Klux Klan

"The self-appointed defenders of 'the Anglo-Saxon race,' hooded, robed and armed, are again challenging law and order in the Deep South's cities and towns. From the South Atlantic to Eastern Texas, the newly-formed squads of bullies-in-bedsheets are swearing to die if need be to prevent compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

"The credo of the Ku Klux Klan of the Konfederacy formed in Birmingham, Ala., is 'militant action (by) militant men--men of action, not words.' Thus the Klan announces its war against law and reason with the primitive violence of the whip and the gun.

"Crosses have been burned before the homes of white and Negro southerners who favor school integration. Negroes have been killed for wanting to vote; school boards have been forced to honor the wishes of the Klan and ignore mandates of the Supreme Court--all because of 'militant action' by Klansmen.

"This subversion is not hidden. The perpetrators of the racist crimes are known. The conspiracy is an open book.

"The law enforcement agencies of the nation, and especially the Justice Department, cannot instil obedience to law without going after these hooded thugs, whose declared aims are to make law enforcement impossible."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 2, 1956, p. 5.

8. White Citizens' Councils

"Eisenhower is not alone a candidate for re-election. He is President of the United States with the full power of enforcing the law, and this is his bounden duty under the Constitution which he is sworn to uphold. It is within his power, and clearly his duty, to guarantee the enforcement of the desegregation decision, to insure that Negro citizens in the Deep South exercise the vote, and to prosecute and jail the White Citizens Councils which are inciting violent and open defiance of the law of the land. His failures in this situation show a scandalous contempt for the heroic struggles of the Negro people in the South for his oath, and undoubtedly amaze civilized people all over the world."

Daily Worker,  
October 23, 1956, p. 4.

9. Discrimination in Industry

"Discrimination is immensely profitable, and employers are in business to make profits. Discrimination cannot be limited or eliminated without reducing profits."

"...discrimination is producing at least 16 billion dollars of extra profit each year for employers.

"TO WIPE out discrimination would mean, among other things, elimination of wage differentials. That is, employers would have to pay Negro workers the same wages they pay white workers; they would have to pay Southern workers--both Negro and white--the same wages they pay Northern workers.

"So it would cost employers at least 16 billion dollars a year to get rid of discrimination. That is why the big corporations, instead of trying to get rid of it, are doing everything possible to continue it, and will go on doing everything possible to continue it."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1956, p. 6.

"... Large sections of these workers are Negroes, last to be hired, first to be laid off, because of long time discrimination, which FEPC\* laws still does not eradicate. Women workers, young workers are also a big part of this jobless group."

Daily Worker,  
November 23, 1956, p. 3.

\*This refers to the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The crisis in American education still persists.
2. Federal aid for education is urgently needed.
3. The Jefferson School of Social Science was forced to close because of "hysteria and persecutions."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Crisis in Education

"...Mounting enrolments teamed with a shortage of qualified teachers and classrooms have deprived at least 840,000 children of full-time schooling this year.

"School systems still are employing about 80,000 teachers who are not fully qualified.

"Enrollments in Teachers' College are not increasing fast enough to meet the need for qualified teachers. The 'real need' for new teachers this year is an estimated 180,000."

Daily Worker,  
December 3, 1956, p. 1.

#### 2. Federal Aid for Education

"What happened on school aid is typical of the entire course of the Eisenhower Administration: to propose fairly good measures with the expectation that they will be killed by Congress.

"There is no more urgent question than federal aid to education...."



"...Each candidate for Congress must be examined on his voting record with regard to aid to education and other vital issues and on the guarantees which he gives in the event he is elected."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 3, 1956, p. 5.

### 3. Jefferson School of Social Science

"THE ANNOUNCED termination of existence by the Jefferson School of Social Science will be sincerely regretted by the thousands who have enrolled in its classes since 1944 and the many who still expected to do so. In its 12 years the institution has been a study center of Marxism with thousands who are today active progressive workers and leaders in numerous fields owing much to the inspiration and knowledge they received in that building on the Avenue of Americas.

"The most important fact that must be stated for the whole world to know is that the shutdown of the school is primarily due to the McCarranite-McCarthyite hysteria and persecutions. The 'miracle' was the ability of the school to continue operation through this entire shameful period, although on a curtailed scale. Tribute for that is due to courageous and self-sacrificing men and women of the school's faculty and the hundreds who defying the inquisitors and stoolpigeons, stood by their right to enroll in such school."

"The whole world ought to be told that in this land whose spokesmen and special radio apparatus abroad are so boastful of our 'freedom,' people who teach and study in 'non-conformist' institutions like the Jefferson School are hounded, outlawed and persecuted by a special 'dangerous thoughts' agency known as the Subversive Activities Control Board."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 29, 1956, p. 5.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. The United States "stupidly" discontinued cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union.
2. In the United States, poetry has become the "tattered orphan of the arts."
3. A revival of proletarian literature would benefit the United States.
4. Censorship over art and science still persists in the United States.
5. Under capitalism, art has been reduced to either a "luxury trade" or a "personal hobby."
6. Marxist scientists and artists should make greater use of the work of "non-Marxists and even anti-Marxists."
7. Marxists do not advocate that the end justifies the means.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Cultural Exchanges**

"THE STATE DEPARTMENT has suspended its program of cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union in what is asserted to be a protest over the situation in Hungary.

"This action is supposed to help the people of Hungary. We wish someone would tell us just how."

"If our State Department were really concerned about the people of Hungary--and of every other country including our own--it would find ways to increase cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union instead of stupidly suspending them."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

## 2. Poetry in America

"POETRY IN AMERICA is a fattered orphan of the arts..."

"...This art, here and now, has fallen among the Pharisees who, in the main, regard the poet as kin to the hobo, possibly more literate than most, but a daft creature, who, after you have read Longfellow's Hiawatha in your juvenile years at school can well stay out of your way...."

"...the Muse is not ignored elsewhere as she is in our homeland..."

The Worker,  
November 25, 1956, p. 2.

## 3. Proletarian Literature

"...There is a fashion of feeling that because we have escaped a major depression since the Thirties, pure art has gotten a breathing spell; side-taking is out; protest is passe; an Augustan Age is in the bud. Why then so many cries about the ineffectuality of American literature from

even those who do not understand the reason for it and who mock the art of the Thirties, which they admit was effectual, even if they are so prejudiced as to find nothing else good in it?"

Charles Humboldt, "The Salt of Freedom,"  
Mainstream, October, 1956, p. 17.

"All over the world today Marxist writers and other artists are locked in a great debate, the end of which is not yet in sight, on the need to establish creative freedom for the individual artist within a culture that is responsive to the socialist goals of the nation."

"Whether the next big wave of workingclass literature will avoid the deficiencies of its forbears remains to be seen.

"Even with its limitations, the genre enriched American literature and influenced other writers. When one considers how little of published literature today emulates the best in proletarian literature by describing workingclass life, exploring the realities of our economic system and giving voice to the complaints of the people at the bottom, it cannot be doubted that America will be the richer when a new, wiser and fuller social literature emerges."

Daily Worker,  
October 10, 1956, p. 6.

#### 4. Censorship over Art and Science

"...The threat to artists and scientists is not a dwindling twister on the Left, but a swamp and a year-round soaking drizzle over the whole country. The censorship and debasement of art, the misuse and repression

of scientific work, are common as sand in the United States. The facts are little known or quickly forgotten by the masses of Americans, including the intellectuals..."

Charles Humboldt, "The Salt of Freedom,"  
Mainstream, October, 1956, p.22.

## 5. Art under Capitalism

"...Capitalism has reduced the vocation of art to a luxury trade on the one hand, and a personal hobby for the artist on the other. Thus, every painter, not reduced to a mere manipulator in the luxury trade, has to fight for a few hours a day or a week in which he can 'work': that is to say draw or paint, having gained the bare means of livelihood by doing some other job...."

"...The tragedy of art, and indeed of many other skills and trades, under the later stages of capitalism is that the status of the calling has been totally destroyed, and the standards of superficial success, either in terms of temporary reputation or money, have been put in its place. This has had a far-reaching effect on the artist."

John Berger, "The Problems of the Painter," Mainstream, November, 1956, pp. 25, 30.

## 6. Marxist Science

"...Marxists have failed to recognize how extra-scientific factors, other than class ideology, may affect scientific work and have therefore failed to apply Marxist social analysis (Sociology of Knowledge) to their own practice."

"...In an effort to buttress arguments for a position essentially directed by expediency, Marxists have often overlooked other viewpoints and contradictory data...."

"These abuses are expressed in a number of ways: failure to utilize work of non-Marxist scholars; inability to criticize, expand and revise Marxism; asserting positions rather than demonstrating them (phrase-mongering).

"Many leading Marxist writers fail to utilize developments of modern non-Marxist sciences sufficiently...."

"Marxists must be prepared to learn from non-Marxists and even anti-Marxists. As they reappraise their views... Marxists will come back more into the mainstream of science (and art), will make meaningful contributions in these areas which many non-Marxists will find it impossible to ignore, and finally will enrich Marxism itself through interpenetration with life."

Ann Levine and Paul Robertson,  
"Partisanship and Science," Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 56, 57, 59, 64.

## 7. Marxist Morality

"THE CHARGE that Marxism teaches 'the end justifies the means' expresses an extreme form of hypocrisy as it is used in the press and all the instruments of bourgeois propaganda. It is a smokescreen used by those entrenched in power to conceal or confuse the goals and ends of those who challenge them. Having no end but the perpetuation of their own wealth and power, they seek to turn attention away from the aims of their opponents by hypocritically expressing abhorrence at their alleged means. It is always the other side, the unpopular side, that is supposed to believe the end justifies the means."

"But the charge comes with ill grace from those who continually threaten the world with hydrogen bomb warfare, massive retaliation, etc., to charge their opponents with immorality. Some people justify Truman's decision to drop atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and then accuse President Nasser of believing that the end justifies the means when he nationalizes the Suez Canal Company. The overthrow by force and violence of the legally constituted and popular government of Guatemala was called appropriate resistance against a 'Communist beachhead' in the Western Hemisphere, but the methods by which the Communists won all of China against the Chiang Kai-shek government with all its billions worth of American arms represented the belief that the end justifies the means.

"It is a false accusation from the first...."

. . . . .

"... 'victory for our side at all costs'... is the policy of the imperialists and it dooms them to defeat. It is the progressive world that carries and must carry mankind's highest moral ideals."

Howard Selsam, "Do Ends Justify Means?"  
Mainstream, November, 1956, pp. 17, 20.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Discrimination against Negro women in industry is still prevalent, particularly in the Southern States.
2. Socialism offers the solution to the problems of women.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Discrimination against Negro Women

"Although industry in the south has grown by many million dollars' worth in recent years, very few Negro women have received any of the new jobs created. Those Negro women who are employed in southern factories work for the most part in unskilled classifications. and receive the lowest pay.

"... More than one-half of the Negro women in the country--and an even higher percentage in the South--work as domestics or as clean-up women in factories, office buildings, schools and hotels."

"The few Negro women who do get jobs in southern industry work in the unskilled, lowest-paying categories...."

"...substandard wages paid to Negro workers, especially to women, are a drag on southern pay scales in general and a threat to union wage scales in the North...."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1956, p. 11.



2. Socialism Will Solve Women's Problems

"...When you raise young children, when you are a housewife in crowded city living conditions, when you go out to look for a job, you will find the cards are stacked against you and any approach that in your marriage it's going to be 50-50 is wishful thinking.

"The solutions are social--they lie in better working conditions for men as well as women, an end to job discrimination; a tremendous increase in good-quality, cheap commercial services; a better school and child care system--and, to make all this possible, peace and brotherhood, an end to exploitation. In short, socialism."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1956, p. 11.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. The rise in juvenile delinquency can be traced to the fact that our society is "geared to violence and destruction."
2. The youth of the entire world wants peace.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Juvenile Delinquency**

"...Juvenile violence has reached alarming proportions."

"Who are the heroes of our youth? ... Their hero wears an uniform and carries a gun. He is a military man, and he reaches his ultimate heroic proportion in the person, preferably, of a marine sergeant, the tougher the better.

"Our thirteen-year-old is ... reading comic books, 'confidential' magazines and the more lurid pocket books. His hero is drawn for him over and over again, in the comic books, in the movies, on television. His hero is tough, brutal and sadistic. His brutality includes women. His hero is quick on the draw, quick with his fists, and he triumphantly tramples over anyone who may stand between him and his immediate desire."

"... There is a connection between the society that condones lynching and the boy with the gun, which thoughtful adults must begin to challenge.

"The boy with the gun is more than the product of his home, his parents or his city. He is a Frankenstein created by the Cult of Violence; he is not the creation of his individual parents who bore him in love and who are trying to cope with a situation which is, indeed, bigger than both.

"John Foster Dulles, Joe McCarthy, Senator Eastland--these are the kind of men who shaped the Cult of Violence. Dulles, threatening to blow up the world with an atom-bomb; McCarthy, the self-appointed policeman of men's minds; Eastland, whose state exonerated the lynchers of Emmet Till--these are among the ones from whom we must demand an accounting.

"It is time we faced the fact that parents love their children. But we must also recognize that love alone does not always triumph in a society geared to violence and destruction. The capitalist press did very little objecting when a high ranking Army officer proclaimed, 'We must raise a generation of killers.'

"What is happening to our children is the bitter fruit of this philosophy, and until we have the courage to place the blame squarely where it belongs, to demand an accounting from those responsible, and a change in the whole policy of government, we must be prepared--love notwithstanding--to surrender our children to the Cult of Violence and to nourish and foster the boy with the gun."

The Worker,  
October 28, 1956, pp. 11, 14.

## 2. World Youth Wants Peace

"DOWN AT MELBOURNE, Australia, the best young men and women athletes of 76 countries are running, jumping, rowing, cycling, boxing, and playing various games against each other in the world's supreme test of athletic skills. The competition for the Gold Medals and for the unofficial points for the nations is spirited but friendly. The best performers win, the losers congratulate the winners with a smile, the fans cheer lustily for both."

"The Olympic Games, of course, do not solve any of the international crises. Yet they do demonstrate in unmistakable fashion the important truth that the young people of the world and of every country in the

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world earnestly want peace and friendship! We would bet that a poll of the Olympic Village would find 99 percent or more in favor of an immediate convening of the heads of the Big Four to discuss directly and sensibly the settling of all points of dispute in the world.

"So hail to the Olympics, that carnival of friendly competitive co-existence.... may the spirit of the Olympics become the spirit of a peaceful future world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1957 -- APRIL 1957



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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**January 1957--April 1957**

**May 1957**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued its advocacy of peaceful coexistence and competition between the capitalist and socialist nations. Great emphasis was placed on the need for further disarmament and for a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. The Party also claimed that joint action between the United States and the Soviet Union will be necessary to achieve a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab Nations. The Eisenhower Doctrine was bitterly and frequently attacked, and the Bermuda Conference was viewed as an unsuccessful attempt to improve Anglo-American relations. The Party issued repeated calls for another Geneva Conference as the best method of reducing international tensions. Party propaganda claimed that all foreign aid should be coordinated through the United Nations and supported the claim of communist China for admission to that body. In line with Soviet propaganda, the Party also affirmed that war is no longer inevitable.

With reference to domestic issues, current prosperity was viewed with considerable skepticism, and the Party traced inflation to Government expenditures for armaments and to the excess profits of the large corporations. Party demands for a reduction in the taxes of the low-income group and for an

expanded Federal program of social welfare continued. The Party expressed concern because the "'security' dragnet" has become "ingrained" in the United States and criticized the policy of the Department of State with regard to the issuance of passports.

The Party upheld the validity of Marxism-Leninism, democratic centralism, and proletarian internationalism. While claiming that it advocates an "American" and a "peaceful" road to socialism, the Party continued to stress the importance of the class struggle. The Party offered to cooperate with other socialist-oriented groups in the formation of a broad socialist coalition based on Marxist principles. At the same time, however, Party propaganda stressed the organization of an antimonopoly coalition as the "main strategic task." The Party asserted its independence from the Soviet Union and proclaimed its faith in the future of socialism in the United States.

Party attacks on the Republican Administration for its "policies favoring big business" continued. The large corporations were accused of using wage increases as excuses for raising prices, thereby "extorting" higher profits. The recent congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions were, in the Party's view, motivated by "anti-unionism." The Party claimed that the current "drive" against the labor movement is designed to

promote the enactment of "right to work" laws as well as additional legislation which would restrict political activity by labor unions. The American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) was urged to press its demands for a shorter work week and for an increase in the minimum wage, particularly in view of the problems raised by increased automation. The Party also called on the labor movement to intensify its organizing efforts in the Southern States. The Party insisted that its members "are needed among the workers" and denied any intention to seize control of the labor movement. Socialism was offered as "the only basic answer" to the problems of American workers.

The Republican Administration and "big agriculture" were criticized for attempting to drive the small-scale farmers from the land. The labor movement was urged to support the demands of the farmers for increased Federal assistance.

The colonial revolution, symbolized by the emergence of Ghana as an independent state, was interpreted by the Party as a major factor in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. The United States was condemned for attempting to dominate the underdeveloped nations of the world, while the Soviet Union was praised for its "support" of the right of self-determination for all nations.

Party propaganda pictured the 85th Congress as dominated by an "anti-labor coalition," and the Party repeated its demands for the expulsion of Senator James O. Eastland from the United States Senate. Party attacks on the activities of congressional investigating committees continued. The Party called for the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and urged that those convicted of violating the Smith Act be granted amnesty. The "reactionary assault" of Congress on the United States Supreme Court was criticized, and the Party called for the appointment of a Negro judge to that tribunal.

The return of all foreign troops to their own countries was urged, and the military appropriations of the United States were contrasted unfavorably with Soviet military expenditures. The appointment of Lieutenant General Hans Speidel to command the ground forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Central Europe was criticized as was the training program of the United States Marine Corps.

The Party described the struggle for full social, political, and economic equality for Negroes as the "crucial" and "decisive" domestic issue and pledged all of its resources to the support of the "Negro liberation movement." Numerous appeals for the enactment of Federal civil rights legislation and for Federal intervention to protect the rights of Negroes in the

Southern States were issued by the Party. The labor movement was urged to support the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D. C., on May 17, 1957. The Party also paid tribute to the Negro religious leaders for their efforts in raising Negro religious life to "a new and glorious stage."

The Party claimed to detect an increased interest in communist views among students. The salaries of teachers were deemed inadequate, and the Party called for an expanded program of Federal and state aid to relieve the crisis in the field of education.

The Federal Government was accused of neglecting the fine arts, and the late Arturo Toscanini was praised for using his musical talent "to build a better world." The Party claimed that a socialist society is required to cope with the economic advances which have resulted from recent scientific developments. The claim was also made that socialism does not present any barrier to religious freedom, and the Party noted approvingly that the Christian, Moslem, and Jewish religions hope for peace.

The Party insisted that women should receive equal pay when they perform the same work as men, and the persistence of racial discrimination against Negro women in industry was deplored.

Party propaganda claimed that the cold war has transformed American youth into a "Scared Generation." "Increased participation in the struggle



for socialism was suggested as a means of elevating the moral standards of the younger generation.

**B. Conclusions**

1. The Communist Party, USA, emerged from its 16th National Convention in February, 1957, as a going organization. Since the discussion and debate in connection with this Convention have now been largely terminated, an upsurge in all phases of Party activity is anticipated.
2. In the recent past, the Party has emphasized the claim that it formulates its policies independently and without any instructions from communists in other nations. To give any substance to this claim, it will be necessary for the Party to repudiate its present viewpoint on virtually every aspect of international relations. However, no significant change in the Party's position on any issue of current international interest is anticipated.
3. The Party has designated the organization of an antimonopoly coalition as its principal immediate task. In an effort to gain widespread support for this united front, the Party is expected to be less outspokenly critical of noncommunists and non-communist organizations than in the past.
4. In its efforts to emerge from its present isolated position, the Party is expected to concentrate on united action with noncommunist organizations in support of popular social and economic issues. For this reason, it is anticipated that there will be a de-emphasis on the fundamental differences between the Communist Party, USA, and many noncommunist organizations.
5. In its efforts to gain acceptance as a legitimate political party, the Communist Party, USA, is expected to stress the claim that it advocates a peaceful transition to socialism. At the same time, however, it is anticipated that Party propaganda emphasizing the importance of the class struggle will continue.

6. The Party has officially adopted a "new approach," more conciliatory than in the past, to other socialist-oriented groups. This can be taken as an indication that discussions will continue between Party leaders and officials of these other organizations in an effort to find areas of agreement.
7. The Party is currently placing considerable emphasis on the efforts of Negroes to gain their complete equality. It is, therefore, anticipated that the Party will intensify its attempts to exploit the grievances of this minority group.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. "Co-existence not containment" should be the basis of the foreign policy of the United States.
2. Peaceful coexistence between capitalism and socialism is "the only hope for mankind's survival."
3. "Logic, common sense and humanity," all call for increased disarmament.
4. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued.
5. Joint action by the United States and the Soviet Union is needed to end the crisis in the Middle East.
6. The Eisenhower Doctrine is "a blank check for military intervention" in the Middle East.
7. The Bermuda Conference failed to resolve the differences between the United States and Great Britain.
8. Another Geneva Conference is necessary to settle "all outstanding issues between East and West."
9. Aid to the underdeveloped nations of the world should be administered through the United Nations and should be offered "without strings attached."
10. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to communist China, which should also be admitted to the United Nations.
11. As a result of the increased strength of the socialist nations, the weakening of the capitalist nations, and "the struggles of the people," war is no longer inevitable.

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## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. American Foreign Policy

"WITH SPRING have come unmistakable signs of a thaw in the cold war."

"But obviously the thaw can develop into a more lasting peaceful settlement only if the cold war is ended. And this Secretary of State Dulles refuses to concede. He will go along with an absence of war, but he wants a cold war along with it."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 28, 1957, p. 4.

"Co-existence not containment is what American foreign policy requires."

Daily Worker,  
March 13, 1957, p. 5.

"The cold truth is that the State Department today is not conducting diplomacy. It is still so wrapped up in cold war propaganda, and in pactomania that it has not begun to explore the major need of American foreign policy. That need can be summed up in one word--negotiation."

Daily Worker,  
March 15, 1957, pp. 5, 7.

"...The first task for the American people is...to question and radically change U.S. foreign policy as a whole."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 14.

## 2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"THE supreme task of labor and all other sections of the American people on May Day 1957 is, of course, the continuing fight for peace."

Daily Worker,  
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"... we live in a world where peace between the communist and capitalist countries is the only hope for mankind's survival..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 30, 1957, p. 5.

"President Eisenhower addressed some friendly words to the people of Russia. We're sure the American people want friendship and not cold war. But the implication of the President's remarks was that peaceful coexistence starts only when Russia has a government with which the President agrees.

"But coexistence involves differing and competing social, economic, political systems. The peace which the President says he seeks demands coexistence between two governments as dissimilar as the Soviet and ours.

"What if the Russians insisted that America must be communist before there can be friendship, cooperation, coexistence? Surely Eisenhower wouldn't tolerate such a view.

"America is involved in world affairs. But if its in-involvement is of the military alliance character it has been, if it is based on guns instead of butter, if it relies on Truman doctrines and Eisenhower doctrines instead of peaceful competition among differing systems, it puts off what all America and all the world yearns for--an end to the cold war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 23, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Disarmament

"THE UNITED NATIONS Subcommittee on Disarmament is meeting once more in London. Representatives of the U.S., USSR, Britain, France and Canada are participating. Even before the meeting began, it was clear that many differences between East and West on disarmament had been eliminated. The gap between both disarmament plans had narrowed considerably, so much in fact, that it would take considerable ingenuity to prevent an agreement on disarmament.

"Still there were grave doubts that any practical steps toward disarmament would result immediately from this meeting. An obvious question that arises is whether the beneficiaries of the 40-billion-dollar arms program in our country don't have a vested interest in preventing arms reduction. But clearly such an interest violates the national need--for cutting taxes, preventing inflation and, most important, lifting the fear of atomic destruction."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 4.

"What could be a more forceful argument for disarmament than actual disarmament steps? And naturally the Soviet Union receives an enormous propaganda advantage because the Eisenhower budget proposed a \$4 billion increase for military purposes.

"The budget presented to the Supreme Soviet is especially significant because the 16 percent allocated to arms is the lowest percentage figure since the end of World War II. Though this does not end the arms race, it certainly raises the question why American taxpayers will have to go along with the biggest budget and heaviest taxes in our history?"

. . . . .

"There's a stalemate in the East-West weapons race which cannot be affected by an increase of another billion and another billion. All experts are agreed that both sides have enough H-bombs to blow each other off the map. Logic, common sense and humanity demands disarmament and, as a very minimum--ending all test explosions of the horror bombs.

"Public opinion can be decisive in this matter affecting every American man, woman and child."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 7, 1957, p. 5.

#### 4. Nuclear Weapons

"THE BOMB testing season is upon us again. Despite the warnings of scientists and the pleas of laymen and dignitaries, despite the fears that radioactive poison may cause incalculable damage to humanity, the great powers continue their test explosion of nuclear and hydrogen bombs.

"Britain has already announced H-bomb tests to be held in the Pacific beginning this month. The U.S. will be testing bombs again, with small weapons tests to start in Nevada in last spring,\*and the Atomic Energy Commission announced this weekend that the Soviet Union had exploded a nuclear bomb."

"The governments juggle their cosmic toys, and nothing is done to reach an agreement to halt these tests."

"Now is the time, as great power follows great power with its test explosions, for a new public demand that our government take the initiative to secure anagreement stopping all further nuclear test explosions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 14, 1957, p. 5.

"There is a need for something new, some measure, some action which the big powers of the world can take which would reduce suspicion and ease tensions. An obvious step again commends itself to all men and women

\*This probably should read "late spring."

of good will. If all the powers who have the atomic and hydrogen bomb would agree to halt test explosions, it could prove the prelude to actual agreement on disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 4.

"The Soviet government has repeatedly proposed halting the tests as a first step toward arms reduction. Japan, India and Sweden have made similar proposals...."

"Why does the Eisenhower Administration refuse to get off that lethal dime? It might not be a bad idea to ask Ike as well as your Senators and Congressmen."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

"STILL IT IS difficult to understand what objection there can be to a plan that would stop all test explosions forthwith. The scientists have confirmed the fact that any large atomic explosion can be determined almost immediately. This means there is a built-in inspection system contained in the proposal to stop the explosions...."

Daily Worker,  
March 20, 1957, p. 5.

"THE PERSISTENCE with which proposals for halting all future nuclear test explosions crop up all over the world indicate that this is one issue which will continue to dominate the news until resolved...."

The Worker,  
January 27, 1957, p. 13.



5. Crisis in the Middle East

"But it was oil colonialism which created the entire Middle East crisis. It was the energetic protection of the big oil profiteers by the State Department and action against their British and French competitors for Middle East oil which helped bring about the present crisis. It is the effort of the Eisenhower Administration to choke the Arab liberation movements and to line up the Arab states in the Baghdad pact against the Soviet Union which has aggravated the crisis. Eisenhower proposes no sanctions against the oil profiteers--he allows them to raise prices and gouge the American public!"

. . . . .

"There is one move open to our government which could settle these issues peacefully, satisfactorily and immediately. This would be an invitation by our government to the Soviet government to act together for an Israeli-Arab settlement...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 22, 1957, p. 5.

"...What is needed now, and it lies well within the bounds of realization, given the will to obtain it, is an agreement affirming Egyptian sovereignty over the Canal and guaranteeing the right of access to shipping of all lands including Israel."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The Sixth Fleet is not an instrument for maintaining Middle East peace. The United Nations was set up for that purpose...."

. . . . .

"Above all, now is the time for the Big Four...to get together in behalf of Middle East peace. An important step in this direction would be the proposal to halt our naval maneuvers and all shipments of arms to all Middle East lands."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 26, 1957, p. 5.

"It is our belief that peace will come to the Middle East when we stop power politicking and get together with the Soviet Union to use our joint influence to bring Arabs with Israelis around a single table."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 30, 1957, p. 5.

6. The Eisenhower Doctrine

"In reality, the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine is a demand that Congress sanction Wall Street's plan to take over the role formerly played in the Middle East by British and French imperialism. This plan envisages ousting the British and French rivals of the American oil companies and using American men and money to halt the independence movement to the Arab nations.\*

"As such it is a threat to peace. If unchallenged it will jeopardize the interests of the American people no less than the interests of the Arb and Israeli people.

"It will win us friends nowhere....

"For all these reasons the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine should be defeated by the American people. It can be defeated if the people make their will felt."

"...For a positive alternative to the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine; A new meeting at the summit to put the world back again on the Geneva road to disarmament, negotiations and peaceful co-existence."

Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 2.

\*This probably should read "of the Arab nations."

"Boiled down to its essence, the Eisenhower Plan is an attempt to perpetuate the imperialist domination of the Middle East which has been shaken by the setbacks to the British and French imperialists in that region."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1957, p. 5.

"...While the Eisenhower Doctrine provides for military intervention, its most realistic aspect is the effort to use money, arms, diplomacy, economic inducements, higher prices for oil, and other such inducements to subvert and influence the Arab lands along with the Moslem nations already in the Baghdad pact."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 5.

"The basic reason for public concern is clear--this is a blank check for military intervention and bribery of feudal potentates in the Middle East. And every high school boy and girl knows that if this happens it will be to protect the multi-billion stake of the trust."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 1, 1957, p. 5.

#### 7. The Bermuda Conference

"AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER and Prime Minister Macmillan meet under the warm Bermuda sun they are having a hard time concealing the frosty relations between the two major Western allies.

"Two issues, among many others, divide the British and American governments. One is trade with China. The other is the Middle East crisis."

"Four power consultation is therefore a minimum for settling the Middle East crisis -- and it could also end the freeze in British-American relations."

Daily Worker,  
March 22, 1957, p. 5.

"...the upshot of Bermuda was that Britain agreed to be taken into tow by the United States -- for a while. After its horrible fiasco in attempting an independent action -- the war against Egypt -- the British government placed further decisions on such matters in the hands of Ike and Dulles, at least for the present...."

"...All this, therefore, adds up to no settlement of Anglo-American differences at Bermuda. Such a settlement requires a wider Big power agreement."

Daily Worker,  
March 27, 1957, p. 5.

#### 8. New Geneva Conference

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S rejection of the Soviet proposal for a summit meeting to discuss disarmament is bad news for everybody except those who profit from the armaments race...."

"Let us examine the President's argument against a summit meeting at the present time. He says that the UN is the fitting place for disarmament discussion. But is there any contradiction between UN disarmament talks and a summit consideration of this issue? On the contrary, the UN deadlock on disarmament will be broken only if the major powers get together."

"But the UN will be able to tackle the disarmament question effectively when U. S. and the Soviet Union and the other big powers iron out a common approach. How else can these issues be settled except through negotiations? A summit parley could take up the minimum issue of ending hydrogen bomb test explosions immediately.

"For that matter, all outstanding issues between East and West, including the Middle East crisis, require top level negotiations. The Secretary General of UN, Dag Hammarskjold, does not think it wrong for the big powers to confer in order to carry out United Nations objectives. Indeed the UN was the formal sponsor of Geneva.

"The President's rejection of a summit conference now is particularly unfortunate in view of the narrowing of the gap between the powers on disarmament. For example, the Soviet Union has accepted a limited version of Eisenhower's aerial survey plan."

"But early in 1955 Eisenhower also opposed a summit meeting. It was public opinion here and abroad which brought it about. The people can once more be successful."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 4, 1957, p. 5.

#### 9. Foreign Aid

"... As part of an over-all foreign aid program, loans and grants should be extended without strings attached to newly-liberated semi-colonial countries as well as to Socialist countries, like Poland, now seeking such business-like arrangements."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the  
85th Congress," Political Affairs, January,  
1957, p. 3.

"A program of aid to...underdeveloped countries can be of mutual benefit if no strings are attached and if UN could become the proper factor in such a program."

Daily Worker,  
March 4, 1957, p. 5.

"... But economic aid cannot be given -- or withheld -- as a maneuver for undermining national sovereignty. It should be administered -- with anonymous generosity -- through the United Nations..."

Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

10. Communist China

"... It is also high-time to strengthen the UN by the admission of the People's Republic of China."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the  
85th Congress," Political Affairs,  
January, 1957, p. 3.

"No matter what the consideration -- economics, peace, relations with the Asian and African countries -- America would be better off not only allowing reporters to go to China, but also opening up trade, allowing China to take its rightful seat in UN, and establishing diplomatic relations with China.

"In each case, self interest dictates such a course, and in the case of these two nations at opposite ends of the Pacific it is mutual interest."

Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"OF COURSE, the absurdity of the embargo against China is that it hurts us, or will hurt us in the long run, as much as it hurts Britain. So here we have an Administration policy which creates friction with our most important Western partner, while directly harming our own national interests insofar as business and diplomacy are concerned. To deprive our country of the biggest potential market in the world is stupid on the face of it. And to do this while injuring our diplomatic position in both Asia and Europe is a feat of asininity which even Dulles might prize as his biggest boner."

Daily Worker,  
March 22, 1957, p. 5.

#### 11. War Is Not Inevitable

"... There was a time when war was inevitable. Yes, people always hated war but the high and mighty could ignore the ordinary people. And since modern wars originated from the conflicts constantly operating among capitalist powers it was felt that peace could not be maintained for any length of time.

"The key to world politics today and the key to the issue of war or peace is the struggle of the people. This may sound trite but it's important because so many people tend to think of world politics as belonging strictly to the sphere of power relations. What will Washington do, or London, or Moscow, or Cairo? But it is the workers, the farmers, the so-called little people who are the big fact of contemporary world politics.

"If there is no inevitability of war it is due to the new relationship of forces that exists among the powers. There is the strength of the Soviet Union and China. There is the military stalemate, characterized by the possession of hydrogen bombs on both sides. There is the great weakening of imperialism that resulted from the independence won by most of the colonial countries.

"But all these factors and power relationships are operative only because of the struggles of the people. These struggles don't take place only under the leadership of one or another party or movement."

Daily Worker,  
January 11, 1957, p. 5.

"World war is no longer inevitable. If the popular peace forces everywhere...unite their efforts--world war can be successfully averted."

"Errata," Political Affairs,  
April, 1957, p. 64.



## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity, based on "production for war," is characterized by "poverty in the midst of plenty."
2. Military appropriations and "extortionate super-profits" are responsible for inflation.
3. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
4. Military appropriations should be reduced, and the savings should be used to initiate an expanded program of social welfare.
5. Sentiment in favor of a "return to the Bill of Rights" is gaining strength.
6. The present policy of the United States Department of State with regard to issuing passports denies Americans the right to travel.
7. Criticism between communist parties should be based on "fraternal and equal relations" and on the realization that "the fundamental conflict of all peoples is with the forces of imperialism."
8. The Communist Party, USA, strives to cooperate with other socialist-oriented groups.
9. A broad socialist coalition, based on Marxist principles, should be organized.
10. The formation of an antimonopoly coalition, which would "pave the way to significant social advance," is the "main strategic task."
11. Socialism can be achieved "in a relatively peaceful manner" through the "conscious struggle" of the working class.
12. The Communist Party, USA, advocates an American road to socialism.
13. The Communist Party, USA, formulates its policies independently.
14. The Communist Party, USA, is based on Marxism-Leninism, "a scientific analysis of the universal and objective laws of social development."

15. Democratic centralism should be based on "conviction and not command."
16. The Communist Party, USA, as "a legitimate current in American life," can make a "vital contribution" to the future of socialism in the United States.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Prosperity

"One-fifth of a nation suffers poverty in the midst of plenty; one family in five earns less than \$2,000 a year -- that is, less than \$40 a week. Among Negro families, the proportion is more than two in five. Ten million American children live in slums. In the midst of the boom, the country is dotted with distressed areas and 'sick' industries, plagued by high unemployment."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, p. 5.

"It is an economy, too, whose prosperity is based largely on production for war, that most treacherous of economic quicksands. Such an economy can only lead to an H-bomb war that will wipe out the human race, or to another depression."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 7.

"As in the twenties, the current boom has once again given rise to illusions of permanent prosperity. Crises, say the spokesmen of big business and the Eisenhower Administration, are a thing of the past..."

"But such Wall Street-inspired illusions are entirely unfounded..."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, p. 4.

"Capitalist economy, with all its new features, remains subject to internal contradictions which impose an alternating cycle of booms and crises. Wars, armaments, and the lesser forms of intervention characteristic of state monopoly capitalism affect the timing of this sequence substantially, but cannot conjure it out of existence."

The Worker,  
January 27, 1957, p. 7.

"An H-bomb war, or a depression that will make your hair curl. Such are the alternatives the spokesmen of capitalism hold out for us. Life would not be worth living any more, if no third alternative existed. That alternative, of course, is socialism.

"... Capitalism always leads to war and depression. Socialism leads to creative labor and creative peace...."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 9.

## 2. Inflation

"The President's main emphasis on domestic questions was a fear of the rising menace of inflation. And the stress was particularly on wage increases as the cause. He had only the usual employer-line argument that wage increases should be conditioned on higher productivity.

"But while the worker is effectively tied down to this limit, because it is the employer who does the paying and the government is at his side, the President's advice to industry is only 'self-discipline' and restraint on 'unnecessary' price increases. A lot of attention that advice will get among the corporation executives!

"The President's argument, strictly in line with employer thought, is also supposed to take care of the tax issue. If the average small-income family gets some tax relief and has a few more dollars to spend, that, too, would be boosting inflation, we are told. The President had nothing to say of the pressure for extortionate super-profits as the real cause of inflation...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 5.

"Nothing is said, however, of the real inflationary influence--in the tens of billions poured out yearly for military purposes that are of absolutely no use to the people. Nothing is said of the tremendous superprofits the big corporations extract through those lush government contracts. And it is these extra-high profit levels that set the 'norm' for the entire economy, including its high prices."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 15, 1957, p. 4.

### 3. Taxes

"Shortly after Eisenhower took office, the Cadillac Cabinet and the GOP-Dixiecrat alliance in Congress voted tax relief for the corporations and billionaires. But to this date not a cent has been taken off the tax bills of 90 percent of the American people. On the contrary, local taxes have gone up."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 7, 1957, p. 5.

"...If anyone wants an example of 'class' legislation, the present tax laws are it. When you see how the tax load has shifted, and the idea of the income tax perverted, you realize that robbery is not too harsh a word to apply to the treatment of the workers and other low-income groups."

"OF COURSE, when one adds the huge amounts in sales taxes ...it is estimated that this year about \$41 1/2 billions will come from low-income groups, and only about \$33 billions from the rich...."

"But because of an increase in \$2 billions in arms spending for the next year, Eisenhower has clamped down on any tax cuts. He is demanding that reductions in certain consumer taxes, planned for April 1 of this year, be cancelled."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1957, p. 13.

"...Where is the labor pressure on Congress to raise the individual income tax exemptions and plug loopholes of the wealthy, demands which made some headway in the previous session?"

The Worker,  
February 24, 1957, p. 11.

#### 4. Federal Social Welfare Program

"THE PRESIDENT's state of the union message, acclaimed as one of the shortest on record, has been notably short on things for the welfare of the people. Basically it was a restatement of a policy for continuing the cold war and a reaffirmation of the elementary fact that if more billions are to go for military and other cold war objectives, there is little that the people can hope to get in the way of advancement in education, health, job security, expansion of social benefits and a relaxation of the tensions that affect the lives of every family."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 5.

"The main immediate aim of the Wall Street budget-cutters is to slash federal welfare appropriations.

"This three-way campaign of: tax revision for the rich, hobbling the labor movement, and cutting federal welfare appropriations, warrants immediate popular resistance.

"There is ample opportunity in the federal budget for the cuts that millions of people are demanding. That is in the war appropriations which have been swollen to interstellar figures, not for a better defense of the nation, but for the greater gain of the arms profiteers."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

#### 5. Civil Liberties

"...But after 10 years during which a 'security' dragnet has been steadily widened, the idea that a person's thoughts, associations, reading

habits or relatives must be checked and doublechecked has become ingrained in our 'American way of life.' "

Daily Worker,  
February 22, 1957, p. 5.

"... A powerful potential for a return to the Bill of Rights has been building up....

"That great potential, expressing the finest democratic feelings of the American people for democratic liberties and civil rights, has not yet been translated into active movement for an end to thought-control prosecutions, harassment of trade unionists and deportation of the foreign-born. To merge the great developing movement for civil rights in the South and this great potential for civil liberties throughout the nation will be the sure guarantee that the nation will once more return to the Bill of Rights."

The Worker,  
January 13, 1957, p. 4.

#### 6. State Department Passport Policy

"INFLUENTIAL VOICES for both working newspapermen and their publishers have been quick to recognize that the federal government's threatening gestures at the three American reporters now in China are a threat to the freedom of the press."

"The government's injunction against reporting the news from China was bad enough. Its threat to seize both the passports and the personal property of the offending journalists upon their return is beneath contempt. It is the action of an arrogant bully who believes the rules he imposes on others are beyond the public's capacity to alter.

"Yet the courts have several times of late issued sharp rebukes to the State Department and its highhanded, star-chamber methods of denying Americans the right to travel.

"The present instance is a significant extension of the State Department's usurpation of the power to deprive Americans of the right to travel freely.

"Until now, the government has used its power primarily against such radical spokesmen as Paul Robeson. And, as is so often the sad case, too many liberals and conservatives failed to heed the warning....

"...the government's encroachment on the freedom of the press and the freedom to travel should be vigorously combatted."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 4, 1957, p. 5.

#### 7. Relations with Other Communist Parties

"...Mutual criticism is beneficial and most useful when exercised on the basis of fraternal and equal relations between the respective Communist Parties."

"Our Resolution also clarifies our concept of relations among working class parties. 'These relations must be based on the principles of scientific socialism, on proletarian internationalism, they must be based on each Communist Party serving the best national interests of its people and thereby the common interests of all progressive humanity. This requires the equality and independence of Marxist parties in the mutual discussion and resolution of common problems; the right and duty of the Communists of all countries to engage in comradely criticism of the policies and practices of the Communists of any country whenever they feel this necessary. This will strengthen, not weaken, international solidarity. It will advance the cause of socialism in all countries.' "

Daily Worker,  
March 6, 1957, p. 7.

"New problems of relations have arisen as a result of the emergence of socialism as a world system comprising a number of national states in place of one encircled socialist country. Serious mistakes and shortcomings in the relations between the USSR and other socialist states--as in the examples of Poland and Hungary--have been revealed. . . . Correction of errors in relationships between socialist states is facilitated by the fact that the fundamental basis of such relations is common ideology, common aims, mutual assistance and cooperation.

"International working-class solidarity includes the right and responsibility to friendly criticism of brother parties or the actions of socialist governments. At the same time it requires that such criticism shall be within the framework of recognition that the fundamental conflict of all peoples is with the forces of imperialism."

"On the Main Draft Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 19.

#### 8. Relations with Other Socialist Groups

"... The ideological differences that divide the Social Democrats from the Communists remain fundamental and numerous. . . ."

"Our new approach however, is not based on these differences. It is dictated by new possibilities and paramount needs, despite these differences. While we should develop the most thorough and friendly discussion on all questions, including ideological differences, trying to find basic agreement where and with whom we can, it is on the basis of the vital issues now confronting the workers and their allies that we must strive to find the basis for unity. In this way life itself will contribute towards dissolving or resolving many differences which discussion alone will not achieve. And even where differences remain, we must learn to disagree in a new way. We must not take the position that we have all the answers and have nothing to learn. This includes all questions, theoretical, political and organizational.

"We should look upon the Social Democratic organizations, including their elected leaders as workers' organizations. We must deal with these organizations, fraternally, and not as enemies. **WE STRIVE FOR THEIR COOPERATION, NOT LIQUIDATION.**"

Daily Worker,  
February 13, 1957, p. 5.



## 9. Broad Socialist Coalition

"...Our country, the people, the working class of the United States need such a Marxist organization. And when there is developed in the United States a broader, united socialist organization, it will also be a Marxist organization. It is not a reformist, Social-Democratic organization that we have in mind when we speak of the eventual emergence of such a broader Marxist party."

"...It is possible to make certain concessions here and there to people who are not yet fully clear, especially if this may be necessary to achieve a broader Marxist Party. But what we strive for is a Marxist party based on a common ideology and on the recognition that reformism and Marxism are not identical in ideology. We have to be clear on that...."

A CP Sub-Committee Report, "On Social Democracy in the U.S.," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 15-16, 17.

## 10. Antimonopoly Coalition

"General agreement has also been expressed on the... estimate that conditions are maturing which will make possible the crystallization of an anti-monopoly coalition led by labor, embracing wide strata of trade unionists, farmers, the Negro people, small businessmen, scientists and cultural workers.

"For the coming period this is the main strategic task, the concrete way to curb the monopolies, effect a new democratic political alignment, and pave the way to significant social advance."

Eugene Dennis, "Keynote Address," Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 6.

"...The Party now places the struggle for an anti-monopoly coalition as its main strategic aim... And from such a coalition which could break the power of the traditional enemies of the American people--the monopolies--it believes the American people could advance in a constitutional, democratic and peaceful transition to socialism."

Editorial, "The Communist Party Convention," Political Affairs, April, 1957, p. 5.

## 11. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"In our conception of the peaceful and constitutional road to Socialism, the transformation of parliament into a real people's parliament is necessary. We view this as occurring on the basis of the struggle of the working class and its allies, which creates the conditions to make such a majority possible, which creates the climate where other classes can be affected, won over, or neutralized. We see the possibilities of containing or restraining violence on the part of the bourgeoisie--which will never like the situation--through the strong movements which will bring into being the conditions for this peaceful transition and which will enforce it by strength, by its vigilance, by its fight for this goal...."

"... Socialism still represents, no matter how it will be achieved, a radical transformation of society, a leap. We know that it is the working class that will be the leading force in this transformation; it will not be handed to us by the imperialists, who will say, 'Well, we had enough already and let somebody else take over.' We know that the struggles of the people, of the working class will precede, create the conditions for the peaceful constitutional path to Socialism. And the peoples' struggle will support the legal, constitutional steps in that direction."

A CP Sub-Committee Report, "On Social Democracy in the U. S.," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 9, 18.

"... Bourgeois democracy never 'transform itself' in a direction favorable to the workers. It is transformed by the workers' conscious struggle. The whole history of the world labor movement illustrates this elementary fact. Nor, in any case, has capitalism, even under such pressure as the Social Democrats have been able to generate, ever 'transformed itself' into socialism.... The only socialism in the world is that in the countries led by Communists.

"If the capitalist world now offers increased opportunities for the workers to secure socialism along parliamentary lines, this is because,

on the one hand, there has been a gigantic increase in the strength of the world's democratic and socialist forces during recent years, particularly in the communist-led countries of Socialism, and on the other hand, a profound weakening of the power of the world capitalist system. This basic change in the relationship of international class forces is making it possible for the workers and their allies to develop and to hold the democratic processes intact, as against real or potential capitalist violence, so as to enable them to achieve socialism along parliamentary channels and in a relatively peaceful manner...."

William Z. Foster, "Communication  
CONCERNING EDWARD KARDELJ'S  
ARTICLE," Mainstream, February,  
1957, p. 55.

"...socialism can be established only through a radical and fundamental extension of American democracy and a revolutionary transformation of all property relations, and... ALL roads to Socialism are roads of mass struggle, waged under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist vanguard...."

Daily Worker,  
February 13, 1957, p. 5.

## 12. American Road to Socialism

"...practically every Communist Party in the world now proclaims its own specific national road to Socialism. The XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February of last year, put its stamp of approval upon this flexibility in developing the socialist program of Marxism-Leninism in the various lands in accordance with the changing national and world situations...."

William Z. Foster, "Communication  
CONCERNING EDWARD KARDELJ'S  
ARTICLE," Mainstream, February,  
1957, p. 54.

"... While American Marxists welcome the opinions of Marxists everywhere, they will find their own path through study and participation in the labor movement."

Daily Worker,  
February 6, 1957, p. 7.

"With regard to new roads to Socialism, we know that we will have to find the American road and it is impossible to predict everything today. We already did project, however, the need and the possibility of developing the anti-monopoly coalition as the next strategic task and we see this as one of the important steps in the direction towards that goal which we Marxists have...."

A CP Sub-Committee Report; "On  
Social Democracy in the U. S.,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1957, p. 17.

### 13. Communist Independence

"We should carefully study all criticism and opinions, as we, in a fully responsible way, criticize others, but no opinions from elsewhere can determine our policy.

"Only those policies which arise out of our own interpretation and application of our Marxist-Leninist scientific principles to the needs and interests of the American working class and people can be valid for us."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, p. 2.

"The myth that Communists here take orders from abroad has never been so devastatingly shattered as in the year since the Khrushchev revelations. Even some of the most devout propagators of the myth have acknowledged the independent thinking and independent decisions of American Communists."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 5, 1957, p. 5.

14. Validity of Marxism-Leninism

"Marxism-Leninism is a scientific analysis of the universal and objective laws of social development. It is the generalization of the experience of the working class of each country and of all lands, and like all science, is an international product. The principles of scientific socialism were first put forward by Marx and Engels. They were further developed in the imperialist era by Lenin. They were later enriched by contemporary Marxists in many countries...."

"On the Main Draft Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 17.

"The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the democratic heritage of mankind and particularly on the principles of scientific socialism as developed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin. These universally valid principles, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. interprets, applies and strives to develop further in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle, democratic traditions and customs."

Editorial, "The Communist Party  
Convention," Political Affairs,  
April, 1957, p. 4.

15. Democratic Centralism

"The classic objective of democratic centralism is a maximum of unity of action based on the will of the membership. In substance, this presupposes a flexible, a dialectic unity of opposites....there is no contradiction between the classic objective of democratic centralism and the new departures from past practices called for by the new Constitution. \*

"Democratic centralism has been defined as 'a flexible system of party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class. ' "

"We have got to get at the substance of the question--which means uprooting bureaucratic practices that have become systematized, encrusted and hallowed by tradition. Which means guaranteeing full democracy at every level of the Party. Which means a recognition that unity is not conformity, that discipline is not obedience, that effective action flows from conviction and not command. "

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 26-27.

#### 16. Future of American Communism

"...The American working class needs a party of Socialism. It needs our Communist Party--a party that bases itself on the experiences of the working class movement, on its science of Marxism-Leninism. "

Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1957, p. 3.

"THE COMMUNIST Party opens its four-day national convention in this city tomorrow. This is the first such gathering since December, 1950, a date that preceded by a few months the imprisonment of the Communist leaders and the high point of the Cold War and anti-American McCarthyism. "

"The very interest aroused by the convention is itself a sign that socialism has a future in America. It is also a tribute to the vitality of the self-examination to which the Communist Party has been subjecting itself in its efforts to chart an American road to socialism and root itself in American life and tradition."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"Whatever one's views, the Communist Party, the largest organized group of Americans who believe in socialism, is a legitimate current in American life. We believe that American workers, the American people generally, as they become better acquainted with what Communists stand for, will welcome the vital contribution they can make in the battle for a better America and a better world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 4.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The "giveaways" of the Republican Administration are designed to promote the interests of "big business."
2. Excess profits, rather than wage increases, are responsible for higher prices.
3. The hearings on racketeering in labor unions are based on "anti-unionism."
4. "Big Business" is intensifying its attacks on the labor movement.
5. The "anti-labor smear publicity" is being used to promote the passage of "right-to-work" laws in the various states.
6. Continued efforts to restrict the political activities of the labor movement may result in the formation of an "independent political organization of the workers."
7. Shorter hours and higher wages are needed to cope with the problems raised by increased automation.
8. Federal legislation which would increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 per hour is needed.
9. The labor movement should prepare to organize a campaign for a shorter work week.
10. The weakness of organized labor in the Southern States is "a drag" on the entire labor movement.
11. Labor unity, including "the left," would revive the "constructive relationship" which proved so effective in former years.



12. Communists do not attempt to "capture or control" the labor movement.
13. Socialism is "the only basic answer" to the problems of American workers.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Republican Administration Is Pro-Big Business

"The chief beneficiaries of the boom have been the giant trusts and monopolies....

"The monopolies have continued to grow and to become ever more powerful. Today, the 500 largest industrial corporations account for about half of all production and employment. These giants rake in the lion's share of the profits. In the first quarter of 1956, profits per dollar of sales for the biggest companies (those with assets of \$100, 000, 000 or more) were nearly five times those of the smaller companies (with assets under \$250, 000). And under the Cadillac Cabinet, with its giveaways and its policies favoring big business, mergers are taking place at a higher rate than ever before.

"The enormous profits of the trusts are obtained at the expense of the workers, the small farmers and small business. Though real wages are rising, they have not kept pace with the rise in productivity or the still greater growth of corporate profits, and the worker's share in his product thus continues to decline."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, p. 5.

"President Eisenhower and the Cadillac Cabinet are waging another kind of war at home, while they threaten the East. This home front war is against the American working people--not Russia, Egypt, or China. It's chief 'enemy' is the trade union movement, with its 16 million members. And its objective is the 'open shop,' where the boss can do as he wills."

The Worker,  
April 14, 1957, p. 7.

2. Excess Profits Cause Price Increases

"While the breadwinner groans in his effort to pay the grocery, rent and service bills, inflationary pressures continue to undermine the entire economy. Big Business is quick to lay the blame on wage-increases... while it maintains a mealy-mouthed silence on its unprecedented dividends that dwarf wages as an inflationary factor."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 31, 1957, p. 4.

"The fact that there is a limit to how much you can squeeze does not deter the money-mad kings of business one bit. They are on a binge that will take more and more out of the consumers until the nation's economy is disrupted."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 4.

"Last week we gave a sampling of the profits the big corporations are reporting for 1956. The level is even higher than the all-time record of 1955.

"Those figures give the lie to the claims of the steel companies and others, that they had to raise prices to cover new labor costs. Those figures clearly prove the corporations used the new wage contracts as only an excuse for extorting still more through prices. Those figures also show why the corporations are so determined to prevent an investigation of the relation between prices, wages and profits.

"The labor movement, however, should be all the more determined to force such investigation by an authoritative and objective congressional body."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 5, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Labor Racketeering

"Sensational publicity accompanying the current hearings of the Senate Committee on racketeering headed by Senator McClellan has created widespread expectation among some union members and the public generally that the Senate body may help to cleanse the unions of corruption."

"The racketeering probes cannot be relied upon by the labor movement to do much because, in the first place, they do not go into the fundamentals of the racketeering evil nor its roots in the capitalist system. In the second place, most of these hearings, as in the current case, are mainly sponsored and used by those who, as the Textile Workers Union of America said, are more interested in 'a dead' labor movement than a 'clean one.'"

"How can anyone in labor or any well-intentioned person expect a constructive objective from Senators McCarthy, Mundt and Goldwaer, members of the committee and outstanding foes of labor and witch-hunters who have shouted the loudest for scrapping of the Bill of Rights and the rights of unions to engage in political action?..."

"Thus, the primary and overriding fact that every union, unionist and others constructively-minded should recognize, is that behind the Senate hearings is anti-unionism. It should be fully exposed for what it is\* to all members of unions and the American people as a whole."

\*This probably should read "it is."

"The effectiveness of labor's effort to beat back the designs of its enemies through the Senate hearings, will depend on the extent to which the leaders and rank and file themselves undertake to clean out the racketeers from their midst. That is the only real alternative to the 'remedies' advanced by the foes of labor."

"The basic antidote to racketeering and the widespread 'unethical' practices in the labor movement, is elimination of bureaucracy and the establishment of full democracy within the union and rank and file control over its policies as well as finances. And no less important is the fact that if the racketeering collusion between employers and some union officials at the expense of the workers is to be wiped out, so must collaboration between employers and unions be wiped out as a policy. Class-collaboration 'business unionism' is at the base of much of the 'unethical' collaboration."

"It should be equally clear, however, that expulsion of unions infested with racketeers is, as the textile union said 'a cure that is worse than the disease.' The AFL-CIO has a responsibility to the many hundreds of thousands of members in the unions influenced by racketeers. Those members expect help to rid their unions of racketeers, not help to the union-busters who want to see the labor movement split and weakened. They want help to establish democracy and to get a rank and file movement under way in those unions."

"Bowling to the anti-labor drive and the Senate hearings that spearhead it; expulsions that weaken and divide labor; casting overboard the Bill of Rights, long labor's protective armour; --this is not the way to meet the racketeering issue. A twin drive by labor, based primarily on

arousing and mobilizing the rank and file itself to clean up the unions and an all-out counter-drive on the legislative front, can meet the problem."

Daily Worker,  
March 28, 1957, pp. 4, 5.

4. Attacks on Labor Movement

"...The National Association of Manufacturers threatens a new drive on labor's political and economic rights...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the  
85th Congress," Political Affairs,  
January, 1957, p. 1.

"Big Business is definitely gaining in its drive to picture unionism to the public as a 'dirty business' and a 'monopoly.'"

"The labor movement is on the defensive."

"Moreover, the foes of labor expect to sidetrack labor-favored legislation this year, including minimum wage improvements and even the mild reforms in the Taft-Hartley Law the Administration itself says it favors. The enemies of labor also hope to put over other measures on the crest of anti-union hysteria...."

"So far there has been little indication of a new look in labor ranks on this whole question. There is still no evidence the leaders feel the situation is serious."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, pp. 1, 13.

5. "Right-to-Work" Laws

"ADVOCATES of the misnamed 'right-to-work' law have long had their eyes on the industrial north, main base of trade union strength. The seventeen states that have the 'right-to-scab' laws barring the union shop are mainly in the south and in some areas with either little industry or little population. But the foes of labor have at last scored the victory they long sought with passage of their bill in Indiana, first important industrial state in the north to do so."

"The current anti-labor smear publicity based on the racketeering hearings, will not clean out a single racketeer from union ranks. But they are helping the anti-unionists swing legislative votes for 'right-to-scab' bills and other such measures."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 4, 1957, p. 5.

"THERE IS TALK of a Federal Right to Work Law to be recommended by the McClellan Committee as a result of the disclosures about the Teamsters' Union officials. The employers are in high hopes of putting Right to Work laws across in other industrial states."

Daily Worker,  
March 8, 1957, p. 4.

6. Labor's Political Activity

"...The Republicans, infuriated by their failure to win Congress even though Eisenhower drew a sweeping majority, are more anxious than ever to curb the political activity of labor--the best organized opposition to them."

"The drive to reduce labor activity to 'pure and simple' unionism, drained of any social or political outlook, goes hand-in-hand with the drive for more 'right-to-work' laws particularly in the industrial north. The success of the 'right-to-workers' in Indiana has fired the foes of labor with fresh jubilation.

"IT SHOULD also be evident that the main line of approach of the foes of labor aims at isolating the labor movement from its natural allies in the communities--from the farmers, small business and other middle-class people, the white collar and professional workers. The technique is to smear labor, to discourage association with it or support of its political and legislative objectives."

"Even the myopic can now see that the effort to deprive unions of the right to political action began years ago with laws barring the first right--the right to be Communists or friends of Communists. Then came the ban on union funds for political purposes on the ground that such is 'class' political action--a Marxist idea.

"Many of our union leaders thought they were doing their organizations and members a favor by submitting to those first infringements on political rights. Now they are justifiably complaining that they are being 'paid off' with an effort to ban all political action by unions. But there is no more room left for retreat--not if labor is to retain effectiveness and self-respect."

Daily Worker,  
March 13, 1957, pp. 5, 7.

"LAST YEAR George Meany delivered several speeches in which he warned the foes of labor if they continue in their campaign to make it impossible for the unions to engage in political action in the manner they do now, labor may be forced, however reluctantly, to form a labor party....

"The trend of which Meany complained has not abated. The process has been hastened in the past year, especially in recent weeks...."

"If the enemy succeeds in barring union funds or 'anything of value' for campaigns of 'friends of labor,' the labor movement may be forced, as Meany warned, to turn its attention to an independent political organization of the workers and its allies."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 7.

#### 7. Automation

"CAN these astonishing new electronic machines really think? Offhand, the question might seem to some as not really resious, as a matter for the more fanciful science-fiction writers. But since some quite important scientists in the field seem to be answering 'Yes,' the question can't be brushed aside so lightly.

"Besides, the question has its implications, too, for the working man and woman...."

"...automatic machine tools are already performing very successfully, without a machinist, some very intricate series of operations to make complete parts. The procedure is entirely controlled by a computer which receives instructions from a punched tape. As an additional refinement, it is now possible for the computer to 'scan' or read the blueprints itself, and go ahead to give the proper set-up and operating procedure to the machine tool."



"But the working people do take into account the lessons of history and of daily experience, in their everyday 'materialist' existence. Hence they are greeting the advent of automation and the computer technology in their own proper style.

"They are organizing conferences to study automation and its effects. They are demanding training programs. They are asking for shorter hours and higher pay. They are insisting on study of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and government control of its development."

The Worker,  
March 17, 1957, pp. 8, 9.

#### 8. Minimum Wage

"There are a total of some 20,000,000 workers in the U. S. who are neither organized into unions nor covered by the Federal minimum wage law.

"As AFL-CIO spokesmen have pointed out, most of these families exist in poverty at a time when the nation is boasting of unprecedented prosperity.

"Of this total, about half do not come under the jurisdiction of Congress because they are employed in intra-state commerce, by small business firms or as hired hands on small farms. These workers are subject to state laws, most of which offer little or no protection at all."

Daily Worker,  
March 27, 1957, p. 3.

"We need a stronger minimum wage law--expanded to cover more workers and increased to the long overdue \$1.25. We need a Congressional investigation of the relation of wages to profits and prices, which labor has been demanding, as a step towards fighting inflation, or the minimum wage will depreciate even further as effective protection to workers.

"Remembering what it took the last time labor scored some improvements in the minimum wage, unions and other people's organizations

had better start building up steam now for a military campaign to make its influence felt. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 26, 1957, p. 5.

#### 9. Shorter Work Week

"This May Day, in an era of vastly greater industrial expansion, the workers of our country confront a different problem -- how to secure their jobs in the face of ever-growing automation. And they project, as the necessary solution, a period of struggle for a new historic goal -- the shorter work week. "

. . . . .

"...The fight will be hard and bitter; for there is no demand which employers resist more strongly than a shorter work week. But it is now a winning demand, historically necessary, and the struggle for its attainment... will surely succeed in establishing a new norm for American industry. "

Daily Worker,  
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"Recent hearings before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report of the President, brought out a tremendous amount of material, especially in steel and auto manufacture, bearing out the seriousness of the textile union's warning--that increased productivity is making a shorter workweek imperative. The big question before the labor movement is how to develop the campaign for the shorter workweek, and support of a bill now before Congress, on a general scale, to reach the millions of Americans for it and win the needed support. "

Daily Worker,  
March 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Unfortunately, many workers are not yet 'sold' on the shorter workweek. They don't as yet feel that the possibility of a cut in hours without a cut in pay is really on the bargaining table.... This is understandable. Workers are weighed down by debts. They are hungry for overtime; extra jobs and some even hold down two jobs. One in every three in the labor force today is a woman, and the trend for a second breadwinner, or a third, continues.

"...A shorter workweek will impress him only if he is given a realistic outlook of winning it without a cut in his weekly earnings. It will take a lot of education in the trade union movement to build up the kind of movement for the shorter week that is needed to make the fight for it a reality."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 3.

10. Organizing the Unorganized

"UNIONS in the United States realize now that unless the South is organized, the low wages paid to Negro women and to Negro men will continue to serve as a drag upon other wages. The unions realize that factories are escaping from the unionized North to the non-unionized South."

"Unless the South is organized the Northern unions are threatened, and unless Negro workers in the South are organized along with whites any unions in that section cannot be successful."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 7.

11. Labor Unity

"...the trade-union resolution concludes with a listing of the reasons why Communists are needed among the workers:

"For their conscious participation in the daily struggles; for their ability to help draw lessons from each battle and to help chart the course ahead--for an anti-monopoly coalition of labor, the farmers and the Negro people; for their unreserved position on the side of the workers in the class struggle; for their conviction of the identity of interest of the workers of our country with the workers of others; for their profound belief in the desirability and the inevitability of a socialist transformation of our country."

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 25.

"WE ON OUR PART in the Daily Worker and Worker have worked for some years to bring the left back into the main stream and towards a positive perspective...for some years, especially since the Eisenhower administration took over in 1952, and the auto convention that followed some months later, the trade union policy of this paper has been for a shift of the left's face towards the 'center,' for a revival of the constructive relationship that once conquered America's open-shop centers.

"We have worked for the merger in line with that perspective for labor. Today there aren't many in the left who question the policy of working with the 'main stream.' But many are still pessimistic...because it is not easy to develop the forms of activity and relations in unions headed by hostile leaders.

"But it is far more important to see that rank and file activities are developing in a number of unions on a greater scale than has been evident for some time, and progressives are finding ways to overcome hostility. And it can be expected that following the convention of the Communist Party and a revival of its influence and activity (greatly curtailed by its internal discussion) the work of progressives in the labor movement will reach a still higher level."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1957, p. 14.

12. Relations with the Labor Movement

"It is not the policy of the Communist Party to interfere with, 'bore from within,' or to seek to capture or control the trade unions. We reject any allegation that this is our policy. We respect the complete political and organizational independence of the trade unions and other organizations of the working class. We Communists seek to influence the organized workers by persuasion, discussion, and example, as we do any other section of the population."

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 25.

13. Workers Need Socialism

"The age of automation and the atom, with its great promise, stands in glaring contradiction to widespread poverty, to inadequate educational and health facilities and to growing insecurity and fear of the future. But to fulfill the promise of plenty which automation and atomic energy hold forth will require concerted struggle by labor and its allies against the big monopolies. In the course of such struggles, if Communists and other socialist-minded Americans work effectively, the working people of this country can achieve a fuller understanding of the need for a socialist economy as the only basic answer to their problems."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, p. 7.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. There is "deep dissatisfaction" among the farmers.
2. The farmers who work small farms are being forced off them by "big agriculture" and the Republican Administration.
3. The Republican Administration is placing the blame for the plight of the farmers on the labor movement.
4. A long-range program of increased aid to farmers is necessary.
5. The labor movement should offer its support to the farmers.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Dissatisfaction among Farmers

"THE SQUEEZE on the farmer is tightening--contrary to the happy predictions of Secretary of Agriculture Benson. From Jan. 15 to Feb. 15 the prices received by farmers dropped two percent. Prices for goods they must buy rose almost one (0.7) percent. As a result, farm parity, the ratio of prices farmers get to the prices they must pay--fell in mid-February to its lowest point since 1939, the Department of Agriculture announced last week.

"The Feb. 15 parity figure of 80 (compared to 100 for the period 1910-1914) was equalled since 1939--only in November and December 1955, and January 1956."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

"... A continued failure to meet the precarious position of the small farmer and prolonged drought in some areas leave the farmers in a mood of deep dissatisfaction. . . ."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the 85th Congress," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 1-2.

## 2. Plight of the Small Farmers

"From 1947 to mid-1956, farm income fell by one-third. In 1955, the Department of Agriculture reports, net farm income was lower than in any year since 1940. The persistent agricultural depression places a heavy economic burden on the shoulders of the small marginal and family-sized farm operators, and the outbreak of a general crisis would have a catastrophic effect on the small farmers. For never before was the agricultural economy so closely bound up with the country's industrial and financial life, and never was it under such sharp pressure from monopoly."

Daily Worker,  
February 14, 1957, pp. 4-5.

"... big agriculture should be curbed to prevent it from driving the family farmers off the land. From 1950 to 1954 more than 600 thousand farmers have folded up and moved to town."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 11.

"The Administration has taken the position that it is necessary to cut out all supports for 'surplus' crop production, to permit farm prices to drop below the cost of production, and thus eliminate millions of small farmers."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 2.

### 3. Republican Administration Blames Labor

"The Eisenhower Administration has launched a new attempt to pit farmers and other consumers against labor. The program tries also to pit labor and other consumers against the farmers.

"It carries forward similar previous efforts initiated by the Administration when the economic situation became unsettled."

"Benson... told a Pacific Northwest farm forum in Spokane that labor is responsible for rising prices and for most of the postwar decline in farm income."

"He intimated that labor's greedy gains are responsible not only for the farmers' plight but for the strains that the economy now faces....

"...the bulk of the speech indicated that the main target was labor. Not once did he refer to the extortionate profits which the biggest corporations have been extracting from the economy."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 2.

### 4. Increased Aid to Farmers Is Necessary

"THE drought is now six years old and spreads over 19 states. It is several times larger than the Dust Bowl of the 30s...."

"President Eisenhower's flight over Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, is strictly a publicity stunt. There is no lack of existing programs to alleviate the situation on a long-term basis."



"With government stocks of surplus feed grains at record levels, the possibility exists for the Department of Agriculture to supply them to the ranchers and farmers with cheap feed.

"During the past 20 years there has been much debate and little action by Congress on the drought situation.

"A long succession of capable committees has recommended large-scale building of dams and other water projects to control and conserve the water resources of the Plains. These proposals have been blocked by the big public utility corporations whose power in Washington is great."

The Worker,  
January 13, 1957, p. 13.

"EVERYWHERE the President went he was confronted with pleas for Federal help in building new conservation projects that would trap flood waters in the spring to save them for the hot summer months.

"He responded, however, with the pledge that 'everyone will do his best,' and congratulated his audience on its 'chins up attitude.' Current administration policy, however, is dead set against adequate appropriations for water conservation projects."

The Worker,  
January 27, 1957, p. 5.

## 5. Farmers Need Support

"The drought, the price support program, soil conservation and all the many facets of the agricultural problem is the problem of all of our citizens. The farmers are unable to solve their problems by themselves. For this reason labor must be concerned. By throwing its weight into the fight in behalf of the farmers labor can help win its natural allies as well as taking precautionary measures that the national food supply will not dwindle."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 11.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The colonial revolution is a major factor in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.
2. The United States supports colonialism.
3. The Soviet Union opposes colonialism.
4. The liberation movement in Africa must be accelerated.
5. The United States has given "moral, political and military support to the colonial suppression of Algeria."
6. Cuba remains "a semi-colony of the United States."
7. The emergence of Ghana as an independent state is an indication that the struggle against imperialism will eventually be successful.
8. The United States dominates Latin America to promote the interests of "American monopoly."
9. The United States is increasing its economic domination over Mexico.
10. The United States exercises "predominant control" over the Philippine Islands.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Colonial Revolution

"Today the tide of nationalism is higher than it has ever been in the modern world. . . ."

"... For nationalism and national independence are the slogans of the vast colonial revolution of the peoples of Asia and Africa."

Nemmy Sparks, "Anna Louise Strong's  
'The Stalin Era,' " Political Affairs,  
January, 1957, p. 23.

"Given the circumstances of today, this movement of anti-colonialism becomes a major factor for peace and for peaceful coexistence."

Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

## 2. American Imperialism

"UNITED STATE foreign policy today, with all its pretensions of moral principles and defense of the 'free world,' is really a direct descendant of that of the colonial plunderers of the 19th Century. 'Foreign aid' spending in the billions is needed to bribe, subvert, arm, agents of present-day colonialism, and to throw additional loot in the path of the billionaire beneficiaries of the policy who get the concessions. All this is at the expense of the American public, financially and morally, and with grave risks to world peace."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 14.

"It is oil interests that the USA seeks to protect in the Middle East. It is concerned with the profits of American monopolies and not with human rights. It is the interests of American fruit companies, rubber barons, copper kings, Bauxite magnates that brings it to interfere in Puerto Rico, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela and points South where the American 'Empire' lies, rather than human rights.

"The retardation of the political, economic and cultural life of peoples protected by American military is well known. . . ."

Daily Worker,  
January 10, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"... The major reason for the Soviet appeal among the Arab lands was the outspoken support by the Soviet Union to the national liberation movement directed against imperialist control and domination in the oil rich region."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1957, p. 5.

"... The only great power that has firmly supported the aspirations of the Arab peoples and played such a decisive role in halting the aggression against Egypt -- the Soviet Union -- has emerged from this situation with increased influence and prestige."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1957, p. 13.

"... the Soviet leaders, in re-appraising their foreign policy after the death of Stalin, realized they had greatly underestimated the potential of the so-called neutral nations, particularly those fighting for national independence, as a force for peaceful coexistence."

Daily Worker,  
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

#### 4. Africa

"ONLY freedom can fully develop Africa, however. Imperialism can never do it. And freedom is coming...."

"... 'Africa for the Africans' is becoming the cry.

"We welcome that cry. America will be safer when others are free. For imperialism brings hatred against the oppressor...."

"Let freedom ring in Africa and at home."

The Worker,  
March 31, 1957, p. 3.

"GHANA becomes the eighth state in Africa enjoying political independence under indigenous government, joining Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. Together they comprise less than one-quarter of the total area of the continent, and their aggregate population of some seventy-five millions represents about a third of Africa's inhabitants.

"It is evident that the pace of African liberation must be speeded up. Africans everywhere demand it. Ghana's freedom kindles new determination in them. Freedom for all of Africa must come quickly or there will be disastrous consequences."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 9.

#### 5. Algeria

"THE FACT IS there's a colonial army of half a million in Algeria waging war against a nation determined to have its freedom. The

fighting is complicated by the fact that in the century and a quarter of colonial rule the French have also settled in considerable numbers in Algeria. There are about one million French colonists. Algerians of African origin and Moslem religion, total some 8 million.

"The best land has been taken over by the French colonists. Major investments are French, and Algerian economy is dominated by the invaders. Military and political domination is by the French who exercise a military dictatorship today over the vast Algerian majority. The National Liberation Movement has admittedly won the support of the Algerian people. They are waging a clear-cut fight for self determination."

Daily Worker,  
February 1, 1957, p. 5.

"... Americans can only be ashamed that the Eisenhower Administration has given moral, political and military support to the colonial suppression of Algeria. In previous UN sessions we even prevented the discussion of the Algerian issue.

"Now that Algeria is again before the UN, Americans can make it clear that what's good for freedom in Algeria and everywhere else is good for America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 6, 1957, p. 5.

## 6. Cuba

"FULGENCIO BATISTA was not elected president by the Cuban people. On May 10, 1952, during an election campaign in which he didn't stand a chance, he seized power. He became president by force, and has maintained himself in office since then by force and by force alone. No free election has been held. He appointed men to lead the Cuban Confederation of

Labor, dismissing leaders elected by the workers. No trade union meetings can be held without government permission; and new leaders must likewise be approved by the government.

"This oppression of the Cuban workers and people is aimed to continue Cuba as a source of sugar for United States refineries; assure huge profits for the sugar plantation owners, mostly American; and to keep the United States naval base in Guantanamo, Cuba. Batista's terror against his own people aims to keep Cuba as a semi-colony of the United States."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 5.

7. Ghana

"ON THE stroke of midnight Wednesday in far-off Africa, a British flag came down and a new black-starred banner of red, green and gold went up the masthead. The colony known as Gold Coast was no more. The independent state of Ghana was born, under the leadership of a man twice imprisoned for fighting for his country."

"... The fight against imperialism is in the process of being won. That is the great message of Ghana."

"Many millions of Americans, Negro and white, recognizing that this is not just another new country, greet Ghana with deep feeling. We join them in their salute."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

"IMPERIALISM'S apologists will no doubt exploit the occasion of Ghana's elevation to independence to preach about the necessity for an 'orderly process of evolution to self-government' for colonial subjects. But the truth is that Ghana is just one more illustration of the fact that freedom is won only through struggle."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 8.

8. Latin America

"Billions in Wall Street loot have been invested in the oil and iron wells and mines of Venezuela, the bauxite of Jamaica, copper of Chile, rubber of Brazil, sugar in a host of countries. Through these the course of Empire makes its way protected by the Monroe Doctrine. From these investments tens of billions have been made.

"The overthrow of the legally elected Guatemalan government is only the most recent example of our intervention in the internal affairs of others in this Hemisphere. Who does not recall the inspired Haitian Revolution, those in Mexico and the devision of Colombia as our rulers seized Panama? But these misdeeds are not a manifestation of American morality. They are the essence of the ruthlessness of American monopoly. Morally, this clique is bankrupt."

Daily Worker,  
January 15, 1957, p. 4.

"...The 'good partner' policy toward the Latin American countries that President Eisenhower boasts of is actually a partnership with some of the worst fascist dictators in the world in behalf of the Wall Street corporations they serve.

"It's time to stop coddling 'free world' dictators. It's time to let the Latin American peoples choose their own governments free from U.S. intervention...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 4.



9. Mexico

"THE YEAR 1957 does not look particularly rosy for Mexico. . . .

"Finance capital from the United States is veritably pouring into the country; each year its powerful jaws bite deeper, its hold becomes more secure. . . .

"Every time there is to be a new, large scale investment in Mexico of American monopoly capital, our kept press hails it as a godsend to Mexico's economy. Indeed, some investments are beneficial, but only in one aspect: when the choice lies in some industrial activity that is either in its incipient stages or non-existent. This, however, rarely happens since monopoly capital has an enormous appetite for the proven industries, the more profitable lines of business such as mining.

"WHICHEVER way you look at it, though the mass movement of U.S. capital to Mexico brings on highly undesirable conditions: the same monopolistic conditions of a particular industry in the U.S. are transplanted to Mexico; the rate of profit is exorbitant; its growingly advantageous position leads to a control of the national economy; economic dominance leads to political power. In short, if the trend continues, Mexico will soon become a pretty sad appendage, a sort of Cuba or Panama. Many organized groups oppose this ruinous policy: therein lies our hope."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1957, p. 6.

10. Philippine Islands

"Victory over the Japanese brought fulfillment of one great goal of Filipino people. The independence promised by Roosevelt was won. But oppression from landlord rule continued. And under collaborators with the Japanese, like Manuel Roxas, the independence of the Philippines was circumscribed by the type of relationship established with the U.S. Thus,

15 military bases were given to U. S. forces and the Bell treaty was signed giving U. S. business interests a predominant control over the economy of the Philippines."

Daily Worker,  
March 19, 1957, p. 2.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. The 85th Congress is dominated by an "anti-labor coalition."
2. Senator James O. Eastland should be expelled from the United States Senate.
3. Congressional investigating committees are "hacking away at the Bill of Rights."
4. Those convicted of violating the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
5. The Government is using the Taft-Hartley Law to intensify its attacks on the labor movement.
6. The aim of the McCarran Act is to prevent any possibility of peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union.
7. All anticommunist legislation should be repealed.
8. The United States Supreme Court should be defended against the "reactionary assault" of Congress.
9. A Negro should be appointed to the United States Supreme Court.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. The 85th Congress**

"Once again, as in past years, the anti-labor coalition of reactionary Republicans and conservative Democrats will be in the saddle

in the new Congress. Labor and its allies must reckon soberly with the fact that two-thirds of the Congressional committees are headed by Southern Democrats, some of them of the Dixiecrat stripe, and that the effective Congressional leadership is in the hands of Senator Lyndon Johnson and Rep. Samuel Rayburn, both conservative Democrats with strong ties to Texas oil monopolies."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the 85th Congress," Political Affairs, January, 1957, p. 2.

"...A whole list of objectives vitally affecting the economic and social welfare of America's workers and other smaller-incomed peoples come up before this Congress. A cut in taxes for those who really need the relief; expansion of minimum wage coverage; a national health plan; expansion of public housing and school construction are some of the key points on labor's legislative program for the session.

"Will 1957 really be a 'Happy and Prosperous New Year' for the many millions. That depends in the first place on the unity of the people-- labor, farmers, Negro, professional and middle classes--and the degree to which this unity is used militantly and effectively in the fight for higher living standards, peace and civil rights, and in the struggle against the monopolies."

Editorial, Daily Worker, January 1, 1957, p. 5.

## 2. Expulsion of Senator Eastland

"Eastland IS a racist. It is a scandal and a disgrace that he is in the Senate. It is a mockery of justice that this sworn foe of equality for America's 17, 000, 000 Negroes should be permitted to head a Senate committee investigating--what a laugh--the processes of law...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, February 27, 1957, p. 5.

"And is it not now high time that James Eastland, master witchhunter and violent racist, be expelled from the U. S. Senate which he disgraces with his presence?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 5, 1957, p. 5.

3. Congressional Investigating Committees

"The House Un-American Activities Committee launched a new attack on freedom of the press by summoning editors of leftwing publications, including John Gates, editor-in-chief of The Worker and Daily Worker, as well as publishers and distributors of progressive books."

"Gates' defiance of the Un-American hatchet-men... represents distinguished service in defense of the liberties of all Americans...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

"ONE OF the more impressive moments of the House Un-American Committee's little gatherings... the other day was the patient effort of one witness to explain to Rep. Moulder, a Missouri Democrat, that 'interstate' does not mean movement between foreign countries and the United States but betwee none state and another."

"The whole moronic farce, presided over by a political genius who didn't even know the meaning of 'interstate,' ought surely to spur new public demand that Congress vote this committee out of existence."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Words can hurt, and words can kill. Yesterday they killed Egerton Herbert Norman, Canadian ambassador to Cairo.

"Death came by his own hand. But by all accounts, the Canadian diplomat was the latest witchhunt victim.

"He had been smeared, not by his own government... but by a U. S. Senate Committee, as a 'Communist agent.'

"This committee was Senator Eastland's infamous Internal Security subcommittee...."

"It takes Eastland and his crew a moment to spill their evil mischief. Some lifetimes are too short to undo the harm they do."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 5, 1957, p. 5.

"...What price the glib condolences of our government to the Canadian people when, only four days after Norman's death, a Congressional committee is back at work, busy at the trade of smearing reputations, ruining lives, threatening people whose opinions it dislikes?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The post-election hearings of the Eastland and Walter committees are a shocking reminder that McCarthyites in Congress are still hacking away at the Bill of Rights."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the  
85th Congress," Political Affairs,  
January, 1957, p. 2.

#### 4. Smith Act

"The Supreme Court is now weighing the membership clause of the Smith Act. Democracy and national decency will be the gainers if the clause is ruled unconstitutional...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 8, 1957, p. 5.

"WEEK-END DISPATCHES report that a group of notables cabled Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia urging he free Milovan Djilas, imprisoned after writing an anti-government article...."

"While we do not quarrel with liberals who object to Djilas' imprisonment, we wonder why many of them do not protest as vigorously about imprisonment of Americans solely for teaching and advocating their views.

"... These American workers--Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert Thompson, Henry Winston and the other Smith Act prisoners--did no more than agree to 'teach and advocate' their Communist views.

"Smith Act prisoner Gus Hall has been imprisoned since 1951. \* War hero Robert Thompson, nearly killed in a Federal prison, has been behind bars since 1953. Winston and Gil Green are serving eight-year sentences. And now the government is preparing a new sentence for Irving Potash, who has already served a five-year term.

"Is it too much to suggest that those who protested Djilas imprisonment... appeal to President Eisenhower for a prompt amnesty for Smith Act prisoners and an end to thought-control prosecutions?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 21, 1957, p. 5.

\*Hall was released from prison on March 30, 1957.

5. Taft-Hartley Law

"THE INDICTMENT of eight more persons, this time in Cleveland, on charges alleging 'conspiracy' to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits, leaves no doubt that the Department of Justice is carrying out another round of thought-control prosecutions such as had already been carried out under the discredited Smith Act.

"Late last year 14 of the top leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were indicted on similar charges.

"In the Cleveland case, as in the Mine-Mill case, the indictment named a number of already convicted, imprisoned or deported top Communists as 'co-conspirators' to provide the guilt-by-association basis already built into the affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley law."

"We have here a pattern pretty much the same as that already followed in the Smith Act cases. But now there is an unmistakable bridge to the trade unions for application of this type of persecution.

"The aim is clearly to 'link' as many union leaders as possible to Communists and as many Communists or other progressives as possible to such union leaders as are marked for prosecution on affidavit grounds, for wholesale jailing 'as conspirators.'

"If the government can make that tactic stick, then it has a clear road to its broadened application in the labor movement on a variety of grounds with stoolpigeons used more than ever...."



"The Eisenhower government is clearly aiming to step up repression that can only encourage those who want a revival of a McCarthyite spirit. Labor and progressives of all shades face a new civil liberties test in the new round of cases the Department of Justice is setting into motion. They cannot, and must not, evade the test."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 25, 1957, p. 5.

"The government's new gimmick is directed towards stepping up McCarthyite attacks on the labor movement while at the same time pursuing 'thought-control' and 'guilt-by-association' persecution in a new guise."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 2.

6. McCarran Act

"As a matter of fact, the real purpose of the McCarran Registration Act is to prevent ANY organization from having a policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union--which necessarily includes negotiations and at certain points, AGREEMENT...."

Daily Worker,  
February 27, 1957, p. 4.

7. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"The unions and other major people's organizations, in their own interests, need to raise the demand for repeal not only of the Taft-Hartley Act, but of the McCarran-Walter, McCarran, Smith and all other witch-hunt legislation as well. The restoration of the Bill of Rights likewise calls for amnesty for Smith Act and other political prisoners."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the  
85th Congress," Political Affairs,  
January, 1957, p. 4.

8. Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court

"Just as the coalition of southern racists and McCarthyites have been mobilizing a movement to sabotage the high court's desegregation rulings in schools and other fields, so they are now seeking to undermine even those limited concessions to civil liberties that have come from the Supreme Court in the recent past.

"The Eastland-McCarthy campaign is of a piece with the Georgia Legislature's resolution calling for removal of six Supreme Court justices. These forces are clearly seeking to develop an offensive for their treacherous and truly subversive campaign to turn back the trend of return to sanity."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 1, 1957, p. 5.

"...the Court...is now the center of a reactionary assault that runs through the Senate Internal Security Committee to the Georgia State Legislature."

"...Labor, the Negro people, all progressives should give the Supreme Court the utmost possible support, for it remains one of the institutions of government through which the McCarthyites can be checked."

"...The American people should demand an end to the scurrilous business in which McCarthy is engaged. The attacks upon the high court bodes further evil for the Constitution. The people in defending the court will be supporting the Constitution of the U. S....The people cannot remain passive or indifferent to any attempt by reaction to intimidate the Supreme Court."

Daily Worker,  
March 12, 1957, p. 4.

9. Negro Supreme Court Justice

"THE ANNOUNCED departure of Justice Stanley Reed from the Supreme Court once more confronts President Eisenhower with the opportunity to correct a historic injustice.

"There is not nor has there ever been a Negro on the U. S. Supreme Court. The jimcrow barriers there have been as bitterly maintained as they had, until recently, in the schools and buses of the South.

"The federal government is committed, through the rulings of the Supreme Court itself, to end the racist pattern of segregation. Is it not just, therefore, that the Court itself should be rid of the stigma of racist exclusivity?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"...the appointment of a Negro is certainly long overdue. In the most dramatic possible manner such an appointment would serve notice to the racist obstructors of justice, and indeed to the entire world, that our government is determined to make democracy mean democracy in our own backyard."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 27, 1957, p. 5.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. All troops should be withdrawn from all foreign bases.
2. Government spending for military purposes should be reduced so that a large-scale program for social welfare can be initiated and so that the taxes of the low-income group can be reduced.
3. The reduction of military expenditures by the Soviet Union shows that Soviet proposals for disarmament are sincere.
4. The appointment of Lieutenant General Hans Speidel to command the ground forces of NATO in Central Europe is a "dishonor to America."
5. The training methods of the United States Marine Corps are characterized by "brutality."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Withdrawal of Troops from Foreign Bases

"... The time has come for serious consideration of the proposal, advanced by the Soviet Government and powerful sections of public opinion in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from all countries, the neutralization and unification of Germany and an all-European security agreement...."

National Committee, CPUSA,  
"Facing the 85th Congress,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1957,  
p. 3.

## 2. American Military Budget

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has submitted a truly general's budget to Congress yesterday. Nearly two-thirds of \$71.8 billion--\$2.9 billion more than last year--goes directly for military purposes. And much of the rest goes less directly for the same purposes, to pay for previous wars or for basically cold war objectives.

"The message bristles with armaments, with the major emphasis on more and newer atomic weapons. There isn't even a sign of the election campaign 'peace appeal' that brought the President millions of votes...."

"...Struggle, for peace and the other basic needs of the people, remains the only alternative. A large section of the present Congress is committed to the people on those needs. The people must continually remind them of it every day Congress is in session."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 17, 1957, p. 5.

"But the outstanding feature of the budget is its continuance of the cold war stance with all of the cold war establishments intact--on paper at least--when the world and the U.S. have moved beyond it. The budget now awaits the scrutiny of Congress and the people."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1957, p. 5.

"We most certainly have too much government spending. Heavy cuts are needed in the two-thirds of the military part, and they can be achieved through a peace policy. That would enable us to substantially increase the welfare side, and still cut the overall budget substantially and put into effect the long promised cut in the taxes of small income people. That's how the man on the street looks at the budget."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 18, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Soviet Military Budget

"Perhaps one of the most sensitive barometers of the international political climate is the Soviet military budget. Therefore, few people were surprised when the 1956 Soviet budget, announced after Geneva, provided for a sharp cut in military expenditures, from 211\* to 18 percent of the total budget. But the 1957 budget, just unveiled at the current session of the Supreme Soviet, reveals another significant drop in military expenditures.

"The six billion ruble cut (officially \$1.5 billion) reduces the percentage of military expenditures to 16%. This is lower than any year since the end of World War II. It is thus a handy guide as to how the Soviet leaders view present international tensions. During the years of the Korean war when tensions were mounting the percentage that went for military purposes kept rising. After the death of Stalin, and the end of the Korean war, there was a significant reduction in Soviet military expenditures. That trend continued.

"BUT perhaps the most interesting aspect of the 1957 reduction in Soviet arms expenditures is that it comes after the proposed increase of American military appropriations. The Eisenhower budget foresees a \$4 billion increase for the army, navy and air force.

"The Soviet arms budget cut is a powerful argument for the disarmament proposal introduced by the USSR in United Nations. This would lead to drastic cuts in expenditures for arms by all the powers, along with an immediate halt to nuclear weapon explosions."

The Worker,  
February 10, 1957, p. 5.

### 4. German General for NATO

"WILL A HITLER general command American GIs in Europe?

"This is exactly what will happen if the West German government's nomination of Lieut. Gen. Hans Speidel to command NATO ground forces in Central Europe is confirmed by our government and other NATO members.

\*This probably should read "21. 1. "

"What an insult to the memory of the thousands of Americans who gave their lives to smash Nazism and militarism! What an affront to the 5,000,000 Jewish people of our country and the 16,000,000 Negroes who have not forgotten the racist orgies of Hitler and his generals! What a dishonor to America and its great tradition of freedom!

"The nomination of Speidel... is the fruit of that policy of rearming and renazifying Germany which threatens the peace and liberty of all Americans."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 4.

"...Speidel was the top Nazi in occupied France, responsible for the torture and murder of many resistance fighters before being transferred to the Eastern front. It was he who planned the 1942 summer drive against Russia. On his orders hundreds of towns and villages in the Ukraine were wiped out and thousands of civilians murdered."

Daily Worker,  
February 15, 1957, p. 6.

"...Before Speidel's appointment is confirmed, all NATO governments must give their consent.

"Which means there is still time for our government to change its mind."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 13.

##### 5. Marine Corps Training

"ONCE AGAIN, Parris Island is in the headlines. For the ninth time since last April, when Marine Staff Sgt. Matthew McKeon led six young recruits in a disciplinary march that ended with their deaths, the nation will hear charges of brutality leveled against Marine instructors.

"The McKeon case ended in mild rebuke and a fevered effort by Marine brass to save the calculated method of brutality which, the generals stupidly believe, trains good soldiers.

"For it is their theory that, our country must shape ordinary easy-going American kids into trigger-ready killers."

"But new brutalities will come until and unless the Marine Corps chiefs make up their minds to reform fully, and not nominally, the whole system of training which has made Parris Island a sinister and unhappy name for the parents of America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
February 13, 1957, p. 5.



## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The struggle to eliminate racial discrimination is the principal domestic issue of our time.
2. Federal civil rights legislation should be enacted in the current session of Congress.
3. The Federal Government should intervene to protect Negroes from "armed violence" in the Southern States.
4. The struggle of the Negroes for their constitutional rights should be given "unreserved support."
5. Negroes are entitled to full social, political, and economic equality.
6. While progress has been made in the past, the struggle for complete equality for the Negroes will continue.
7. Greater unity between the labor movement and the "Negro freedom movement" will promote the interests of both groups.
8. The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom should be given widespread support.
9. Through the efforts of Negro religious leaders, Negro religious life has attained "a new and glorious stage in its development."
10. Racial discrimination is "inherent" under capitalism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Racial Discrimination

"The question of Negro freedom, then, is the crucial domestic issue of the day, and a factor of growing international consequence." \*

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"Against the background of this estimate of the Negro people and their liberation movement, what are the special tasks and responsibilities of Communists? First and foremost it is the obligation of the vanguard party of the American working class to lend every support to the Negro people's struggle. This is the main uncompleted democratic task of our country; and its fulfillment will enormously advance the goals of the working class and our entire nation."\*

"The great labor movement of our country and all democratic forces in American life are called upon to recognize in the struggle for Negro rights the decisive task before the country today. The Communist Party sees in this struggle the number one challenge to action for all Communists. It is the portal to new advances in all spheres in the fight for social progress."\*

"Much as the destruction of slavery in the South became imperative for the forward movement of our nation a century ago, so the destruction of the Jim Crow system centering in the South has become necessary for the democratic progress of our country today. Now, as in the 1850's, ever larger sections of the American people--foremost among which is the organized labor movement--can be won as powerful allies in the struggle for Negro rights.

"The Communist Party of the United States pledges itself to the accomplishment of this task."

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 33, 34, 40-41.

"Events are more and more proving that the defeat of racism in the U.S. is the Number One job to be tackled by the entire nation.

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"There can be little or no progress toward goals of freedom and democracy for all unless every private and official body lends its resources to this task. This is why the present crusade against racism is one of the principal stories of our time...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The fight for the civil rights of the Negro people is now the No. 1 democratic task confronting our entire nation; and it is a task of special urgency for the American trade union movement."

Daily Worker,  
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

## 2. Federal Civil Rights Legislation

"...the Dixiecrats are now moving to the erection of formidable parliamentary breastworks against civil rights. Their plan is not only to delay but to make the civil rights bills so meaningless that, if passed, it would be worse than nothing.

"...the Dixiecrats represent a minority whose strength derives from the weak-kneed opposition they have encountered. This is the zero hour...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"THE HOUSE Rules Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee--both ruled by hard-bitten Dixiecrats--now control the life and death of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

"Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va), chairman of the House Rules Committee, can be expected to use every trick in the book to keep the

Administration civil rights bill off the floor. And in defending his title of 'Mr. Segregation,' Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has even more power to throw against the bill voted Tuesday to the full committee.

"It will be in these two Congressional committees that the bi-partisan action which has seen the bill through thus far must be even more dynamic and united. The Dixiecrats on both the House Rules and the Senate Judiciary committees represent a minority. The anti-civil rights foes are dependent upon the tricks of the chairmen and the secrecy of their deliberations."

"There have been ample hearings on the bills; and there has been lengthy deliberation in both the House Judiciary Committee and in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on constitutional rights.

"Every Congressman ought to be urged now to use his influence to speed up consideration of the bills in the House and Senate committees. And there ought to be special attention paid to those Congressmen who are members of the two key committees. It is still a race against the legislative calendar for a showdown on civil rights in the Senate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 21, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"NEGROES in the South have appealed for presidential intervention to help end a spreading wave of violence which has been growing in intensity since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and subsequent court rulings outlawed segregation in schools, places of public recreation, and public means of transportation."

"The disregard of law, of common morality, of religious feeling have outraged people in the South as well as in the rest of the nation. And the

lawless elements that have participated in these outrages have received the moral support of elected officials of the government, sworn to uphold the U. S. Constitution.

"In addition, there has sprung up a network of organizations dedicated to defying the integration rulings of the Supreme Court at any cost. The White Citizens' Councils, a revived Ku Klux Klan, and other groups continually stir up action to prevent Negroes from enjoying rights guaranteed by the Constitution; to prevent their making a livelihood, and even to drive them, in some instances, out of the South altogether."

"If these depredations were being carried out against American citizens by forces outside our border, there would be no question of immediate Federal assistance. There should be no question now when armed violence is directed against peaceful citizens.

"The situation calls for the President to use his personal prestige--to go South in answer to the Negro leaders and rally to the support of the law the millions of white Southerners who also feel outraged--to appeal for universal compliance with the integration laws.

"It calls for the Department of Justice to use its facilities to the fullest extent to ferret out and prosecute those who are instigators and participants in the violence against Negroes.

"We urge immediate wires and letters to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell requesting them to act to protect the rights of all Americans."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 27, 1957, pp. 1, 4.

#### 4. Negroes Need Support

"The Negro people of our country are fighting with unbending will and irresistible resolve to secure now the whole measure of their constitutional rights as free and equal citizens. The determination is dramatically portrayed in the massive battles they are waging against segregation in the South today.

"Over a half million Negroes in deep Southern cities are participating daily in organized direct actions to break the Jim Crow barrier in bus transportation. More than a hundred thousand are engaged in organized campaigns on a single issue--to secure the right to vote; they aim to utilize the ballot as a weapon in the struggle to desegregate and to democratize Southern life."\*

"It is therefore not the tasks of Communists or any other group to impose upon the Negro people new forms of struggle, tactics alien to their historic development as a people. Rather it is the task of all supporters of the Negro liberation movement, including the Communists, to lend their unreserved support to, and to take an active part in those programs and techniques of struggle which now embrace and propel into action the great majority of the Negro people."

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 31, 39-40.

##### 5. Program for Negro Liberation

"All Communists, and all progressive Americans, are called upon to marshall their maximum strength to enhance the liberation movement of the Negro people. This requires:

"1. Full participation in and support of the all-sided anti-segregation movement in the South....\*

"2. The strengthening and broadening of the battle for the unfettered right of suffrage for all Southerners. The right to vote and to be voted for must not be restricted by race or property.... This struggle for democratic elections in the South must be buttressed by intensive campaigns to increase Negro representation on all levels of government, both North and South.\*

"3. An intensified struggle for equal employment and upgrading practices in all industries, everywhere in the nation....\*

"4. The unfolding of major campaigns to break down segregation in housing....\*

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"5. Action for desegregation of public schools....\*

"6. Intensifying the ideological struggle against racism...."\*

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 37-38.

6. Struggle for Negro Rights Continues

"Some of the most glorious chapters in our history have been made by the Negro people. Their struggle to turn the written ideals of our land into living reality has been going on for more than 300 years.... Washington's Continental Army at one time included 4,000 Negro soldiers from the 13 colonies.... there were the slave revolts.... These fanned the fires of the powerful Abolitionist movement with its program to destroy slavery.... other sons and daughters of the Negro people played mighty roles in this movement for freedom, together with the more than 200,000 Negro soldiers who served under Lincoln in the Civil War which finally brought an end to the slave system. The contributions of Negroes to the building of the labor movement following the Civil War and their achievements in the arts and sciences are also immense. The list of achievements grows from year to year and would grow faster without Jimcrow. For three centuries the Negro people have been fighting for the realization of the idea that 'all men are created equal.' The latest battles bear the names of Clinton, Tenn, and Montgomery, Ala. Freedom Road is a long road. But the goals are getting nearer all the time."

Daily Worker,  
February 13, 1957, p. 6.

"And while we happily look back to some of the judicial victories won on the civil rights front and many of us are thrilled by the heroic struggles of the Negro people to make these judicial victories mean something in the schools, on the buses and trains and in other spheres of life, let us not lose sight of the struggle still ahead. The racists are not giving up. They are increasing their violence by shooting at desegregated buses and maltreating Negro children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 1, 1957, p. 5.

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

7. Negro-Labor Unity

"...during the past few years there has been developed a stalemate in the struggle. The upholders of segregation are yielding ground grudgingly and only after stiffly fought battles in and out of courts....

"For nothing has contributed to the continuance of the deadlock more than absence of an active alliance--in the South--between the Negro freedom movement and organized labor...."

"It ought to be clear now to intelligent union leaders that the civil rights stalemate dictated by the state power in the hands of Dixiecrats is also slowing to a stop the drive to organize unions in the South. So the development of a real alliance between Negroes and labor in the South is a MUST for union growth and for democratic advance."

"...Without it, neither labor nor the Negro people will advance far, despite concessions forced by the anti-imperialist struggles abroad."

Daily Worker,  
April 9, 1957, p. 5.

8. Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom

"It has been left in the main to Negro organizations to press against both the naked racist terror in the streets and the attempts at 'legal' circumvention of the law in the courts... This national responsibility, borne with dignity and heroism by the Negro people and their leaders, is now to be dramatized on May 17 by a 'Pilgrimage of Prayer for Freedom' in Washington, D. C. Spurned by the President and Congress...the Negro leaders are taking their case to the nation.

"The organizers of the Pilgrimage have made it plain to the entire country that they are supporters of the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court and of law and order. They have appealed to the conscience



of the nation and to every citizen with a conscience to join the pilgrimage. This appeal should be especially attractive to organized labor, for the pilgrimage gives to organized workers an opportunity to demonstrate their unity with the demands of the Negro people for full citizenship rights.

"For in the last analysis it is this type of common action which will account for the final defeat of Dixiecratism and the victory for democracy. This is the ultimate answer to the Dixiecrat cry of 'massive resistance.' "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
April 9, 1957, p. 5.

#### 9. Negro Religious Leaders

"THE NEGRO church in the United States has not only learned how to express the hope of fulfillment of the Scriptures, they are reenacting many of the scenes of the early days of Christianity when Christians faced the opposition of bloodthirsty Pagan rulers.

"There are not now the miles of crucifixes with thousands of human beings groaning upon them, but there are bombs and bullets and burning Klan crosses, because men are demanding the right to be treated as children of God and citizens of their native land.

"...But the present leaders have built remarkably well upon the foundations laid by their forebears....

"But the Negro minister has become more: He is a mass teacher and leader on world problems and world thought. He also knows Greek and Latin, and the U.S. Constitution and the latest rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court. And all of these, including the best of all humanist thought, whether religious or secular, is funneled to millions of Negroes through churches."

"The Negro church has reached a new and glorious stage in its development."

The Worker,  
February 10, 1957, pp. 8, 14.

10. Discrimination Inherent under Capitalism

"As labor carries out this program to end bias in unions and industries, it will inevitably strengthen its position as the dynamic center for unifying all people's democratic forces. As labor cleans up its own house, it will strengthen its natural alliance with the Negro and Puerto Rican people and other victims of the discrimination that is inherent in our capitalist system. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 16, 1957, p. 5.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. Students are showing an increased interest in the views of communists and the right of communists to expound these views.
2. An increased program of Federal and state assistance is necessary to relieve the crisis in education and to enable the children of low-income families to obtain a college education.
3. The salaries of teachers in the United States are inadequate.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Students Interested in Communists' Views

"Moreover, if there is one thing students learn, it is that to understand a subject, it's best to go directly to the source. For the past several years students have had anti-Communists presented to them as experts on Communism. It is not surprising that students are eager to hear, for a change, from a Communist himself."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 13, 1957, p. 5.

"While it would be wrong to draw too many conclusions from the recent campus developments, it is fair to say that student opinion undoubtedly reflects considerable adult opinion. It reflects an increasing revulsion to repressive legislation, and alarm at continuing signs of McCarthyism.

"Most New Yorker students do not agree with Communist positions--as they understand them now--but they are agreed that the Communists have a legitimate place in the marketplace of opinion. In short,

they stand on the principle that the Communists have a right to speak and that they have a right to hear whom they wish."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 21, 1957, p. 5.

"We sense great stirrings among students. We do not claim any great surge toward socialism, although there is certainly a heightened interest in what Communists have to say. Rather there is taking shape a powerful insistence among the people, and young people primarily, to assert their right to listen, unfettered by the dictates of frightened men.

"This is a mighty force. And we commend to those among us who see only similar stirrings when they occur in foreign lands, some close attention to this significant and healthy American phenomenon."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
March 15, 1957, p. 5.

## 2. Crisis in Education

"The fact is that college educations are being priced right out of the reach of all but the most gifted children of America's low-income families. Only the brilliant few rewarded by scholarships, or those whose parents have the capacity and opportunity for the most arduous self-sacrifice, can look forward to a higher education.

"And yet, such is the irony, the day does not pass that does not contain one warning by some national leader that this country must act swiftly to prevent the Soviet Union from outstripping us in the training of scientists and engineers.

"We are, indeed, in the midst of a major crisis of education...."

"...if higher education is to be the democratic right of every American child who wants it, both the state and federal government must act, in concert, in much more urgent and serious a fashion.

"...A winning fight for a full-scale educational aid program, to include adequate funds to make free or truly low-cost college education available to all would be a good way to begin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 22, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Teachers' Salaries

"AMERICA'S LATEST hero is Charles Van Doren, the 30-year-old New Yorker, who has become television's biggest money winner (\$122,000 as of last Monday), and is still going strong."

"...He has studied, in addition to literature, mathematics, physics, constitutional law, history, quantum mechanics and dozens of other subjects.

"The question that fascinates us even more than Van Doren's performance is: what kind of social system is it under which a man with his extraordinary talent and training earns a salary of \$4,400 a year?"

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 4.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. The arts in the United States are "victims of governmental neglect."
2. Literature reflecting social change has been treated as an "unfortunate and unmentionable aberration."
3. The late Arturo Toscanini used his artistic talent "to build a better world."
4. A socialist society is required to cope with the economic advances which have resulted from recent scientific developments.
5. Socialism and religion are not mutually incompatible.
6. The world's religious faiths hope for peace.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Government Neglects the Arts**

"The condition of independent radio and TV, architecture, painting, sculpture, graphic art, literature and the movies is about the same as the other arts. They are victims of governmental neglect."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1957, p. 9.

"In these days when the nation's cultural leaders are trying to shake a few dollars to save the arts out of a congress that thinks nothing of spending forty billions a year for armaments, it is well to recall the great days of the government-financed WPA Theatre and Arts Projects. These projects brought about a cultural renaissance before they were smeared as 'red' and closed down by congressional witchhunters."

"ALL THESE projects were eventually liquidated by men who regarded them as a waste of the taxpayers' money at a time when the smell of war was in the air. Before the Federal Art Project was sabotaged, some 5,000 artists attached to it completed over 1,000 murals, 50,000 oil paintings, 90,000 prints 'allocated to schools, libraries and hospitals.' Also 4,000 pieces of sculpture for public parks and countless posters and photographs."

"WE'VE MERELY scratched the surface of the story of the great cultural awakening that gripped America in the mid 30s.

"This was democracy at work... .

"The WPA arts projects were suppressed... because they were democratic and a 'red rag' to the Big Money whose slogan was 'guns, not culture.' "

The Worker,  
January 27, 1957, pp. 10, 14.

## 2. Proletarian Literature

"Writing in the Thirties was vigorous and full of energy. But this vigor and energy came from the sharp, vital conflict that characterized the period. People were in motion; and motion, conflict, direction, make for a powerful literature even when, as then, the newness and strangeness of the subject matter give rise to naivete and sentimentality.

"Today there is no clear and simple conflict, no urgent objective necessity which might set the American people in motion. Therefore they are passive, static; what motion there is seems spasmodic, individual, and largely without direction. The deep and awful conflicts which do actually exist are overshadowed by our gigantic, all-encompassing productivity; blurred and distorted by the skillful, incessant chorus of Madison Avenue."

Yoli Tannen, "Is a Puzzlement,"  
Mainstream, January, 1957, p. 18.

"In the 1930's, earnest if tendentious novelists, caught up in the tide of men in motion, wrote books about strikers and sharecroppers, union organizers and unemployed marches. Taken all and all they were crude and platitudinous, but they reflected social change."

Daily Worker,  
February 8, 1957, p. 7.

"For almost twenty years now literary criticism--whether in academic or avant garde circles--has concurred in treating the entire tradition of social and political literature, so especially important in the United States, as an unfortunate and unmentionable aberration...."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 14.

### 3. Art Should Promote Social Progress

"THROUGHOUT his long and brilliant career the driving force of Toscanini's genius was his passionate love of liberty and democracy...."

"When Italy lost her freedom under the fascists, he fought them with his favorite weapon--the baton."

. . . . .

"TOSCANINI's hatred for Hitler fascism also knew no bounds...."

. . . . .

"THE MAESTRO was a lifelong enemy of anti-Semitism...."

. . . . .



"A GREAT MAN has gone, a great musician who used his art as few great artists have used it in the past in the never-ending fight to build a better world."

Daily Worker,  
January 17, 1957, p. 6.

"Every concert was an experience where people learned something new, even about the most familiar works. It is a tremendous thing to have revealed, as he did, the partnership between art, human freedom and social responsibility, to have been one of the world's bearers of light. That is why the world mourns his passing and remembers him with gratitude."

The Worker,  
February 3, 1957, p. 9.

#### 4. Modern Science Requires Socialism

"What immense gains, for instance, could science give us today if it were not shackled to war and war preparations! And modern wars are a product of our capitalist society.

"SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT has far outstripped the kind of economic system we have...."

"...we believe the American people will determine that the vast new productive forces developed by science will require a socialist society to cope effectively with them."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 6, 1957, p. 4.

5. Socialism Is Not Antireligious

"An outstanding feature of the Polish elections was the cooperation between the Catholic Church and the Communists. This refutes the notion that socialism is a barrier to religious freedom. There are deep ideological differences between various religions and also between religious doctrine and socialist philosophy. But just as there can be coexistence among nations with different social systems, there can and must be coexistence between religion and socialism within a country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 22, 1957, p. 5.

6. Major Religions Hope for Peace

"SPRINGTIME, 1957 and once again the world of Christianity observes the Resurrection of the Prince of Peace, while the Jews are celebrating their liberation from ancient bondage, and the Moslem world is in the midst of its rites of Ramadan.

"The followers of three great religions, in their various ways, express one hope in common--that the swords will be beaten into plowshares of peace."

"Truly the Easter bells are chiming this year to call mankind to cease preparing for war.

"The will to live in peace, in fraternal harmony, is the dominant, most profound, aspiration of humanity this time of Spring. For even our children have come to know that another war can bring doom, irretrievable and final, to the sons of Man."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 21, 1957, p. 4.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women should receive equal pay for equal work.
2. Discrimination against Negro women in industry is still prevalent, particularly in the Southern States.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"The problem of economic opportunities for women... is one that affects directly one-third of American workers--for today one of every three workers is a woman.

"Furthermore, one of every three women of working age, 14 years and older, is in the labor force today.

"The issue of equal pay for equal work should therefore, have a high priority within the labor movement, and in our legislative halls."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

#### 2. Discrimination against Negro Women

"WHILE the growth of industry in the South has been almost revolutionary in recent years, very few Negro women (or men) have profited from this new prosperity. Many new plants have been established here in recent years; numerous factories have moved from North to South for cheaper labor and to avoid unionization... but the hiring patterns have not changed.

"Only 14 percent of the Negro women in the United States are in industrial work according to the 1950 census report, and most of these are in the North. Over one-half of the Negro women in the country--and an even higher percentage in the South are domestics, in laundries, or as clean-up women in factories, office buildings, schools, and hotels.

"Clean-up jobs pay \$15 a week with little limit as to hours, sometimes working as many as 60 hours a week. While some Southern states have set some general limits upon the hours of white women they have notably failed to make any kind of limitation for domestic work. It would be safe to say that 99 percent of the domestic workers in the South are Negro women.

"WHEN Negro women do get an opportunity to work in Southern industry they work in the unskilled, lowest paying categories; ....."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1957, p. 7.

## XII. YOUTH

1. The cold war has turned the middle-class youth into a "Scared Generation."
2. Participation in the struggle for socialism will improve the moral conduct of American youth.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. The 'Scared Generation'

"... 'Time' magazine, fountain of cynicism and moral apathy, reports that the middle class youth has become 'fatalistic, stodgy, suspicious of life, afraid to pioneer or take chances,' and lots more. They are so scared of being labelled 'subversive,' says Time, and of having their future ruined that they have given up all convictions, all social idealism.

"It has been called the 'Silent Generation.' It might well be called the 'Scared Generation.' The cold war has done it. The McCarthyites seem to have robbed a whole generation of its American heritage of faith in democracy and progress."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1957, p. 9.

#### 2. Struggle for Socialism Will Improve Youth

"... To believe that our youth can be led to a better life by means of playgrounds, Hollywood, social dances, and the churches all under the benevolent guidance of the police stick, is to deceive ourselves.

"Nor does this mean that we can leave the solution of the particular problem of our youth to that very youth--by playing the new game of 'democracy' with them..... Playing 'democracy' will not make our youth democratic because in a society that does not know equality, 'democratic' games, which appear as phony to our youth, are indeed phony in reality.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Moral conduct of our youth can be expected only when its advance elements associate with the advance elements in society and the conscious struggle of creating socialism, of creating a new life and a moral life within the decay around us."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1957, p. 14.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAY 1957 -- DECEMBER 1957



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**May 1957--December 1957**

**January 1958**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In line with current Soviet propaganda, the Communist Party, USA, in the field of international relations, placed greatest emphasis on the themes of peaceful coexistence and an end to the testing of nuclear weapons as the first step toward further disarmament. The recent meeting of the representatives of the nations which have united in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was viewed as a serious "diplomatic and political" defeat for the United States. As an alternative, the Party repeated its demands for another Geneva Conference as the most effective means of resolving international tensions. The Party also reaffirmed the claim that a policy of neutrality was the only basis for any possibility of reunifying Germany. Concomitant with these themes, the Party continued to call for the return of all foreign troops to their own nations, and an increase in trade, travel, and the exchange of representative delegations between the United States and the communist-dominated nations.

The United States was blamed for precipitating the tension in the Middle East, and the Party continued to assert that the participation of the Soviet Union will be required to achieve lasting peace in that area. The "anti-colonial struggle," supported by the socialist nations, was interpreted

as a "major disaster" to the capitalist nations, and the United States was repeatedly accused of attempting to impose its economic and/or political domination on the underdeveloped nations of the world.

The Bolshevik Revolution was hailed as ushering in a new era in the history of mankind, and Soviet scientific achievements were offered as evidence of the inherent superiority of socialism over capitalism in the fields of education and scientific endeavor. The purges of Soviet leaders V. M. Molotov, L. M. Kaganovich, D. T. Shepilov, G. M. Malenkov, and G. K. Zhukov were justified as furthering the prospects for international peace. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary was denounced as an attempt, instigated by the United States, to inflame anti-Soviet sentiments and to disrupt all attempts to resolve international tensions by peaceful means. While denying that the Soviet Union could be accused of anti-Semitism, the Party indicated that it would welcome a more detailed explanation of the steps being taken by the Soviet Union to prevent a recurrence of past "distortions" and "errors" in this regard. Party propaganda urging that the United States extend diplomatic recognition to communist China and that that nation be admitted to the United Nations continued.

With reference to national affairs, the issue of equal rights for Negroes, with particular stress on the right to vote in the Southern States,

received greatest emphasis. The civil rights legislation enacted by the 85th Congress, although described as "weak" and "diluted," was accepted as providing a foundation for future efforts to secure passage of a stronger law. In line with its continued demands for Federal intervention to guarantee the rights of Negroes in the Southern States, the Party approved the use of Federal troops to protect the rights of Negro high school students in Little Rock, Arkansas.

The economic policies of the Republican Administration were blamed for rising unemployment and for the continuing inflationary trend. The Party urged a program of Government spending "for welfare and not warfare" as the best method of coping with the developing economic crisis. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) was urged to press the demand for a shorter work week as its principal objective in the wage negotiations scheduled to take place during 1958. Congressional hearings on labor racketeering were viewed as a prelude to the enactment of antilabor legislation, and the Party continued to stress the need for independent political activity by the labor movement. To promote greater working-class unity, the AFL-CIO was urged to intensify its efforts to organize the agricultural workers and the unorganized Negro and white workers in the Southern States.



The Party line reflects clearly the intentions of communist propagandists to distort the real meaning of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on civil liberties in order to better promulgate communist programs in this Nation. For example, the Party intensified its demands for the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and its attacks on congressional investigating committees, the loyalty-security program, and the use of confidential informants. The Party continued its demands for a new trial for Morton Sobell and for amnesty for its leaders still imprisoned under the Smith Act.

While proclaiming the possibility of a peaceful and American road to socialism, the Party reaffirmed the validity of Marxism-Leninism, the continuation of the class struggle in the United States, and the need for a strong spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Party confidently predicted that it would revitalize itself and play a significant role in the achievement of socialism, which was repeatedly offered as the only solution of the major problems affecting our Nation.

#### B. Conclusions

1. Although the Party is emphasizing the claim that it formulates its policies independently, no significant change in the Party line on any current issue of international significance is anticipated in the immediate future. This means that the Party can be expected to continue to stress such issues as peaceful coexistence, disarmament, ending the testing of nuclear weapons, and exchanging delegations between the United States and the communist-dominated nations.

2. On January 10, 1958, John Gates resigned from the Communist Party, USA, and as editor of the Daily Worker, which discontinued publication on January 13, 1958. Since Gates was more outspokenly critical of the Soviet Union than the Party's remaining national leaders and since the Party's other principal publications are edited by ardent supporters of the Soviet Union, even less criticism of the Soviet Union is anticipated in the future.
3. The social and political gains achieved by the Negroes in the past several years have been attained without any significant contribution by the Communist Party, USA. Nevertheless, propaganda designed to exploit the grievances of this minority group is expected to predominate in the Party line on national affairs, as it has in the recent past.
4. In an effort to capitalize on the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on civil-liberties issues, the Party can be expected to redouble its efforts to gain widespread acceptance as a legitimate political party. It is, therefore, expected that even greater emphasis will be placed on efforts to secure the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and on the claim that the Party advocates a peaceful and American road to socialism.
5. In its efforts to regain its former influence, the Party plans to concentrate on united action with noncommunist organizations in support of popular social and economic issues. For this reason, it is anticipated that the Party will de-emphasize the fundamental differences between its over-all program and the programs of noncommunist organizations with which it hopes to join forces.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policy of the United States is "bankrupt" and must be reversed.
2. The only alternative to peaceful coexistence is "no existence."
3. The United States should agree to an immediate ban on the further testing of nuclear weapons.
4. Disarmament is the only solution to the present "atomic stalemate."
5. The recent meeting of the NATO nations in Paris was a serious "diplomatic and political" defeat for the United States.
6. Another Geneva Conference is necessary to resolve the major international tensions.
7. The solution of the crisis precipitated by the United States in the Middle East will require the co-operation of the United States and the Soviet Union.
8. A policy of neutrality is the only basis for the reunification of Germany.
9. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to communist China and should discontinue opposing the admission of that nation to the United Nations.
10. The report of the United Nations on Hungary is "a crafty blow at peace," designed to promote anti-Soviet sentiments.
11. While the methods by which the Soviet purges were carried out "raise some questions," the removal of the ousted Soviet leaders is an indication of the peaceful aims of the Soviet Union.
12. The Bolshevik Revolution gave rise to "a new social order."
13. Only socialism can ensure world peace.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"SPUTNIK'S consequences are many, but not the least is that it has begun to dislodge many encrusted prejudices from American minds.

"One of these is the vicious 'positions-of-strength' theory so dear to State Secretary John Foster Dulles and those men of the trusts he represents."

...  
"...the Administration essentially is standing pat on its same bankrupt 'positions-of-strength' policies...."

...  
"What is involved is the stubborn maintenance of a false, dangerous, anti-national, pro-imperialist series of policies. The essence of these policies is the attempt of our State Department to dictate to the world from alleged positions of strength...."

"...What is needed is a fundamental re-appraisal of our foreign policy."

"Essential to a new policy is to go back to some fundamentals developed during the best period of American-Soviet relations, the Roosevelt period. The White House might well re-learn what Wendell Willkie told us in 1943:

" 'We must work with Russia after the war. At least it seems to me there can be no continued peace unless we learn to do so.' "

"To 'work with Russia' means to work with it as equals and to reject the arrogant 'position-of-strength' policy. It means that we must have as settled underlying principles peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition, remembering at all times that today 'war is unthinkable.' "

"Given these fundamental propositions, all else can be negotiated--disarmament, trade, cultural exchange.

"But this will not come of itself. The American people will have to fight for such a policy and, yes, impose such a policy against the bitter resistance of the men in the hushed board rooms of Wall Street and Washington."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 11, 1957, p. 5.

"...From 'containment' to 'liberation' to to sputnik hysteria; from the Truman Doctrine to the Eisenhower Doctrine to the doctrine of bomb-and-missile madness--the American people have been led on a course that squanders our political and moral capital, undermines our national security and drives us toward the brink of nuclear war."

The Worker,  
November 24, 1957, p. 2.

"...our foreign policy, as personified by John Foster Dulles, is a political failure, a financial rat-hole and a danger to the future of mankind, and needs to be reversed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 28, 1957, p. 2.

## 2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"...the alternative now facing the US. is 'peaceful coexistence--or no existence.' "

"...ever larger numbers of democratic Americans, especially working people, agree that it is high time to find the ways and means for East

and West to negotiate, to co-exist as Good Neighbors, and to engage in peaceful and constructive competition."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, pp. 4, 8.

"SPUTNIK marks a crossroads for our country and all mankind: either intensified cold war and the mounting menace of A- and H-bomb catastrophes or international control of the monsters of destruction, negotiation of differences, peaceful competition and co-existence between the capitalist and socialist systems.

"The American labor movement can play a decisive role in determining our country's course. Union men and women should refuse to be trapped into supporting the enemies of labor in their drive for cold-war measures that would undoubtedly include new shackles for workers. Peaceful competition with Russia can mean expanded trade and new jobs to take the place of defense cutbacks.

"Dawn or doom--which shall it be?"

The Worker,  
October 20, 1957, p. 9.

"...Peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition must become the explicit, settled bases of our policy. Cooperation and cultural exchange with the gifted Soviet people; not hostility and suspicion, must become the order of the day. In cooperation with all the peoples of the world our great American people can advance to the stars."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 7, 1957, p. 5.

"The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party will do all in its power, and calls upon the members of the Party, to support the

many efforts of the American people to promote negotiation and agreement between East and West on all issues affecting world peace. It is our firm conviction that such an agreement is realizable. We Americans can play a major part in its attainment by concertedly striving to have our Government pursue a course of peaceful co-existence and peaceful economic competition."

Daily Worker,  
September 20, 1957, p. 7.

### 3. Nuclear Weapons

"Thus far our government has steadfastly rejected all proposals, whether from the USSR, India, or elsewhere, to conclude an international treaty pledging the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons.

"Washington hedges and procrastinates while reorganizing the military forces of the U.S. on the basis of nuclear weapons and strategy. And it counters proposals for such renunciation with irrelevant and delaying propositions for complicated and fantastic inspection and control systems, and with other impossible conditions..."

"But right now, and for the immediate period ahead, it is imperative that mass attention and activity be centered on the pressing issue of banning all nuclear tests--and without any strings attached. \*

"This burning issue has captured the imagination and heart of the great majority of the American people. It is a limited, yet a most urgent objective in itself. \*

"And the struggle to realize this demand can appreciably advance the over-all movement for ending the atomic arms race, for promoting universal disarmament and peaceful co-existence...."

Eugene Dennis, "H-Bomb Testing and Our National Interest," Political Affairs, September, 1957, pp. 10, 13.

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"We believe the ban on tests must be free of political conditions. Nor can it wait upon the essential and eventual solution of the many problems in relation to prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of all nuclear weapons. To be effective, the halting of the H-bomb tests must be immediate and without any conditions other than those needed to enforce it."

Daily Worker,  
July 1, 1957, p. 4.

"Most of humanity knows by now that we and the Russians have enough nuclear strength to destroy each other should the cataclysm of war come. What most cannot understand is why the tests must continue, bringing no relative superiority to either side at this point, but certainly bringing slow death to thousands living today, and genetic horrors to unborn generations."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, p. 1.

"...agreement to stop the H-bomb tests is self-enforcing because an explosion can be detected anywhere immediately. The Soviet government has accepted the proposal to stop all nuclear test explosions.

"The challenge is before our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

#### 4. Disarmament

"...the whole meaning of Sputnik and the ICBM and the H-bomb is that THE ARMS RACE IS OBSOLETE, just as war is obsolete. We could spend ten times more for weapons than we are spending now and it would not give us one dime's worth of added national security.

"What President Eisenhower recognized at Geneva is still true-- the era of atomic stalemate is here. The piling up of new missiles, new



rockets etc. will not change the situation. The stalemate can only be broken by a world peace settlement."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 17, 1957, p. 5.

"Admittedly, agreement on reduction of armaments, presents many difficult problems, The roadblocks and political conditions injected into the disarmament discussions by Dulles, Strauss and Knowland make agreement impossible. But it has been generally recognized in the U.S. as well as abroad, that the immediate unconditional banning of nuclear weapon tests would create more favorable conditions for negotiations and agreement in this crucial field, and pave the way for a peaceful solution of all other issues.

"Instead of heeding the will of the American people, our State Department follows the dictates of the monopolies, which make fantastic profits out of the armaments race. The national interests of the U.S. and the welfare of the American people require a ban on nuclear weapon tests and the use of the A- and H-bomb, a genuine program of universal arms reduction, the easing of the burden of taxation, and the ending of the armaments race."

Daily Worker,  
September 20, 1957, p. 3.

"It is true suspension of tests is not the final answer to disarmament. It is only the beginning. From where we sit, the American and Soviet proposals on these longer range questions do not seem so far apart as to bar agreement-- particularly if our State Department doesn't continue its old habit of backing away from its own proposals whenever the American and Soviet positions come closer. Several American commentators have pointed out that the State Department seems to be more concerned with winning a propaganda battle while actually having the arms race continue."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 2, 1957, p. 5.

"This way lies madness, war profits and world destruction. It is time for a reappraisal--but of false theories.. It is time for a new start-- not to galvanize the arms race into a new pitch of frenzy but to reach definite, simple and mutually safe agreements to stop the nuclear tests and begin to disarm."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 9, 1957, p. 5.

"Now, more than ever before, we Communists favor a crash program for universal disarmament--not a crash program for ballistic missiles and atomic destruction."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

#### 5. NATO Meeting

"AT THE NATO heads-of-government conference U.S. policy suffered what is probably the greatest diplomatic and political defeat it has had at any international gathering in the present century.

"By the same token the American people and the peoples of all other countries won a significant, even if partial and limited victory.

"It was largely at the insistence of the Eisenhower Administration that a routine meeting of the NATO council was inflated into a glittering heads-of-government conference. The purpose was threefold:

"To counter the decline in U.S. prestige and influence and the evidences of sharp discord in the NATO war alliance by a massive show of political unity and strength.

"To persuade reluctant allies to permit the establishment on their territories of U.S. intermediate-range missile bases and nuclear

stockpiles as 'deterrents' to 'aggression' by the Soviet Union which admittedly is far ahead in the missile race.

"To block all negotiations with the Soviet Union for easing international tensions and the peaceful settlement of differences.

"ON ALL three counts, despite the face-saving verbiage of the official communique, Eisenhower and Dulles failed...."

. . . . .

"THE most important defeat suffered by the Dulles foreign policy was on negotiations with the Soviet Union...."

. . . . .

"...press comments reveal the depths of the humiliation suffered by that aggressive, militaristic 'positions-of-strength' policy whose chief architect is the Wall Street lawyer who happens to be our Secretary of State."

. . . . .

"It is now generally agreed that the decisive factor in compelling the NATO conference to adopt a more affirmative approach toward East-West talks was Bulganin's letters to President Eisenhower and the heads of other NATO countries in which he proposed top-level negotiations, a ban on A- and H-bomb tests as of Jan. 1, 1958, a zone free of nuclear weapons covering West and East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia and other positive measures.

"NO LESS DECISIVE than the Bulganin letter was the strength of the opposition inside and outside of parliaments to the sterile, dangerous policy of emphasizing missiles and bombs and refusing to negotiate with the Russians.

"What the conference finally agreed to, after tipping its hat to the western powers' disarmament program that prevented even minimal agreement with the Soviet Union and to renewing talks within the United Nations, was this: 'We would welcome a meeting at the foreign ministers' level to resolve the deadlock.'"

"This undoubtedly is an important though modest step forward...."

. . . . .

"Of course it's certain that Dulles has not become a convert to genuine negotiations as a result of the NATO decision. Clearly the extent to which this decision will be implemented in bona fide give-and-take talks with the Russians will depend on the activity and alertness of the American people and the peoples of the other NATO countries.

"The fact that many Americans, including prominent public figures, are now speaking up for alternatives to the discredited, anti-American Dulles foreign policy which has brought such humiliation upon our country is a good omen. But much more pressure is needed to get the Administration as well as Senators and Congressmen to act. Whether or not Dulles himself goes, the Dulles policy must go."

The Worker,  
December 22, 1957, pp. 1, 11.

#### 6. New Geneva Conference

"With tension mounting in the Mid-East, the 6th Fleet patrolling the Eastern Mediterranean, and world-wide apprehension of Secretary of State Dulles' brink-of-war policies, a new Geneva conference is on the order of the day.

"Far from talking tough, the Soviet Union is again proposing negotiations to settle outstanding questions. We repeat: it is proposing negotiations and not handing down ultimatums.

"In this situation what do we get? We get a continuation of the wark-like, bankrupt Eisenhower Doctrine by that Machiavelli of brinkmanship, John Foster Dulles. We get from the Democratic Advisory Committee a demand for the senseless spending of new billions in a futile and disastrous stepping up of an already hysterical arms race."

. . . . .

"War, it cannot be repeated too often, is unthinkable in the age of the intercontinental missile and H-bomb. Peaceful negotiations and settlement is the demand of the millions. A new Geneva is needed--soon."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 21, 1957, p. 5.

"The cold war is the source of our insecurity and the arms burden. A Big Four parley to end the cold war, to bring about a Middle East settlement, to furnish economic aid through the UN, and to end the arms race would be a true defense of American national interests."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 25, 1957, p. 4.

#### 7. Middle East

"Having armed Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Iraq under the Baghdad Pact, the State Department is now arming Jordan. The aim appears to be to enable these governments to crush the national liberation movements within their own countries and to bring pressure, leading even to armed attack, against Syria and Egypt because of their independent, neutralist policy. Turkey, traditional foes of the Arab lands, is also being incited against Syria.

"This arming of the most reactionary, feudal elements in the Middle East is also a serious threat to the peace and very existence of Israel, a fact which has been noted in that land with increasing anxiety.

"The arming of several Mideast governments under the Baghdad Pact and the recent Eisenhower Doctrine has inevitably resulted in other governments buying arms wherever they could, such as from the Soviet Union, in self-defense."

Daily Worker,  
September 20, 1957, p. 3.

"This points up the biggest road-block of all to Arab-Israel negotiations: the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of seeking to manipulate both Israel and the Arab countries for a two-fold objective: tightening the grip of the U.S. oil trusts and using the Middle East as a gigantic military and cold-war base against the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker,  
November 21, 1957, p. 1.

"Last February the Soviet Union addressed a Note to the Western Powers for peace in the Middle East. It proposed a Four-Power Declaration for non-intervention, no military pacts or bases, withdrawal of troops, and no supply of arms.

"In June, the western powers replied with a rejection. They rejected non-intervention in the Middle East. They had other plans. They were busy building the Bagdad Pact and drawing vassals into the net of the Eisenhower Doctrine. War on Egypt. War on Yemen. A military coup to destroy democracy in Jordan. War on Oman. And now the offensive on Syria.

"Why do the western powers reject non-intervention in the Middle East?

"Oil? All the oil would be forthcoming in abundance from a free Middle East. But the Western monopolists want their profit from the domination of the oil resources. They want to hold the Middle Eastern peoples subject and exploited. Therefore they hate--and seek to destroy--Arab liberation."

. . . . .

"...The Soviet Union has no bases, no occupying troops and no military bases in the region. The Western Powers have filled it with their military, naval and air bases, their occupying forces, their military treaties and subsidized regimes. And then they have the nerve to say they are 'protecting' the people against 'Russian penetration!'"

Daily Worker,  
August 27, 1957, p. 2.

"An arms embargo would mark a long step toward sanity in our foreign policy. It would make a start toward replacing the shipment of weapons with the shipment of the peacetime goods that the impoverished Middle Eastern peoples urgently need and that would keep American workers employed."

. . . . .

"...a new summit meeting that can really resolve problems in the Middle East is what America and the world need."

The Worker,  
October 27, 1957, p. 10.

"But again it is necessary to bear in mind that all four of the big powers--the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France are directly involved in Middle East affairs...."

. . . . .

"And surely it is plain common sense--that the authority and influence necessary to bring Arabs and Israelis together can come only from action of all the big powers, especially our country and the Soviet Union."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 11, 1957, p. 5.

## 8. Germany

"German arms have always been an issue affecting all people, no matter how many miles of ocean separated them from Germany. Two world wars bear tragic testimony to that fact. And now that a new Wehrmacht has been formed with members of Hitler's former general staff in command in West Germany, Americans obviously have a vital stake in this issue."

. . . . .

"A divided Germany is a constant source of trouble, and only a militarily neutral Germany makes unification possible. This is desired by the Germans and would benefit all who want an end to this divisive issue.

"John Foster Dulles has far exceeded his authority in putting the weight of State Department influence behind Adenauer and German militarism. Above all, Dulles has thereby jeopardized American national interests and world peace, in view of the record of two world wars.

"Similarly in London, Dulles has harmed the prospects of disarmament by tying that issue to German unification. Let it quickly be noted that when Dulles speaks of 'unification' he has in mind one Germany, with one Wehrmacht, within NATO...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 19, 1957, p. 5.

"What the German people want and what is in the best interest of the American people is a neutralized, reunited Germany. But this is exactly what the State Department, along with Chancellor Adenauer opposes....

"The State Department evidently is trying to tie disarmament with German unification because it wants to see neither. The fact is these are two separate questions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 1, 1957, p. 5.

## 9. Communist China

"DEAN ACHESON'S proposal for 'a completely new study' of U.S. policy towards China is a welcome contrast to the bankrupt policy of the Administration.

"Administration policy was evidenced against\* last week when, largely because of State Department machinations, the United Nations again voted to bar discussion of seating the People's Republic of China."

\*This probably should read "again last week."



"...Fundamentally, of course, it is foolish to ignore the existence of 600,000,000 people and their government. It is not in the interest either of peace or the lessening of tension or of trade and the national prosperity to cut off so many people from relations with ourselves and from participation in such international forums as UN."

"Unquestionably the true national interest requires a speedy break with the old policies. Diplomatic recognition and admission of People's China into the UN are on the order of the day. Reciprocal press coverage, cultural exchange and trade are also indicated.

"All true friends of peace in our land--and American labor in the first place--should make their voices heard. Thus our people can move from useful study to useful action for peace and progress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 30, 1957, p. 5.

"World peace, economic welfare, the interests of a free press, and plain common sense and logic--all require China recognition. As the British Commonwealth nations pointed out at their recent conference disarmament agreements have to include China. Everything involving world affairs and particularly peaceful coexistence require recognition of China and its 600 million people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 5, 1957, p. 5.

#### 10. United Nations Report on Hungary

"IN A PERIOD when millions at home and throughout the world view hopefully the current disarmament talks and when popular opinion is actively seeking an end to A-bomb tests, the publication of the UN report on Hungary can only be regarded as a crafty blow at peace.

"Its clear purpose is to keep alive--and inflame--the Hungarian question in order to disrupt the growing mood for peaceful settlement of international differences. Above all, it seeks to fan the embers of anti-Soviet hatred.

"It is in this sense that one can speak of the special UN committee's report as accomplishing the chief purpose of its principal sponsor, the State Department."

"The special UN committee was set up in the midst of a vitriolic anti-Soviet campaign in the UN, sparked by the U.S. delegation. It was supported by Britain and France in a vindictive spirit of retribution against the Soviet Union for its decisive role in halting the invasion of Egypt. It is clear that the sponsorship and the policy out of which the UN committee was born committed it from the outset to outright condemnation of the Soviet Union and all efforts by the Hungarian government to restore socialist order.

"In view of this, the report could be nothing else than a self-serving--and State Department-serving--document. Despite all appearances of impartiality and the search for objective 'facts,' the truth is that only those facts are presented as authentic which bear out the pre-conceived State Department thesis. Whatever the facts on the popular discontent underlying the tragic Hungarian events and the use of Soviet troops, they are not brought out in the UN report.

"For the committee refused to authenticate the mass of evidence, beginning with State Department and Central Intelligence Agency policy, which showed the belligerent exploitation of popular dissatisfaction by organized Horthyite, clerical-fascist forces within Hungary and imperialist and emigre circles abroad for the purpose of overthrowing socialism. To admit such evidence--not to speak of other aspects ignored by the committee--would challenge the central thesis of the bellicose Dulles policy of 'liberating' Eastern Europe."

"...Imperialists and their representatives do not seek to correct the mistakes, weaknesses and troubles of socialism. On the contrary, their aim is to sharpen all differences in the socialist world and exploit all its difficulties wherever they may arise in order to divide, weaken and disrupt the unity of the socialist camp. And that is the central purpose of the UN report.

"The mischief being planned here is an enormous crime against the national welfare of America and the peace of the world. Those who work for peace, no matter how widely they may differ on interpretation of last Fall's tragic Hungarian events, should not permit the Hungarian question to disrupt them and side track the present turn towards a resumption of the Geneva course. This course is clear. It leads towards banning of A-tests and A-bombs, mutually-agreed upon disarmament, dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of troops from foreign soil.

"This latest maneuver, backed vociferously by the Knowlands, Radfords and Dulles, can only be regarded as a threat to world peace--and exposed exactly for that."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 25, 1957, p. 5.

#### 11. Soviet Purges

"The latest developments in the CPSU, in which Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov were removed from leading Party and Soviet posts, indicate that the unfolding of the historic decisions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU, which has already achieved great results in all spheres, foreign and domestic, will now proceed at an even more rapid tempo. As a consequence, the struggle for the rectification of past mistakes and for reinforcing the unity and progress of all the socialist countries will go forward apace. And with this, the fight for peaceful co-existence will be advanced."

Eugene Dennis, "H-Bomb Testing and Our National Interest," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 3.

"Removal of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov as Soviet Minister of Defense has started a torrent of speculation in the press, most of which boils down to the enlightening statement that 'we don't know.' "

"Whether Zhukov now moves up, down or sideways, one thing is evident--the Soviet Union is not moving toward a military dictatorship. If there was, in fact, any danger of this, removal of Zhukov means an end to that danger. "

Daily Worker,  
October 29, 1957, p. 1.

"However, as in the case of the ouster of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov last July, the methods employed, including the sudden criticism of Zhukov's war record, raise some questions....

"Wide public discussion in the Communist Party and among the people of the differences with Marshal Zhukov might have obviated the need for drastic action or at least made it the culmination of a popular demand.... it seems to us that in the long run the Soviet regime would be strengthened rather than weakened by such public discussion.

"But these criticisms are decidedly secondary. The big fact that emerges from the Zhukov episode is that the Soviet Union has averted an internal danger that could have weakened and even reversed its efforts for peaceful coexistence and the attainment of that world of peaceful pursuit of human happiness which Sputnik I and II symbolize. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 5, 1957, p. 2.

12. Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

"Within a short historical period of four decades, despite armed foreign intervention and the ravages of two wars, the Soviet people have advanced from a state of extreme backwardness and abject poverty to become a mightily industrial power equipped with the most modern science and technology. With the achievement of a socialist economy, they have done away with the scourge of unemployment and crisis, and have created the conditions for assuring an unbroken advance in their welfare and happiness.

"The epochal October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new social order which today embraces one-third of the earth's people, including the great People's Republic of China. To working people everywhere, and to the colonial and oppressed peoples seeking their freedom, the Soviet Union has been a bulwark and a tower of strength. And not least of all, the Soviet Union has been a force of inestimable importance in humanity's quest for world peace."

. . . . .

"On this glorious occasion of the 40th anniversary of the USSR, we extend to you our most comradely and heartfelt wishes for a happy birthday and for continued successes in the march of your country toward Communism. We profoundly regret that because of the McCarthyite policy which prohibits the travel of many Americans abroad on political grounds, we are unable to accept your fraternal invitation to attend this momentous celebration.

"On this occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, may the friendship between our peoples grow. May our two great countries go forward in peaceful coexistence and in friendly competition as to which can contribute most to the well-being of mankind. May the bonds of solidarity of the working people of all countries, and of their Communist and Workers' parties, be strengthened in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1957, p. 3.

"Had nothing gone wrong, the Soviet accomplishments would undoubtedly be even far ahead of what they are today. The mistakes, errors and even crimes which occurred over the years have been detailed with unprecedented frankness by the Soviet leaders themselves, and were committed in the course of building and defending socialism in a situation of encirclement by hostile powers.

"The important thing is that today there is a process of correction under way. This process should be greeted not only by all socialists but by all who are genuinely concerned with peace and democracy and the raising of people's living standards everywhere.

"There are those of us who may wish that the pace of democratizing in the Soviet Union were swifter--especially with regard to a greater participation of the people in direct determination of major policy and selection of leaders. Socialism, to be complete, requires the fullest expansion of democracy--just as democracy, to reach its fullest expansion, requires socialism."

. . . . .  
"We extend a hand of fraternal greetings and congratulations on this day to the 200, 000, 000 people of the Soviet Union and wish them well in their building of socialism and in their desire, which the American people share, for a world at peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 7, 1957, p. 2.

### 13. Socialism Will Ensure Peace

"...International peace is a keystone feature of world Socialism, but the achievement of this basic Socialist objective has already become a very urgent world matter of today, actively striven for by the democratic masses in all countries, despite their differences in ideology. The central slogan of this world-wide anti-war movement is the peaceful

co-existence of all countries, irrespective of the character of their internal regimes. With an unparalleled mobilization of peace forces during the cold war, the peoples of the world--with the USSR, People's China, and the European People's Democracies in the lead--successfully blocked the dangerous atomic drive of American capitalism for world conquest and domination. This great accomplishment was registered in fact at the famous Big Four 'summit' conference at Geneva in 1955. While the grave war danger that had been hanging over the world for several years was thus eased, the still precarious character of today's peace is emphasized by this country's threatening diplomacy and by the building of additional American atomic war bases in various countries of Europe and the Middle East. Only Socialism can finally ensure world peace."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis  
of Socialism and Democratic  
Movements Under Capitalism,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 36.

"Above all, socialism when universal--and socialism in America would just about mean that--will render war obsolete. Wars are fought for something not just out of 'combative instincts.' It is the drive for greater expansion of capital and profit, for exploitation of foreign peoples and markets that has been the basic cause of war in this century. These causes will disappear under socialism."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, p. 10.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity is based on expenditures for armaments and on foreign investments through which workers in other nations are exploited.
2. The "do-nothing" policy of the Republican Administration is encouraging inflation.
3. Our economy is now in one of its "periodic downturns."
4. The economic policies of the Republican Administration are leading to further unemployment.
5. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
6. An expanded program of social welfare is needed to retard the developing economic crisis.
7. Sentiment is increasing for the need to form an antimonopoly coalition led by the labor movement.
8. Marxism-Leninism is gaining increasing recognition as the "theoretical guide" of the workers of the world.
9. The class struggle is continuing in the United States.
10. Socialism can be achieved in the United States by peaceful means.
11. The United States will achieve socialism in accordance with its own "history and tradition, circumstances and institutions."
12. The Communist Party, USA, is working to achieve unity with other socialist organizations.
13. The Communist Party, USA, must be revitalized so that it can provide the leadership for the struggles of the American working class.



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Prosperity

"... The 'good times' of job plenty won't last forever....

"These 'good times' are based on the arms boom and the exploitation of oppressed workers overseas, who furnish sugar, oil, rubber, strategic metals and many other things to the empire homeland. And many of the empire's victims are rebelling already.

"Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. We are in that stage today. And when we fight against monopoly we must keep the future in view.

"That future is socialism. We can not go back to the system of cutthroat competition that preceded monopoly. We must go forward to what Joe Hill called the 'Commonwealth of Labor,' when the machinery of production will be owned by the people, and run for the people."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1957, p. 10.

"THE FUTURE length of the boom is intimately involved with developments in international affairs, notably the disarmament conference in London. Success there will not precipitate a slump, owing to slackened arms production. That can and may well be far more than compensated by the opening up of East-West trade, and by the rapid growth of the still-stagnant peaceful atomic energy industry in the United States. The possibilities were dramatically shown by the coming out of leading Democratic Senators for a new look at China trade barriers.

"Success in London, combined with a break through on East-West trade, can add several years to the boom. But victory is far from

assured on either of these fronts, owing to the determined opposition of powerful monopolists connected with the arms business and the most predatory foreign investments. "

The Worker,  
June 23, 1957, p. 14.

2. Inflation

"Inflation is the dominant topic in the home today. Since March, 1956, the dollar lost about five cents of its purchasing value. The cost of living dollar, NOT counting taxes, is now about 48 cents of the pre-World War I dollar in terms of the things and services you buy. But we have not yet felt the full impact of recent developments on purchasing value. We are only beginning to feel the influence of the Eisenhower Administration's 'tight-money' policy."

Daily Worker,  
August 30, 1957, p. 5.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in his press conference last Thursday, continued with his stock answer to questions on the now alarming inflation danger--that the alternative to 'voluntary restraints' is government controls over prices and wages. This, he said, would be 'the beginning of the end' or, we presume, the start of the 'socialism' with which he threatened us at the previous press conference when asked the same question.

"The President's policy, in short, is a do-nothing policy. That was substantially the policy of his Republican predecessor, Herbert Hoover, who also waited for the 'natural laws' of capitalist economics to work themselves out. And they certainly did."

"The people the administration represents may like things to continue just as they are--and for obvious reasons. But that isn't the position.

of the workers and the small-incomed people in general, who require a true economic security program--a program that is incorporated in the many measures now collecting dust in Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 8, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Economic Outlook

"The picture we now get is a decline in major production fields, increase in the unemployment level, a fall in capital goods investment and expansion, fall in construction, an 'overcapacity' in the key basic industries, but in contrast with past experiences in such situations, the continued inflationary trend and a greater difficulty to obtain loans for investment or production."

The Worker,  
September 1, 1957, p. 2.

"The facts appear to indicate that our capitalist economy is exhibiting its classic cyclical tendency, and is now on the downbeat.

"This does not mean we're predicting an economic crisis around the corner. Powerful U.S. capital still has reserves at its disposal, and has learned how to cushion shocks to the economy. We do say the trend now is downward."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"But the one element that stands out most emphatically as the current downturn unfolds is that notwithstanding the 'built-ins' and the other influences, the basic laws that produce periodic downturns in the capitalist economy remain in force. They cannot be ended within the framework of an economy for profit."

The Worker,  
December 1, 1957, p. 4.

"With public ownership of the means of production and planned economy, it is clear that the system would be free from the basic contradictions of capitalism, the discrepancy between the continually increasing capacity to produce and the limitation of the market."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, p. 10.

#### 4. Unemployment

"Hundreds of thousands of workers are feeling the disastrous, tragic effects in joblessness and short hours. Where millions of those laboring in industry used to depend on overtime to make it possible to live decently, today the average industrial work week has actually dropped to below 40 hours. And this is not because labor is generally winning a normal shorter work week.

"Insecurity is once again gripping the workers of the land."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"THE LONG ISLAND aircraft-producing area is now getting the same treatment the southern California aircraft plants received some weeks earlier. Thousands have been laid off. Thousands more are due for layoff, government procurement officials say. Hundreds of thousands suffered elimination of overtime pay they had been earning steadily for years."

"...This only shows that those who build their future welfare on the basis of military work aren't building a secure future.

"The layoffs in military work coincide with the far heavier unemployment in the economy generally, with auto workers among the worst sufferers. It is now conceded even by the apologists for the corporations that we are sliding into a decline. The AFL-CIO executive council has rightly warned of this decline and that the Eisenhower administration's economic policies are speeding us towards it..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 15, 1957, p. 5.

5. Taxes

"...taxes paid by workers and other low-income groups are a fantastic distortion of principles of taxation, especially the income tax. It is high time we went back to at least the pre-war exemption of \$2, 500 per couple, while continuing the present exemption of \$600 per additional dependent. Even this, at current dollar value, soaks the worker to a far greater degree than pre-war taxes. Such a tax cut calls for a sharply reduced budget."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"Now, it seems, the Republicans have their eye on next year's Congressional elections. And the Democrats are also preparing to make taxes the issue. But what do they mean by a 'tax cut?' We have had a couple of tax cuts since Eisenhower took office. But they were cuts favoring only the corporations and upper income groups. The workers are still paying the same rate levied in the days before the dollar dropped 20 to 25 percent in purchasing power.

"We know of course the often stated guide-view of the Eisenhower administration: that aid to business eventually 'trickles down' to the little people. Is that what Mr. Eisenhower has in mind?

"It would seem that labor and its friends among the people ought to get into this situation with vigor and both feet NOW to bring out the sentiment for the kind of tax cut the people really want and need. And if, as even the President admits, a tax cut would 'loosen up' the economy, there is clearly a sense of urgency on the issue...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 5, 1957, p. 5.

6. Social Welfare Program

"PERSISTENT REPORTS from Washington indicate that all economic and social welfare bills before Congress favored by labor and its allies are stalled.

"... These bills include minimum wage expansion, aid for chronically depressed areas, changes in the Taft-Hartley Law, school aid and expansion of public housing construction."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 10, 1957, p. 5.

"We have learned long ago that the politicians, whether of the Republican or Democratic Party, will move only when they are forced to by the pressure of the mass of Americans. It is time for the labor movement, for its allies among the small businessmen, the farmers, the Negro people, to unite to demand that the Administration get off its back and begin to move to counter the developing crisis.

"ELEMENTS of a program for this have been projected by the labor movement, the Communist Party and others. They include such steps as:

"Large-scale building of the things our people need desperately-- more schools, public housing, hospitals, recreation areas, other necessary public works.

"Sharp tax reduction for low-income groups through substantial increase of exemptions to bring them more into line with what it actually costs to live.

"Support for labor's demands upon states for increased jobless pay, backing for its struggle to win a 'guaranteed annual wage,' and a shorter work week without reduction in pay.

"A vigorous push to compel the next session of Congress to increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 and to expand coverage.

"We do not claim these things will prevent an economic crisis. We do know they can tend to slow its development and its shock upon the workingclass."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"We favor a welfare, not a warfare, budget. We favor a government program of economic security--not of monopoly profiteering...."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

7. Antimonopoly Coalition

"A FURTHER CONFIRMATION of the amazing pace in the concentration of America's wealth into fewer hands since the end of the war came in a report of Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney's anti-monopoly committee, announced Wednesday. One indication of the content of the study is the disclosure that the 50 largest manufacturing firms accounted in 1954 for 23 percent of the total national value added by manufacturing, compared to 17 percent in 1947. In just seven years they show a 41 percent increase in their share of the value added to manufacturing. And it is well known that since 1954 the process of concentration of capital has been developing at an even speedier pace."

"The congressional concern for the growing power of monopolies is largely the result of pressure from the millions of people of small, middle and even some larger businesses that are at the mercy of the oligarchys and of the farm and labor organizations. What we are witnessing is a growing protest movement that eventually will shape into an aggressive anti-monopoly coalition in America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 12, 1957, p. 5.

"...there is need for a people's antimonopoly movement, led by labor, to combat monopolistic tyranny in many fields."

"The long-range problem of big business monopoly awaits solution through public ownership under a socialist government."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 9, 1957, p. 4.

8. Validity of Marxism-Leninism

"The greatest of all the individual achievements of the forces of Socialism, however, has been to bring Marxism, enriched during the past half century with Leninism, ever more to the front as the theoretical guide of the world's working class and its political allies. Marxism-Leninism is the end-product of the decades-long ideological conflicts among Anarchists, Syndicalists, Revisionists, pure and simple trade unionists, and other labor currents. Marxism-Leninism has proved over and over again in the daily class struggle, and in the fire of successful revolution, that it points the way, both to the most successful struggle for the workers' interests under capitalism and to the abolition of capitalism and the building of Socialism. It has already become the most dominant world labor theory and program of action, and its prestige and influence are irresistibly on the increase. At the present time--freeing itself from Stalinist bureaucratic and doctrinaire excesses, largely the products of many years of super-disciplined revolutionary struggle, and also curing itself from a recent infection of Right-revisionism, produced primarily by the post-war effects of the capitalist 'boom,' particularly that of American imperialism--Marxism-Leninism, flexible and adaptable, is now taking one of the greatest leaps forward in its progressive history. But this, too, like so many others of Labor's major advances, is not being accomplished without much difficulty and travail."

William Z. Foster; "Joll's History of the Second International," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 51.

"There is no body of scientific thought in the world so alien to outmoded concepts, so dynamic and creative as is Marxism-Leninism and to depart from it under the name of need for change and adaptation to new conditions is a theoretical absurdity of the first order...."

Bob Thompson, "On the Communist Party: Some Problems and Perspectives," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 18.



9. The Class Struggle

"EVEN MARXISM is being re-examined by American Marxists. There's nothing wrong about this. I believe Lenin did the same in his epoch. Every compass needs re-adjusting now and then. But the Marxian compass has shown the main course of history for the past hundred years. I don't agree with those who seem to want to throw out this true and irreplaceable compass.

"They start their error by ignoring the fundamental fact that capitalist society is divided into economic classes, whose interests are contradictory. Out of the struggle of the classes, socialism will be born. It is the only solution for the class struggle.

"To revise Marxism to fit today's problems is necessary. To deny the struggle of the classes is to deny socialism and Marxism. Lovestone, Browder and others did just that. It is a peculiarly American disease, that comes with every boom, as pneumonia comes with winter weather."

The Worker,  
October 13, 1957, p. 7.

10. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"...the world capitalist system is not being transformed by the democratic movements into a progressive 'welfare state' or evolved into Socialism. The capitalist state remains an oppressive organ, the basic purpose of which is to further the exploitation of the working class and other toiling masses. And the sole path to Socialism is the abolition of the capitalist system, through organized struggle against the capitalist system, including its state. Socialism is impossible without the revolutionary transformation of society.

"Due to the vast and ever-increasing strength of the anti-capitalist forces, both relatively and absolutely, it has now become possible to accomplish this revolutionary transformation along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines. But as Mikoyan said at the XXth Congress of the

C.P.S.U., 'the question of the possibility of the peaceful revolution in certain countries should not be confused with reformism. It should be remembered that revolution--peaceful or not peaceful--will always be revolution,\*while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking of time.' The road to Socialism is a road of struggle and it cannot be traversed without a strong Marxist-Leninist Party to give leadership to the vast movement of the masses, whose basic trend is inevitably in the direction of Socialism."

"In this general situation two basic Marxist-Leninist policies of the present period are playing an enormous role. The first is the struggle of the peoples for the peaceful coexistence of all nations, regardless of their internal regimes--a policy which tends to unite the vast bulk of the world's peace-loving masses in growing struggle against the imperialist warmakers for the maintenance of world peace. And the second policy is the prospective establishment of Socialism in many countries along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines--a policy which offers the broadest base for co-operation among all democratic and anti-capitalist forces in their common struggle against the common enemy, monopoly capital, eventually to the point of abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism. It is along this revolutionary path--not out of a progressively evolving capitalist system--that Socialism is coming to the world."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, pp. 43-44-45.

#### 11. American Road to Socialism

"...American Marxists express their opinions on the matter but it is not our province to settle the problems of other socialist countries. Our chief concern is our own country. One thing we have learned is that each country will reach socialism in its own way and that the way of one should not and cannot be imposed on another. This is because each country is different, with its own history and tradition, circumstances and institutions. Socialism

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

in the United States will therefore come differently and be different in many respects from other countries. This will be so not because we are better than anybody else but because our circumstances are different and because we will learn from the successes and mistakes of others. We are not Titoists, Gomulkaists, Maoists or Khrushchevists. We are American Communists who think for ourselves, stand on our own feet and make our own decisions based on the interests of the American working class, nation and humanity."

Daily Worker,  
July 24, 1957, pp. 4-5.

## 12. Relations with Other Socialist Groups

"ALL SOCIALIST-MINDED people, we believe, will welcome the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education. This forum, under the chairmanship of the Rev. A. J. Muste, is led by a 40-member national committee composed of individuals of diverse socialist thinking.

"The formation of the Forum is especially welcome at this time when there is a revival of interest in socialism in America. This revival not only reflects a process of reappraisal and discussion by many confirmed socialists but also a new interest in the subject in an era of profound political and economic change."

"The position of the Communists with regard to a development of this kind was set forth in the resolution adopted overwhelmingly at their recent national convention. In discussing the question of an eventual united socialist movement, the resolution pointed out that 'the attainment of unity among socialist-minded forces lies along the path of common struggle on the broadest issues facing the American people, in the course of which ideological and tactical questions will become clarified and common bonds be forged.'

" 'It lies along the path of extending the process of frank exchange and discussion that has been taking place during the past year and ensuring that our party at all levels increasingly participates in this process.'

"The Daily Worker agrees with this view and is happy if it has made a modest contribution in the past year toward a freer exchange of ideas. We wish the Forum well and will do whatever we can to promote its stated objectives."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 14, 1957, p. 5.

13. Future of the Communist Party, USA

"The ideology and principles of scientific socialism must be imparted to the labor movement, must be fused with the experiences arising out of the economic and political struggles of the unions, must serve to give a consciousness and direction to these struggles that they are inherently incapable of developing spontaneously. This is the role of the Communist Party with its Marxist-Leninist science and ideology. This is why a party such as the Communist Party has a historic, not a transient place in the ranks of the working class. This is why there is not only a past, but also a future. This is why the Communist Party must not only be retained--it must be built."

Bob Thompson, "On the Communist Party:  
Some Problems and Perspectives,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 17.

"...we are sure that we will revitalize our Communist Party and augment its mass ties and influence, promote the class consciousness and independent role of labor, and help forge a broad democratic front of struggle of the working people in our own country--Communist and non-Communist, labor and non-labor, Negro and white--so as to more effectively champion civil rights and liberties, economic and social welfare, the cause of proletarian internationalism and world peace, national liberation and social progress."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and  
the USSR," Political Affairs, November,  
1957, p. 9.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The present Administration is a government "of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich."
2. The "lust for profits" is responsible for higher prices.
3. Congress should investigate the relation between wages, prices, and profits.
4. Small businesses should receive increased Government assistance.
5. The labor movement should launch a drive for higher wages since the Republican Administration is trying to prevent wage increases.
6. The Congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions are designed to set the stage for the enactment of antilabor legislation.
7. The drive to secure passage of "right-to-work" laws is being carried on under the pretext of protecting the rights of the individual members of labor unions.
8. The demand for a shorter work week is the most important issue for the labor movement.
9. Labor unity cannot be achieved by the expulsion of unions from the AFL-CIO.
10. The need for independent political action by the labor movement is steadily increasing.
11. Communists have a "special and indispensable role" in the labor movement.
12. Proletarian internationalism will promote friendship between the capitalist and socialist nations.

13. Only socialism can solve the problems of our complex, highly industrialized society.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Big Business Dominates the Present Administration

"...the Emperors of Finance and their dukes and deputies are no longer invisible in Washington. They hold the big jobs in the Eisenhower administration, and set its policies too. And they are the President's playmates as well. For they make up his golf foursome and fill his bridge tables. And they occupy most of the chairs at Ike's stag dinners."

. . . . .

"We might as well face the facts of 1957. This is not a people's government in any sense of the word. It is a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. And Washington is the political world capital of the Emperors of Finance."

. . . . .

"This is a mighty empire that dominates the capitalist world. And the main job of ruling it is not entrusted to elected presidents any more. Elected officials have less and less to say in Washington today...."

"The main job is done by financier-politicians. I mean men like John Foster Dulles, the nickel magnate and Rockefeller banker; Allan W. Dulles, the former Schroder banker, who used to represent Nazi interests; Charles E. Wilson, the General Motors tycoon; Lewis L. Strauss, the Rockefeller financial adviser, who heads the Atomic Energy Commission, and other Wall Street leaders.

"THESE fellows could not be elected to anything. But they run the empire none the less. The facts can not be denied. For the biggest posts in Ike's administration are filled by Wall Street appointees. And more than 100 big money men are doing their 'tour of duty' in Washington today."

. . . . .

"CONGRESS is still elected. But its power is less than before. The big empire deals (like the Eisenhower Doctrine) are worked out by 'tour of duty' men before Congress sees them...."

. . . . .

"The people don't have a look in. And they can't feel safe until the emperors of finance are out of these decisive posts.

"THE 'tour of duty' men also dominate the people's life at home. They shift the taxes from the capitalist to the worker. They sanction price increases. They give away natural resources to the big power companies. They give arms contracts to their own companies, and net fantastic profits. They curb the trade unions as much as they can and control the government's collective bargaining machinery. And they send the FBI after patriots who protest.

"... We are living under a system of State Monopoly Capitalism...

"And State Monopoly Capitalism is a system of transferring funds from the poor to the rich at a faster rate than before. It doubles the strength of the exploiters by bringing the power of the government and the power of the capitalist together."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1957, pp. 3, 10.

## 2. Profits and Prices

"What has the President done to veto the high profits for those awarded the lush government contracts? What has the administration done to even restrain profits? Absolutely nothing because the sacred law of capitalism is what they call 'free enterprise' and 'unlimited profits.' That is at the core of the administration's philosophy...."

. . . . .

"The drive for maximum profits is the real pressure that brings higher prices. The cost of production or market conditions don't figure where monopolies hold sway. To use Senator Kefauver's term, they 'administer' prices without regard for the factors that once were decisive in the capitalist economy."

The Worker,  
September 22, 1957, p. 5.

"It is the lust for profits by the trusts and monopolies that explains the new steel rise. It is their economic and political power in our country that increases the monopolists lust for profit more and more. They have no need to fear competitors, or Congress or the Federal Administration. They fear only labor and the people."

The Worker,  
May 26, 1957, p. 14.

"The charge that monopolies fix prices and bring on inflation by their unrestrained drive for super-profits, is not new, of course. It is as old as the fight against the trusts. But in the recent period we have experienced far more intense monopolization and extermination of the weak, than any time in the past. We have come to a point where competition in many fields is so obviously a mockery that the old explanations are as unconvincing as bed-time stories. The cry against monopolies is spreading and growing more intense. The law-makers in Washington and in the states feel more pressure on this and related questions than on any others."

Daily Worker,  
July 12, 1957, p. 5.

### 3. Congressional Investigation of Excess Profits

"THE TRADE UNION movement has renewed with fresh vigor its demand for a full congressional investigation of the wage-price-profit-investment policies of the big corporations. It wants a determination of the



responsibility for the current inflation trend that has brought the ninth consecutive monthly rise in the government's cost of living index to the all-time high of 19.6 percent above pre-Korea prices--almost four percent above a year ago--with no end in the spiral in sight. "

The Worker,  
July 7, 1957, p. 1.

"The protest against the steel trusts holdup, it seems, is now strong enough to make a full-dress congressional investigation of monopoly price and profit practices--and their false publicity to cover them up--a realistic possibility. Senator Kefauver's anti-monopoly committee is preparing for such an inquiry. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 1, 1957, p. 5.

"The labor movement has been demanding a serious congressional investigation into the wage-price-profit policies of these 'price-setting' industries. Such an inquiry is long overdue.

"Greater vigor behind labor's demand for such an inquiry can force the spotlight where it belongs. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1957, p. 5.

#### 4. Small Business

"Although the politicians put small business on a pedestal along with God, motherhood, the flag and the dollar, they seem disinclined to do much to help it. And help is what it wants, for in a time of record-breaking profits for big business, little business isn't getting its share.

"Statistics seem to prove the little man's complaint that he is being squeezed out. . . .

"Among manufacturing firms, the smaller man's share of total sales has plunged from 19 percent in 1947 to 13 percent in 1955; profits from 14 percent to under five percent.

"While the big boys grow fatter, the small boys tighten their belts."

"Dun and Bradstreet, compiler of the failure statistics, states flatly that 90 percent go under because of inexperience and incompetence. Other analysts point to factors more significant than 'inexperience and incompetence.' One thing they point to is the merger boom."

"Another factor in the pinch on small business is tax discrimination. While the Republican big business administration gives fast tax write-offs to General Motors, Alcoa and other huge 'defense' firms, and lets oil companies get off tax free on their juicy Middle East operations, it provides few loopholes for the small and medium-sized firms....

"BIG corporations hogged 83 percent of the \$21 billion spent by the Pentagon last year for military equipment and supplies. Small business got the crumbs left over from the feast."

"But the biggest truth of all is that no small firm, no matter how efficient and aggressive, can compete with a giant...."

"In competition for markets between big and little rivals the strength, as usual, is with the biggest contenders."

"The dogma of the day is: Grow or go under. And the small businessman finds investment capital tough to come by. This is partly due to the Federal Reserve Boards tight money policy. But the biggest cause is the refusal of banks to take the bother and risk of lending money to small concerns when they can lend huge hunks to big firms, with whom they often have interlocking directorships."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, pp. 10, 14.

5. Wages

"Take Joe Average-Factory-Worker. In August his weekly take-home pay, to care for three dependents, was \$75.13, compared to \$73.06 in August 1956. The extra 2.8 percent that he gets in take-home doesn't stay in his pocket long; in fact, his pay vanishes faster than last year because it cost him, his wife, and two children, 3.6 percent more to live this year than last.

"The President's only solution to the problem is to bar wage hikes. . . ."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 6, 1957, p. 4.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S pocket veto of the federal pay raise bill, which was passed by Congress by a big majority, is more than a hint of what the government's role will be as the struggle for the 1958 wage round gets under way. In his veto statement, the President said the pay-hike voted for 1, 500, 000 federal workers is 'unfair, unnecessary, inflationary and a menace to the national lebt limit.' "

"The President's statement is clearly more directed against pay increases for many millions of workers in private industry than for those

in government service. It is even more blunt than his earlier statements in which he called on employers and unions to 'voluntarily' restrain price increases and wage demands.

"As some labor leaders pointed out, the clear inference in that appeal was that wage raises are the cause of price increases and that the employers merely follow a wage rise with a price hike."

"THE PRESIDENT has deliberately kept away from profits because his government rests primarily on the domination of those who drive for UNLIMITED profits. That leaves nothing in the President's message but an appeal to the workers of those who dominate his administration, to refrain from asking for raises."

Daily Worker,  
September 9, 1957, p. 5.

"What is needed is united action of the trade union movement to launch a national drive for a shorter work week at increased pay. Let's save the moonlight for rest and relaxation rather than for exhausting overtime or dual jobs. The profit-swollen corporations can well afford to meet this demand. Danger signals in such communities as Detroit--where 7,000 workers per month are exhausting unemployment compensation rights and 2,000 eviction requests are being filed monthly--should warn that labor can't afford to postpone this fight."

The Worker,  
May 19, 1957, p. 15.

## 6. Labor Racketeering

"BIG BUSINESS has pulled out all stops and the drive to clamp new shackles on the labor movement in the coming session of Congress is on full blast. The drive, as everyone knows, has been warming up for some time,

especially since last January when the McClellan Committee of the Senate began its hearings on racketeering in unions. . . . "

"By the time the poison campaign is over, the public is to believe that the headquarters of every little union local is the power center for crime, inflation and political corruption."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1957, p. 11.

"The tactics of the employers and their political agents, if not entirely new, are cunningly conceived, well organized, and meeting with some success.

"The strategy is to exploit the issue of racketeering and corruption in the labor unions in order to create an increasingly anti-labor climate. This is designed not only to pave the way for new anti-labor legislation, but also to discourage new organization, to undermine rank-and-file morale, and above all to cripple the economic struggles of the labor movement.

"The object is to divert and paralyze organized labor just when circumstances dictated a new offensive by the labor movement for the shorter work-week, improved working conditions, organization of the South, abolition of discrimination, and greater participation in the country's political life."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, pp. 1-2.

"No one should be kidded by the committee's objectives. . . . in the overall sense, the object of the committee is to discredit unionism in the public eye; drive a wedge between labor and its natural allies in the countryside

and cities; throw blame on union 'monopolies' for the current inflationary trend; cover up the real criminals, the corporate monopolies, and finally to lay the basis for new antilabor legislation and 'right-to-work' laws, at the next session of Congress...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Thus we can expect that the labor racketeering issue will be kept hot continually, at least until next spring. Some very powerful forces are interested in having it that way. The labor movement will be tried and convicted in the newspapers, and over the air channels--just as Communists were."

Daily Worker,  
August 14, 1957, p. 5.

"...Currently the big campaign under way in the country is for a set of more anti-labor laws, supposedly as 'cures' for labor's 'troubles.' But it is clearly evident that these proposals provide not brooms to clean up unions, but axes to chop unions down."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 16, 1957, p. 5.

#### 7. "Right-to-Work" Laws

"...there can be no doubt that the movement for 'right-to-work' laws has gained support. Next year will see a renewed drive to get enactment of such laws in some of the major industrial states and there is a strong chance of success in some of them. The racket exposures have undoubtedly won many well-meaning people to the idea that union leaders have to be curbed somehow, and the propagandists of the employers have dinmed it into many ears that 'right-to-work' laws would achieve such end."

Daily Worker,  
August 19, 1957, p. 5.

"Clearly, the current attacks on labor are not directed simply against Beck and his ilk. This well-heeled defender of free-enterprise is not the real target. They selected the most odorous and vulnerable culprit as the weakest link so as to be able to make headway without immediately arousing the labor movement and in order to provide the necessary smoke screen for the real objective...."

"Under the pretext of protecting the rights of union members, the employers and their stooges in the various state legislatures have put first among their objectives a big push to enact everywhere the notorious 'Right-to-Work Laws,' renamed by the labor movement as 'Right-to-Scab' laws."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, p. 3.

#### 8. Shorter Work Week

"WE HAVE been talking so much in recent years about the 'problem' of automation and the many new elements in the technology and composition of the working class that came with it, that we tend to almost overlook the fact that the labor movement is going over from discussion to ACTION on the problem: that some of our major, strongest, 'pattern-setting' unions have reached the decision that a fight for shorter hours is the IMMEDIATE step--even if it isn't the full answer.

"An important practical, although formal, step, was taken in that direction earlier this month, which may well prove to be historic, in the sense that it was the first move in the current shorter-hours movement to actually put the issue to the employers for ACTUAL BARGAINING next spring. A letter was sent by Walter Reuther to the six auto companies informing them of the auto union's recent convention decision to make the shorter work week and more take-home pay the major collective bargaining objective in the spring of 1958...."

"THIS is not just another shorter hours movement. We are really heading towards the first decisive 'Battle of Automation.'..."

"THE very fact that the UAW has put the shorter work week on the bargaining table, has put the issue on a more REALISTIC level and is heading it to the bargaining tables of the steel, machinists, electrical, oil, and other unions....

"As might have been anticipated, General Motors would not even agree to 'explore.' The answer from the employers is 'No.' The important point, however, is that bargaining on the shorter work week has begun--still in the newspaper and in the letter-writing stage--but it has BEGUN! "

The Worker,  
May 19, 1957, pp. 3, 14.

"IT LOOKS like battle. Every step to come will be in the warmup stage--to educate the workers, the communities of the auto towns, the small business and professional people. Also, to tighten up the tremendous union's strength and instill in the membership a feeling the shorter workweek or day is a REALISTIC possibility....

"Then will follow the stage where the workers will come close enough to their enemies to 'see the blue of their eyes.' And they'll be working towards the 'zero hour.' "

Daily Worker,  
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"... The United Auto Workers and other major unions have placed the shorter workweek at the top of their collective bargaining demands. By the end of this year, the UAW will enter bargaining, and by next spring



we may be in the midst of a gigantic struggle--the first historic showdown on automation. The entire labor movement should give its major attention to developments leading towards that struggle."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 13, 1957, p. 5.

9. Labor Unity

"There is a serious danger of a harmful split in the labor movement if the proposals of some labor leaders for suspension of the IBT,\* including the chartering of a rival Teamsters Union, are followed. Some lessons should have been learned from the experience in the Longshoreman's situation on the Eastern coast, not to mention the tragic history of the expulsion of the progressive-led unions in 1949."

"...Expulsions would both divide labor and give the corrupt influences a chance to rally support for themselves as the 'defenders of the unions.' The direction of AFL-CIO policy should not be expulsions but the encouragement and support of rank-and-file movements to clean out the racketeers inside labor and to defeat those who would destroy the labor movement from within and without...."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs,  
June, 1957, pp. 13-14.

"This paper and we are sure all progressives in labor favor the most vigorous measures to clean out corruption, especially through the rank and file. For that reason we look with optimistic hope on the rising rank and file revolt against the Becks in the IBT itself. Every possible encouragement and support should be given such sentiment. But no expulsions--nothing that would harm labor unity--because it is bad for labor and would play into the hands of the corrupt elements."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 9, 1957, p. 5.

\*This refers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America.

10. Labor's Political Activity

"... A great gap exists between the popular movements on issues (civil rights, H-bomb ban and the like) and the prevailing political forms and alignments which thwart the popular will. More and more the need emerges for a political realignment led by labor and directed against the trusts that will give effective political expression to the growing people's coalition on issues."

"With the main period of the campaign still ahead, the 1957 elections offer a real challenge to Communists and other progressives to seek out and act on every possibility of advancing the fight for the people's needs and for independent political action."

Daily Worker,  
August 29, 1957, p. 5.

11. Communists in the Labor Movement

"The Communists and Left forces have a special and indispensable role to play in this complicated and many-sided process within the labor movement."

"These developments point up the fact that the struggle is never finished; that under capitalism no gains can be considered permanent unless constantly reinforced and protected by struggle, strength, and organization. With this goes the corollary that the working-class movement cannot stand still; that it must advance or be pushed back. The theory that the monopolists have adapted themselves to the existence of powerful unions and have no further ideas of weakening or destroying them is false."

"Those who think that the Communist Party and a Left current in the labor movement can be dispensed with, since Socialism is not an immediate issue and the trade unions and other peoples organizations are taking care of immediate needs, are making a grievous error. Elemental and spontaneous movements cannot advance satisfactorily and will face all sorts of pitfalls and traps unless the genuine and conscious Left and Communist forces are able to help."

"These forces must do their best to contribute to the clearest grasp of the issues and challenges before the labor movement, to show the interconnection between these complex struggles, to help give them conscious direction and purpose, and thus, to help achieve the successful outcome of these new rising movements. We must do this with a frank recognition of our limitations and with utmost modesty and realism. We must learn the lessons-- from the good and bad experiences of the past."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, p. 15.

"The Communist parties everywhere, including the CPUSA, must also be alert to carry out their fundamental vanguard role in the modern conditions of complex class struggle. The workers and their allies have the most basic need for resolute and clear-sighted Marxist-Leninist leadership at the present time, in order to meet their many new problems...."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 45.

## 12. Proletarian Internationalism

"...Every Communist Party, must, of course, root its policies in the specific needs of its own working class and people, but it cannot meet this requirement unless at the same time it displays the strongest spirit of proletarian internationalism. Such internationalism is especially demanded in this period by the whole complex of problems presented by the varied relations of world Socialism and world democracy toward each other."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 45.

"...America's progressives, particularly the Communists, are resolved to do all in their power to promote American-Soviet-Sino friendship and cooperation. There is a growing political awareness in our land--among Communists and many Socialists and militant trade unionists--that international unity of action of America's toilers with their fellow-workers in the USSR and China, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Syria and Egypt, India and Indonesia, Ghana and Argentina--is more essential than ever to safeguard the national interests of the American people and to advance peace and progress."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

13. Workers Need Socialism

"...Automation--which under a socialist system could produce abundance plus jobs for all--is dumping tens of thousands onto the unemployment compensation lines while industrialists and politicians make sympathetic noises."

The Worker,  
June 23, 1957, p. 2.

"...the country's future must lie in acceptance of the latest production devices, of electricity, atomic energy, automation and all the machinery for mass well-being. This raises complex problems that add up to one great question--shall the people perish with capitalism or survive with socialism?"

"We who believe that the people, in the course of struggles led by the working class, will choose life and socialism, can understand why Khrushchev so confidently predicted the future economic system under which America's grandchildren would live."

The Worker,  
July 7, 1957, p. 10.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The agricultural policy of the Republican Administration is designed to eliminate the small-scale farmers.
2. Farm price supports should be continued.
3. The labor movement should intensify its efforts to organize the agricultural workers.
4. Farmer-labor unity, based on an antimonopoly program, will further the efforts of both groups to achieve their economic, legislative, and political goals.
5. The agricultural program of the Communist Party, USA, calls for increased Federal assistance to alleviate the plight of the small-scale farmers.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Small-Scale Farmers

"...Since 1951, however, we have witnessed a period of economic recession in agriculture."

. . . . .

"Increased mechanization of farming and rising costs have accentuated and accelerated the trend to large-scale agriculture. Capital requirements have ballooned upward. As a consequence, the small farmer is being rapidly eliminated, and large-scale agriculture grows by leaps and bounds. This trend exists apart from the ups and downs in farm prices and the ups and downs of the economic picture generally. The larger and richer farmers and corporation farms are able to withstand the fluctuation in market prices and generally continue to prosper and increase their holdings while the small farmers and sections of the middle-income farmers, who lack sufficient capital to meet the technological developments, are being driven off the land.

"This trend in agriculture is consciously promoted by government policies favoring the big farmers, corporation farms and trusts. Government policies speed up the elimination of the small and marginal farm operator. Only mass struggles have won concessions for the family-size farmers...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "An Agricultural Policy for the United States," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 23.

## 2. Farm Price Supports

"SECRETARY of Agriculture Benson has carefully timed the launching of his campaign to gut farm price supports. He plans to swing the anti-price support campaign into the wake of the Chamber of Commerce drive to slash the welfare items in the federal budget.

"Benson argues that price supports should be cut because they do not benefit the smallest farmers. But it is now two years since Benson issued a program allegedly concerned with succoring the smallest farmers. That program has raised not the slightest obstacle to the elimination of more thousands of small farmers since it was published."

"The inadequacies of existing farm legislation are certainly a poor reason for destroying it. Nor is that Benson's reason. He has in mind, as does Big Business, the expulsion of several million small and medium-size farmers from agriculture.

"The welfare of the bulk of the farmers, and of the nation make necessary that Benson's campaign be stopped in its tracks."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 12, 1957, p. 4.

### 3. Organize the Agricultural Workers

"...organization of agricultural workers was never seriously put on American labor's agenda. Even in its latest resolution, last August, the AFL-CIO is mainly interested in stopping the inflow by contract arrangements of some half million Mexican workers. Nothing is said of unionizing through some forms of the million domestic migratory workers and the half million tenant farmers in the below \$1,000 a year category who must hire out for part of the year.

"The 'practical' labor leader says it is impossible to organize agricultural workers. They aren't stable, it is too expensive to keep track of them, etc.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the plight of migrant workers is one of major downward pressures on wages generally in the country. The real question is; Can labor afford to delay serious efforts to bring organization and leadership for the migrant workers?

"Justice for the migrant workers was long an issue. But now, with the much widened gap between their earnings and those of urban workers, a lift for the agricultural worker and part-time tenant-farmer is urgent for the preservation of general wage standards."

Daily Worker,  
November 18, 1957, p. 2.

"Several million farm laborers are the most impoverished people in our country. Most of them are migrant. Many belong to Negro, Mexican, Indian and other national minorities. A major task for the working class and the unified labor movement is to organize these farm laborers and vastly improve their living standards. This would mean fundamental help to some groups of family farmers who are faced with the destructive competition of commodities produced by these super-exploited workers."

National Committee, CPUSA, "An  
Agricultural Policy for the United States,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 25.

#### 4. Farmer-Labor Unity

"The fight against the monopolies should be the central issue for the farmer-labor coalition and the cooperatives.

"It should begin with breaking the hold of the big banks on farm credit and making these credits available to the small and middle-income farmers.

"It should intensify the struggle against the electric power trusts' efforts to monopolize public power sites, and to move in on the cooperative farm electrification projects. More steps should be taken to prevent the big power companies from buying power from government projects and reselling it to cooperatives. This fight for public control of power should be extended to atomic plants as well.

"Congressional investigations of the food processing and marketing monopolies such as packing, milling, etc., should be initiated and measures adopted to curb the profiteering.

"The same investigation should be made of the gigantic plunder of the farmers as well as the people generally by the oil trust. This should also apply to the farm implement, fertilizer and power trusts.

"Markets for food should be expanded by fighting to raise minimum wages for millions of underpaid workers.

"Expand the struggle for food export. Oppose the 'cold war' foreign policy which accepts the idea of farm surpluses in a world of millions of starving people.

"Strengthen and improve the farmer-labor economic, legislative and political alliance as the prerequisite for winning such a program."

"Farmer unity and farmer-labor unity must govern our policies and approach. Unity of small and middle farmers, including large



numbers of Negro farmers and sharecroppers is a major problem. The key to this unity is the anti-monopoly position. The struggle against monopoly as the people's enemy is the basic foundation for building and expanding unity...."

Ibid., pp. 24-25.

##### 5. Communist Agricultural Program

"Our attitude to an agricultural program should be based on a many-sided approach including price supports, surplus disposal, Federal credits, crop insurance, conservation, supplementary income, modernization of farming communities, better roads, schools, recreation centers, etc.

"The program should be concerned with protecting the incomes and living standards of the small and middle-income farmers. It should be directed toward making it possible for these farmers to stay on the land and make a living, in the face of the growing trend to big-scale agriculture which is eliminating these people as farmers and driving them off the land.

"Generally, progressive support should be given to the programs advanced by such groups as the Farmers' Union for these farmers, with the aim of giving full parity income to them. Emphasis should be on the use of production payments to implement price supports. These payments should be limited to small-income farmers; it is necessary to oppose the use of a farm program to enrich further the large and corporation farmers.

"All government programs should be administered by elected farmer committees.

"A great expansion and democratization of administration should be developed for Federal credits to these small and middle-income farmers.

"We should raise sharply the issue of modernizing the farm communities in terms of schools, roads, hospitals, recreation centers and drought, flood and irrigation projects...."

Ibid., pp. 23-24.

## COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism is responsible for poverty throughout the world.
2. The struggle against colonialism is gaining momentum.
3. The fact that colonialism is on the wane signifies a gain for the socialist movement.
4. Socialism is opposed to colonialism.
5. The United States is supporting the colonial policies of Great Britain and France.
6. British imperialism has been reduced to a "junior partner of American imperialism."
7. Algeria should be granted complete independence from France.
8. Cyprus should be granted the right of self-determination as the first step toward its union with Greece.
9. The United States has assumed complete control of Formosa.
10. West New Guinea should be turned over to Indonesia.
11. Turkey is now under occupation by the United States.
12. The United States dominates Latin America "economically, politically and militarily."
13. The 1957 elections in British Guiana represent a defeat for the British policy of "colonial repression."
14. The United States should discontinue its support of the Rojas regime in Colombia.
15. The United States should discontinue its support of the "reactionary" present Government of Cuba.

16. Guatemala is a symbol of "Yankee imperialism."
17. Although it enjoys the status of a commonwealth, Puerto Rico is far from being a sovereign nation.
18. Venezuela is a "Standard Oil colony."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Imperialism Brings Poverty

"Widespread undernourishment and hunger existed throughout recorded history. But one of the fundamental distinguishing features of the modern epoch, as contrasted with all preceding eras, is the fact that man's productive and technical knowledge have advanced to the point where today no human being need go hungry, but for the existence of removable social injustices and inadequacies."

. . . . .

"...despite reforms and nostrums and experiments and even real advances, the fact still remains that two-thirds of humanity goes to sleep hungry, and little children are sold for a bowl of rice in Indonesia."

. . . . .

"...the basic cause of world-wide impoverishment is imperialism--particularly Anglo-American imperialism, and the financial, trade and political policies derived from that imperialism."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in  
Our Time," Political Affairs,  
June, 1957, pp. 25-26.

## 2. Struggle against Colonialism

"...But, as in the case of world peace, the oppressed peoples of the world faced by the most desperate need for immediate relief, cannot and will not wait until the arrival of world Socialism to break their colonial shackles. The anti-colonial struggle dates back to the first American Revolution and beyond, but the historic Russian Revolution in 1917, of which anti-imperialism was a basic constituent, gave the initial big impulse to the current vast anti-imperialist, anti-colonial movement, and it has also been further stimulated by the great Chinese Revolution of this decade. Now Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (with Latin America soon to come) are aflame with the bitter struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish, Portuguese, and American imperialism. The birth of Ghana, in Africa, is the latest victory of this tremendous movement. Over one-third of the world's population are already actively in this elementary struggle, and their ranks are constantly swelling."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, pp. 36-37.

## 3. Decline of Colonialism

"...Meanwhile, the capitalist system although now passing through a hectic economic boom, is confronting a series of mounting difficulties. Most important of these is the disastrous break-down of the colonial system, which was one of the major props of world imperialism. The English, German, French, Japanese, Italian, and Dutch empires have been shattered, and these erstwhile powerful regimes are now all on the dole of the United States...."

William Z. Foster, "People's Capitalism--and Djilas," Political Affairs, November, 1957, pp. 50-51.

"The strength of world Socialism, also reflected in the weakness of world capitalism, is further exhibited by the tremendous break-up

of the colonial system that has been going on since about the end of World War II. This is a major disaster to the capitalist system, and by the same token it brings about a tremendous relative and actual increase of strength for world Socialism...."

William Z. Foster, "Joll's History of the Second International;" "Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 49.

#### 4. Socialism Opposes Colonialism

"...The Socialist world will be one without colonies; hence the existing Socialist countries are inveterate enemies of colonialism in all its forms...."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 36.

"While these imperialist apologists who have defended the system of colonial exploitation imposed for centuries by blood and cannon, slander Communism, even they cannot deny the liberating influence of Communism and the help that the Socialist nations are giving to these peoples attaining nationhood for the first time."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1957, p. 9.

#### 5. United States Supports Colonialism

"BRITISH PLANES bombed Moslem tribesmen yesterday in the Persian Gulf area of Oman. Yesterday also, French police arrested

1,500 Algerians living in Lyons, France, as part of a legalized terror campaign against the North African colony's liberation movement."

"Imperialism? What else?"

"What about the U. S. in all this? Britain and France are NATO allies. Doubtless they use American arms intended, we are told for the defense of 'freedom,' to crush the efforts of subject people to obtain freedom.

"Will Mr. Dulles' State Department protest the imperialist action of his buddies of Downing Street and the Quai D'Orsay? Or will Dulles hypocritically wash his hands of responsibility for what America's allies do?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 25, 1957, p. 5.

#### 6. British Imperialism

"NEVER WAS BRITISH imperialism in the harried position it is today. Being squeezed out of its remaining colonial bases by U. S. imperialism, with the peoples of Asia and Africa developing an irresistible forward surge for freedom and national liberation, and with dissention among the members of the Commonwealth, it takes all the diplomacy and ingenuity of the 400-year old British empire to meet crisis after crisis and still carry on. While the empire is doomed to defeat, one should not underestimate these gentlemen."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1957, p. 9.

"IT IS NOT WITHOUT great difficulty...that British Imperialism and its ruling class adjusts itself to its new role of junior partner of American imperialism."

John Williamson, "Anglo-American  
Imperialism: an Unequal Partnership,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 11.

7. Algeria

"THE FRENCH colonialism in the role of 1957's King Canute, is desperately trying to stave off the rising tide of Arab independence. Algeria's struggle has gained widespread support, here and abroad. It is evident here in the UN among the Asian-African bloc, the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries, as well as among individual nations in Latin America and in Europe--like Ireland."

"...support for Algerian independence is strong, widespread and growing--both here and abroad...."

"The time has passed, Asian and African delegates assure you, for any colonial power to choke down the surge of independence in the colonies. Their nations are behind Algerian freedom, virtually to a man. The USSR and the socialist delegates have made their stand abundantly clear..."

The Worker,  
November 24, 1957, pp. 1, 11.

8. Cyprus

"THE American Empire has bloody allies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Among them are English gentlemen as well as Arab kings. And one of the bloodiest is Field Marshal Sir John Harding, the Governor General and hangman of Cyprus.

"Harding has put to death many Cyprus patriots who want union with Mother Greece...."

"Ike wants to keep this strategic Greek island in imperialist hands. For Cyprus lies close to Asia. It is the military center of the Baghdad alliance, to which Ike is committed. And it points like a pistol at the Arab peoples' heads. It warns them to leave the oil fields alone and to keep their kings on the throne.

"And Cyprus has been used against the Arab peoples before. It was the take-off place for the invasion of Egypt seven months ago. And its jet planes threaten Egypt and Syria today."

"BUT the Cypriot people will settle for nothing less than freedom from imperialist domination. They demand the right of self determination as a step toward union with Greece."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1957, p. 3.

9. Formosa

"The cold fact is that the U.S. government took over the Chinese island of Formosa lock, stock and barrel. Even Chiang Kai-shek acknowledges that Formosa is Chinese, bearing the same relation to the mainland as Long Island does to the United States. But our Army, Navy and Airforce swarms over the island. Allen Dulles has set up a major Central Intelligence Agency headquarters there.

"Our economic, technical, political personnel are everywhere. Among them there have been many individuals full of good will to Formosans. But what is that against the fact that Formosa had been taken over by the U.S. and is being used as a base for Chiang Kai-shek's mad dream of a return to power on the mainland?

"This imperialism even continued an ancient trapping of colonialism--extra-territoriality. It is the age-old practice of the colonial occupation forces to give their courts jurisdiction over their personnel even in cases of crimes against the inhabitants of the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 28, 1957, p. 5.



10. Indonesia

"Following World War II, during which Indonesia (then known as the Dutch East Indies) was occupied by the Japanese, the Indonesian people, led by their liberation movement, proclaimed their independence from the Netherlands on Aug. 17, 1945."

"However, it was agreed that in regard to West New Guinea the status quo would remain, but that within a year its political status would be determined through negotiations between the two parties. Negotiations in 1950 and 1952 failed to reach agreement, and since then the Dutch have refused further talks."

"What has enabled the Dutch to block even the mildest endorsement of negotiations has been support by the British and French governments and the so-called neutrality of the Eisenhower Administration."

"The Indonesians are now making it hot for the Dutch. Can we Americans, who fought for our own independence from alien rule, do other than wish them well in this just struggle?"

Daily Worker,  
December 10, 1957, p. 2.

11. Turkey

"TURKEY, like Formosa, has become a U.S. -occupied country. It contains some 8,000 American soldiers, including three generals and an admiral. A network of air and naval bases, built with U.S. taxpayers' money is nominally under Turkish control. These bases are intended to threaten Turkey's next-door neighbors, Syria and the Soviet Union.

"At the same time U.S. big business has been playing the field in Turkey. In 1954 the Turkish government denationalized its oil resources and hung out the 'come and get it' sign to foreign companies. Thirteen of them, mostly American, didn't need a second invitation."

Daily Worker,  
October 28, 1957, pp. 2, 4.

12. Latin America

"THE resolution on Latin America notes that 'the Latin American countries are today dominated economically, politically and militarily by the United States Big Business and the United States government.' It 'strongly condemns the policy of the Eisenhower Administration toward Latin America as detrimental both to our nation and our southern neighbors, intensifying the status of the Latin American countries as semi-colonies of U.S. imperialism.'

"The resolution calls on the American people 'to demand a drastic change in Washington policy so as to end all domination and intervention.' It pledges to help strengthen 'fraternal and cooperative relations' between the U. S. and Latin American labor movements and extends greetings to the Latin American Communist parties."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

13. British Guiana

"THE PEOPLE of British Guiana have again shown they won't allow the British colonial office to do their thinking or voting them.\* By its victory at the polls, the Peoples Progressive Party, headed by Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan, has been vindicated in its long struggle against colonial repression.

"This was a defeat for the more disguised schemes of the British colonial office as well as the open flouting of the will of the electorate. In 1955, Dr. Jagan was ousted from office by the British Governor though his party had won a clear-cut majority in free elections...."

\* This probably should read "voting for them."

"The threat to the democratic process still exists in British Guiana, however, because it still is BRITISH Guiana. The Governor, who is appointed in London, can appoint up to 11 members of the colony's Legislature. He can also dismiss the whole legislature if they don't do his bidding. Which is quite an ironic comment on those who presume to speak as champions of the 'free' world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 15, 1957, p. 5.

14. Colombia

"COLOMBIA is the third largest oil producer in Latin America. Its oil industry is dominated by U.S. concerns: Texas Company, Socony Vacuum, Cities Service and others. About half the power stations are controlled by the American and Foreign Power Co.

"The vast majority of the people live in grim poverty, with malnutrition, high infant mortality, widespread infestious disease and high illiteracy characteristic features."

The Worker,  
May 12, 1957, p. 5.

"...Dispatches from Colombia tell of widespread strikes, demonstrations and bloodshed. Hospitals are overflowing and teen-aged students are being killed in the streets of Bogota and Cali...."

Daily Worker,  
May 13, 1957, p. 5.

"This is the direct affair of American workers because Wall Street millionaires and the State Department are directly responsible for financing and propping up the Rojas regime. Only little more than a week ago the Rockefellers and a long list of U.S. financiers were awarded medals by the Rojas regime as thanks for bailing out the government.

"Labor and humanity in Colombia cry out to American workingmen and women for help."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 9, 1957, p. 5.

15. Cuba

"The resolution on Cuba condemns the Batista terror against the Cuban people, urges 'full restoration of civil liberties, release of all political prisoners, and lifting of the ban against the Popular Socialist Party, organization of the Cuban Communists.' It demands that 'the Eisenhower Administration cease supporting and manipulating the reactionary dictatorship of Batista.' "

The Worker,  
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

16. Guatemala

"THROUGHOUT Latin America where 175,000,000 people--most of whose skins are not white--live in brutal poverty and struggle for a better day--Guatemala has become a symbol of what they consider the greatest evil that afflicts them: imperialismo yanqui (Yankee imperialism).

"The Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, with its fraud about the threat of aggression from 'international communism,' is only a refined version of the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine that three years ago, under the same pretext of combatting 'international communism,' was used to organize, with the help of the United Fruit Co., the armed overthrow of the democratic Arbenz government of Guatemala."

"However, reports from Guatemala, as from Cuba, indicate that the people are continuing the battle for liberation from both homegrown and foreign despots. The trade unions, despite the fact that they have been purged of even slightly leftist elements, are not lagging behind....

"Freedom is contagious. The Wall Street empire in Latin America is beginning to crack at the seams. Certainly our own people have everything to gain and nothing to lose by speeding this process of anti-colonial liberation in our own hemisphere."

The Worker,  
June 23, 1957, p. 5.

17. Puerto Rico

"...The false concept of Puerto Rico as having achieved its independence under this phony 'Commonwealth' status is being sold to all colonial and semi-colonial countries by the slickest public relations job of American imperialism. Thus Puerto Rico is being presented by the striped pants gentlemen in Washington and the Wall Street boys as the solution, the exhibit A, the cure-all, the magnificent model to be copied by all the exploited and undeveloped nations of the earth."

Daily Worker,  
August 6, 1957, p. 6.

"There are many points to be clarified and understood by the people and many a struggle to be experienced by the Puerto Rican masses before it can really be said truly and absolutely, that Puerto Rico is a sovereign and independent nation."

Daily Worker,  
August 20, 1957, p. 6.

18. Venezuela

"VENEZUELA is the second largest crude oil producer in the capitalist world--outstripped only by the U. S. But this vast wealth is chiefly controlled by three foreign companies, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gulf Oil and Royal Dutch-Shell--the first two American, the third Anglo-Dutch. The Venezuelan government gets a 50-50 cut on their huge net profits. In addition it has in the past year been turning over new concessions to other U. S. oil companies to the tune of \$700,000,000.

"Then there is Venezuelan iron--safely in the hands of U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel. Venezuelan iron, still in the early stages of exploitation, promises to be a bonanza second only to oil."

"As for the state of freedom in this corner of the 'free world' among the less publicized public works of the Perez Jimenez regime are the concentration camps and prisons where thousands of Venezuelan patriots are held without trial...."

"Clearly, not all the verbal perfume of Madison Avenue and Washington can hide the odor rising from this Standard Oil colony."

Daily Worker,  
July 18, 1957, p. 5.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

- 1. The only significant accomplishment of the first session of the 85th Congress was the enactment of a "diluted" civil rights bill.**
- 2. Congressional committees which investigate communism are conducting inquisitions.**
- 3. The Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley Law, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.**
- 4. Leaders of the Communist Party, USA, who are still serving prison terms for violation of the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.**
- 5. Morton Sobell, now serving a prison term in Alcatraz for conspiracy to commit espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union, should be granted a new trial.**
- 6. The loyalty-security program developed into a "man-hunt" directed against nonconformists.**
- 7. The use of confidential informants is now "widely discredited."**
- 8. McCarthyism "poisoned American life."**
- 9. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the field of civil liberties represent a "magnificent victory" and resulted from the "incessant struggles of the people."**
- 10. Because of its decisions in the field of civil liberties, the United States Supreme Court is under a "sustained attack" by the "segregationists and the cold warriors."**
- 11. The entire Nation should join in expressing support for the decisions of the United States Supreme Court affecting civil liberties.**

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The 85th Congress

"THE 85th CONGRESS at its first session fell down on the job. It failed to carry out the mandate given it by the people last November.

"The one significant achievement was enactment of the civil rights bill. But even this was so limited and diluted in the course of debate that it remains to be seen how effective it will be in practice."

"At his press conference last Tuesday President Eisenhower cited passage of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine as 'the legislative process at its best.' Millions all over the world--and in our country too--disagree. This was one of the worst actions of the past session of Congress; it has contributed to sharpening tensions in the Middle East and made it more difficult to move toward ending the cold war and achieving peaceful coexistence.

"Also on the minus side were failure to pass legislation to expand the minimum wage law; no revision of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act; failure to expand the measly federal public housing program of 35,000 units a year; no tax cuts for low-income groups; the killing, with Eisenhower's connivance of the \$1,500,000,000 school construction bill; refusal to make any serious revision of the reactionary Walter-McCarran immigration law; passage of the so-called 'FBI bill' to curtail the effectiveness of the recent Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case; failure to provide effective aid to the farmers; the killing, with Eisenhower's help, of a bill to authorize the Hells Canyon Dam in Idaho; passage of a \$3 1/2 billion dollar foreign aid bill that is mostly either directly or indirectly for military purposes.

"On the plus side may be counted Senate approval of the treaty establishing the international atoms-for-peace agency. Apart from the legislative record, the hearings of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee on the effects of radioactive fallout, the hearings of the Hennings civil liberties subcommittee, and some of the work of the Humphrey Joint Disarmament subcommittee proved valuable.



"If the American people are to be spared a repetition of this sad record when Congress reconvenes next January, the folks back home will have to do much more to make themselves heard. Otherwise big business will again run the show. The labor movement, the Negro people, farm organizations, etc. can't start planning too soon for the next session."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 8, 1957, p. 4.

## 2. Congressional Investigating Committees

"THE INQUISITION had a Holy Office which probed into the faith and morals of the people of Spain. Our question is:

"Now that Joe McCarthy is dead, are Senator Eastland and his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee becoming our Holy Office checking on the political faith and morals of our people?

"The Eastland committee has probed into newspapers, brutally assaulting the First Amendment right of journalists. Its investigation of the late Herbert Norman reputedly drove that Canadian diplomat to suicide. Recently, it scandalized Japan by its examination of Prof. Shigeto Turu, Japanese economist who returned to the United States this year as a visiting lecturer at Harvard.

"Now it has turned its attention to some socialists and communists suspected of having engaged in the subversive activity of common discussion...."

. . . . .

"The real point is: what right has the Eastland committee or any other congressional body to investigate political discussion?

"Supporters of the Bill of Rights, irrespective of political views, should make their protests heard. Not only should this political inquisition be stopped but the whole undemocratic committee headed by a notorious racist should be abolished."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 21, 1957, p. 5.

"Ten years ago this month 19 Hollywood writers, directors and producers were subpoenaed by the House Un-American Committee in the first of a series of 'investigations' that resulted ultimately in the black--and gray--listing of several hundred film artists and technicians...."

"THE committee continues to roam the land and has been instrumental in blacklisting literally thousands of other citizens--writers, actors, teachers, unionists--from their professions, ruining their reputations in the community, stripping them of their livelihood and -- in many instances--driving them to exile or suicide.

"It remains in bad odor throughout the land, but it remains powerful. Its regular demands for appropriations meet with no dissenting votes in the House of Representatives. And it still considers itself a 'grand inquest,' entitled to smear and run--with impunity.

"Recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions -- handed down in a changing atmosphere -- may curtail the power of this and similarly constituted inquisitorial committees."

"For the Supreme Court...has ruled there is no power in congressional committees to 'expose for the sake of exposure.'..."

The Worker,  
October 27, 1957, p. 6.

### 3. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"Important though the new Court decision is, it is, of course, only a good start. The whole web of poisonous McCarthyite legislation and tyrannical executive procedures still disgraces and defiles our country, including such monstrosities as the Taft-Hartley and Right to Work laws, the Smith, McCarran, and Communist Control Acts, and many other such. We must, however, fully appreciate the vast importance of the Supreme Court's blow at this whole disgraceful antidemocratic network."

Daily Worker,  
June 26, 1957, p. 5.

being add no deny

"In the last analysis it is the people, the real court of last resort, who must decide to sweep the Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley law, the McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter law and the rest of the McCarthyite cold war relics into history's dust bin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 16, 1957, p. 4.

"How much longer are the Smith Act prosecutions to continue? How long are Smith Act victims Gilbert Green and Henry Winston to lie in jail? When will those imprisoned under the Smith Act receive presidential pardons so that they can resume full citizenship rights?

"When will the Department of Justice end its harassment of citizens and non-citizens alike? When will the deportation and denaturalization drive under the notorious Walter-McCarren Act cease?"

"When will the whole network of repressive legislation, all aimed at the freedom of expression of the American people, be wiped out so that Americans can freely debate the issues of peace, security and democracy?"

Daily Worker,  
June 19, 1957, p. 5.

#### 4. Amnesty for Imprisoned Party Leaders

"The country should speak up loudly and clearly for junking the Smith Act now, ending all prosecutions under it and freeing Gilbert Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash, imprisoned victims of this iniquitous law."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 26, 1957, p. 5.

"High on the priority list of every democratic-minded American should be the prompt release of the remaining Smith Act Victims in jail-- Gilbert Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash. Prompt amnesty for them, a swift end of all Smith Act prosecutions and a presidential pardon for all persons imprisoned under this monstrous and wholly un-American law would be in order.

"Such actions would be in line with the spirit of the June 17 Supreme Court decisions and the democratic feelings of the great mass of Americans. Such actions would help dissipate the cold war atmosphere and help restore throughout the world the good name of our land, so besmirched by the past period of McCarthyism."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 24, 1957, p. 5.

5. The Case of Morton Sobell

"THE SUPREME COURT has the opportunity to redeem our national honor, besmirched in the eyes of the world by the cold-war judicial executions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

"That opportunity has come to the High Court with the current appeal for a new trial by Morton Sobell, now serving the eighth year of a savage 30 year term in Alcatraz on the paper-thin charge of allegedly conspiring with the Rosenbergs to hand over atomic secrets to our World War II ally, the Soviet Union."

"Throughout the land many people are taking a new look at the Rosenberg-Sobell case. A literature on the subject is growing up, even as one did after the execution 30 years ago of Sacco and Vanzetti.

"In this atmosphere all who love democracy and justice should find it possible to come forward to support the fight for a new trial for Morton Sobell. Elementary fairness to Morton Sobell demands it; a decent regard for democratic justice requires it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 12, 1957, p. 5.

6. Loyalty-Security Program

"...The loyalty-security program--as Dean Acheson testifies in his book, 'A Democrat Looks at His Party'--was wrong. It was a product of the cold war. It actually became a man-hunt for people with non-conformist ideas on peace, civil rights and politics generally. It had nothing to do with genuine loyalty and security, which can never be won by FBI Hawkshaws checking the third cousin of a government forester to find whether he once read The Nation."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 19, 1957, p. 5.

7. Confidential Informants

"...the stable informers\* the Department of Justice has been keeping to obtain its thought-control convictions is thinning out and becoming less reliable."

Daily Worker,  
May 13, 1957, p. 1.

"...Hoover and Brownell are moving heaven and earth to protect their hateful and widely discredited system of political informers,

"The Jencks decision said bluntly that when the FBI puts an informer on the stand in a trial, it must be prepared to submit to the defense the informer's written reports. Why? So that the accused can cross-examine the FBI stoolpigeon and compare his testimony with his prior written reports."

. . . . .

"Brownell and Hoover fear fair cross-examination of their paid liars. They know that the frame-up system employed against trade unionists, Negro leaders, Communists and other progressives will crumble altogether once the informer system is smashed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 28, 1957, p. 5.

\* This probably should read "the stable of informers."

"Hence the frenzy in Brownell-Hoover circles and their Senate and House pals. They have a vested interest in the witch-hunt and the great anti-labor trusts behind them have an even deeper interest. For if the witchhunt fog is dissolved, and Americans once more speak freely and fearlessly on peace, civil rights and economic security, the power of the men of the trusts will surely be curbed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 5, 1957, p. 5.

## 8. McCarthyism

"...In his brief, meteoric career, Joseph McCarthy did great harm to the nation. His was a gospel of hate. His influence was divisive, his teachings warped, his purpose destruction of the democratic process."

. . . . .

"McCarthyism became a term of shame and terror. It poisoned American life. It made American democracy an object of scorn and derision in other lands. It swept so fiercely and so swiftly across our country that in only a few short years it could destroy age-old rights and entrench itself in positions of power.

"And all this under the cloak of fighting the 'menace' of Communism. And such is the pity, such is the folly of men, that despite the well-advertised fate of Germany and Italy, too many Americans failed at first to see that McCarthy and McCarthyism aimed not alone at Communists but at a larger target and a richer prize."

. . . . .

"Yet the passing of McCarthy does not mean an end to McCarthyism. That ugly flower of our era grew not from McCarthy alone nor even only for his party. There are witchhunters aplenty left, Democrats as well as Republicans. There are yards of laws and statutes, and armies of bureaucrats enforcing them, still on the books and still being used, in daily tribute to the spirit of McCarthyism."

. . . . .

\* This probably should read "from his party."

"Joseph McCarthy is dead but the damage he did is not yet healed, not even completely halted. McCarthyism lives and it must be rooted out of American life."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 6, 1957, p. 5.

9. Return to the Bill of Rights

"On June 17 the Supreme Court of the United States made history. In a series of decisions which upheld fundamental principles of constitutional democracy, the Supreme Court moved towards reawakening the conscience of the nation, to strengthen national morality and to affirm the integrity of the American people.

"The ruling of the High Court can mean the end to the long nightmare of McCarthy 'legal' terror against constitutional liberties, civil rights and the human dignity of American citizens."

. . . . .

"Thus, trial by hysteria and judgment by congressional fiat, so destructive to the community life and standing of American citizens and to the security of job and career have been challenged. The day when the political demagogue rode the halls of Congress, the symbol of evil rampant, is coming to an end.

"A magnificent victory has been won in the most significant struggle ever waged in the United States to safeguard the Bill of Rights and the moral and political integrity of people against the subversive and morally corrosive influence of McCarthyism...."

. . . . .

"What is of historic importance is that the court's decisions dealt a direct blow to the McCarthyism myths of the 'conspiratorial' character of Communism, its 'threat' to democratic institutions and its alleged attachment to a foreign government...."

Daily Worker,  
June 25, 1957, p. 5.

"The Court delivered a triple-barreled attack on (1) the Department of Justice and its thought-control Smith Act trials; (2) the free-wheeling Congressional inquisitions, and (3) the hateful loyalty-security program of the Executive.

"In so doing, as some commentators have noted, the Court moved far in advance of the other two branches of government. The Court reaffirmed some ancient and near-forgotten maxims of Jeffersonian democracy....

"The causes for the Supreme Court decisions do not lie principally in the complexities of the law or the make-up of the individual Justices. Basically, they lie in what is commonly called the changed political climate. And the change in the climate resulted from the incessant struggles of the people for democratic rights and for peace. The defeat of McCarthyite congressmen in the 1954 elections, the Senate censure of McCarthy in 1954, the historic summit conference at Geneva in 1955--all these went to make up the new climate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 19, 1957, pp. 1, 5.

"The over-riding lesson that must be learned from the situation is the need and opportunity of following up this important victory by wiping from the statute books and from legislative procedures generally the entire reactionary mess of thought-control laws and practices. The Supreme Court judges did not make this vital decision, however, out of the goodness of their hearts. They responded to the growing democratic pressures in this country and abroad. More of the same will topple a lot more of the disgraceful and poisonous thought-control laws."

Daily Worker,  
June 26, 1957, p. 5.

#### 10. Attacks on the Supreme Court

"When the nine black-robed Supreme Court justices file into their seats promptly at noon today they will have before them a docket of cases touching virtually every aspect of civil liberties...."



"And all of them are to be decided in an atmosphere where the segregationists and the cold warriors are unleashing a sustained attack on the court for its recent decisions on civil rights and civil liberties."

Daily Worker,  
October 7, 1957, p. 3.

"THE McCARTHYITES of our nation are bitterly resisting the Supreme Court's civil liberties decisions. In this they join the Dixiecrats seeking to overthrow the high court's desegregation decisions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 30, 1957, p. 5.

11. Support the Supreme Court Decisions

"THERE is no doubt that while the main trend in the country is back to constitutional liberties, the extreme Right has raised a considerable uproar against the court. The labor movement, the Negro peoples organizations, the farm bodies and various civic groups--together the majority of the nation--have not yet spoken up sufficiently in support of the court's civil liberties decisions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 16, 1957, p. 4.

"NOW a few words concerning a number of measures which the progressive forces, including us Communists, should take to help the counter-attacks of reaction and to advance the whole struggle for democratic liberties and civil rights:

"...It is essential to popularize the democratic significance and portent of the court's decision for all Americans, Communists and non-Communists alike...."

\* This probably should read "on reaction."

"...Organized expressions of support for the court's decisions in the field of civil liberties AND civil rights should be encouraged.

"...In connection with the preliminary discussions now proceeding in respect to the 1958 elections, major attention should be given to raising in a new way the vital issues of upholding the Constitution and the democratic rulings of the court in general...

"...Obviously special attention needs to be given to reaching and mobilizing new sectors of the labor movement to speak out and assert itself...."

Daily Worker,  
August 5, 1957, p. 7.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The national budget should be based on spending "for welfare and not warfare."
2. American troops stationed at foreign military bases should be withdrawn.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Military Budget

"Mr. President:

"You said the other day you plan to take to TV to defend your \$71.8 billions budget, which is under sharp attack from many quarters because it is too high.

"We, too, think it is too high, though not for the same reasons as many of your critics....

"...65 percent is for military and other cold war purposes. Never in peacetime history of our land or any other has so vast an amount been spent for such an end. In the light of the testimony of your military leaders, as well as of such experts as George Kennan, that there is no danger of general war, such expenditures are both unnecessary and provocative."

. . . . .

"You insist you cannot reduce the budget until world tensions are relaxed. But would not a cut in cold war expenses itself help to relax tensions? And is it not a fact that everywhere else such budgets are being cut?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"The issue is inescapable. Unless there is a drive for peace and disarmament, for ending H-bomb tests and far-flung military bases, and ending support to Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and their like, huge budgets principally committed to military expenditures will continue.

"A fight for a people's budget, for welfare and not warfare, for genuine national and social security, is premised today on a settled national policy of peaceful coexistence. This will make possible a shift from huge military expenditures to needed social expenditures and tax relief for the great masses of Americans.

"The people should tell their Congressmen in no uncertain terms: restore all the cuts in social expenditures; cut from the swollen arms establishment and speed the progress of universal disarmament and ending of H-bomb tests; increase tax exemption for low-bracket earners and plug the tax loopholes and depletion allowances by which the monopolists wax fat at the popular expense."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 23, 1957, p. 5.

## 2. Withdrawal of American Troops from Foreign Bases

"American troops are stationed at air, land and naval bases in considerable numbers in 48 countries all over the globe...."

"Some of these are of course normally stationed attaches and personnel at foreign embassies. But in most foreign lands these American forces man the network of bases which surrounds the USSR in an enormous circle around the globe.

"The explosion in Taiwan, the Girard case, the warnings from our closest allies, were indications that a foreign policy which rested on such deployment of our forces abroad was a shaky one indeed.

"So far the Administration has turned down the offer of mutual troops withdrawal. Perhaps as the TV and radio exchanges, which now even Dulles says he favors, are expanded, it will be more difficult to withstand world-wide pressures toward that end."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1957, pp. 5, 13.

"This is what is basically wrong--the policy of having military bases and armies of occupation throughout the world. This is the policy that needs reversal and in the first instance in the Asian lands to which our government too often exports racist attitudes along with wrong and dangerous foreign and military policies."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The blunt fact is that the government's policy of establishing bases and military forces on the territory of other countries is destroying our country's good name.

"A time inevitably comes when a people rises against foreign occupation. It may take a long train of abuses but come it must, as our own Declaration of Independence states so well."

Daily Worker,  
May 28, 1957, p. 5.

# **VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS**

1. A successful struggle for full equality for Negroes in the Southern States is basic to the future progress of the entire Nation.
2. The gains achieved by the Negroes thus far have been secured through "passionate resistance and heroic struggle."
3. The Communist Party, USA, is playing an important part in the struggle to gain full equality for the Negro.
4. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is successfully working for "the expansion of democracy."
5. The civil rights legislation enacted by the 85th Congress, although "weak," has laid the foundation for future efforts to secure passage of a stronger law.
6. The use of Federal troops to protect the rights of Negro high school students in Little Rock, Arkansas, although "reluctant" and "tardy," should be supported by all patriotic citizens.
7. The Federal Government must intervene to protect the rights of Negroes in the Southern States.
8. Every effort must be made to support the drive to qualify 5,000,000 Negroes to vote in the Southern States in the 1960 elections.
9. The labor movement should initiate an intensive campaign to organize the unorganized Negro and white workers in the Southern States.
10. Close unity between the Negro people and the labor movement is indispensable in the struggle for "a progressive democratic America."

11. The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D. C., on May 17, 1957, was a "magnificent and historic" demonstration organized by the Negro people to support their demands for full equality.
12. The Negro people will achieve full equality only under socialism.
13. Native Americans are taught to regard the foreign born as their inferiors.
14. Although "distortions" during Stalin's regime led to the unjust execution and persecution of many Jews in the Soviet Union, these "errors" are being steadily corrected. However, a more detailed explanation by the Soviet Union of the steps being taken to prevent a recurrence of these abuses would be welcomed.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Fight for Negro Rights Is Basic

"The fight for the full citizenship of the Negroes in the deep South, and for the democratization of that blighted area, intersects the whole pattern of American life and, for the most part, is determinative of the social progress and future of the nation."

"The most active contradiction within American society today is the struggle for the full citizenship of the Negro people--for civil rights--against the system of national oppression and jim-crow imposed upon Negro people. It is a struggle that takes place on many fronts--economic, social, political and legislative--the core of which is in the South, where the right to vote is the next big crusade of the freedom fighters, actively supported by labor and democratic forces all over the country. The whole future of the nation depends upon the sharpening and quick resolution of this struggle in a democratic manner..."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, pp. 16, 20.

"Life demands of the American people an intensification of the struggle for civil rights, civil liberties and respect for human dignity. Failure to press forward in greater numbers and at an increased tempo will bring disastrous political effects such as have been sustained from time to time in the struggle to pass remedial civil rights legislation."

Daily Worker,  
May 27, 1957, p. 4.

2. Need for Struggle

"The logical consequences of a half century of compromise, procrastination, passivity and uncertainty surrounding the constitutional rights of the Negro people and their dignity as human beings can now be clearly seen. The half-century's failure of the federal government to protect the lives, property and rights of the Negro has produced the imminent danger of bloody racist outbreaks against Negro citizens that cannot possibly be localized should one occur. It has jeopardized orderly constitutional procedure throughout the nation and threatens the solidarity of the Union."

Daily Worker,  
September 23, 1957, p. 5.

"Furthermore, whatever advances have been made by the Negro people in the United States have come as the result not of patience and moderation --which are synonyms for passivity and inaction--but of passionate resistance and heroic struggle. That is the indubitable historical record. The Negro people know that truth in their bones and they are acting upon that truth."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 20.

3. Communists Fight for Rights of Negroes

"Communists are dedicated to socialism in the United States, based upon the best traditions and national characteristics of our own country.



They fight for the immediate interests of the Negro, the working class and the whole American people. Hence, the building and consolidation of the Communist Party is in the interest of the whole country. They will spare no effort in fighting to smash the threatening filibuster and in cooperation with all others, to secure passage of civil rights legislation in the Senate."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1957, p. 7.

"The building of the Communist Party is an essential part of the fight for a powerful, militant and united movement for the achievement of every partial civil rights reform...."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, p. 19.

"...our Party will go forward to make its essential contribution to the freedom of Negro Americans, the victory of the American working class, a world at peace and the achievement of socialism."

National Committee, CPUSA, "In Memoriam: Edward E. Strong," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 3.

#### 4. Relations with Negro Organizations

"THE 48th annual convention of the NAACP which closed last week-end in Detroit undoubtedly registered a high water mark in the fight for civil rights and for the expansion of democracy."

"In summing up its victories, accounting for its setbacks, and mapping its immediate future, the NAACP convention operated in an atmosphere of restrained optimism, created by a certainty of ultimate

victory. The convention strongly suggested that millions of Americans, Negro and white, are ready to act on the understanding that freedom is indivisible. This, in part, has been the contribution to democracy of the NAACP and of those who gathered in Detroit to attend its 48th convention."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 3, 1957, p. 5.

"... Conscious participants in the upward struggles of peoples and societies, Communists move with confidence in the triumph of socialism, and have no need of mechanical putches or captures of movements and organizations. Those are the anti-democratic methods of fascist reaction, and imperialism."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, p. 19.

##### 5. Civil Rights Legislation

"THE ZERO HOUR is approaching for civil rights legislation-- even for the Senate-weakened version of the Administration bill now in the House Rules Committee. We disagree with those who are in full cry for the bill's defeat. We agree with the NAACP, the AFL-CIO executive council and other groups who have urged the House to pass the measure as a foundation upon which to build.

"It is true that the Dixiecrats won a partial victory in striking from the bill two of its original moderate provisions to protect civil rights by federal court injunctions. But the bill still provides for a Civil Rights Commission and gives the Attorney General the power to intervene to protect voting rights when these are denied by state agencies. And a federal court can still jail such agents who fail to heed its orders until those orders are complied with."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 15, 1957, pp. 1, 5.

"...The fact remains there could have been a far stronger bill had it not been for the maneuvers of the Johnson leadership and the on-again-off-again attitude of President Eisenhower.

"Nevertheless, weak as it is, a civil rights bill to advance the right to vote is at last on the books for the first time since Reconstruction Days. The problem now is two-fold: first, to enforce it; second, to strengthen it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 4, 1957, p. 5.

"Congress has deferred to the moral and political poverty of its Dixiecrat contingent. It obviously has decided to enforce constitutional rights on the installment plan. The supporters of civil rights feel compelled to accept the installment, puny as it is, as a foundation upon which to build...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 13, 1957, p. 5.

#### 6. Little Rock

"The voice of the Nation--appalled and outraged by Arkansas Governor Faubus' cold-hearted armed assault upon the Negro children of Little Rock--has finally evoked a response from a reluctant and uncomprehending President. Though unforgivably tardy (for 20 days the whole burden of upholding the integrity of Federal law against the mob inspired by an insurrectionary Governor was borne on the small shoulders of nine lonely Negro boys and girls!)--Eisenhower finally acknowledged his responsibility to enforce the law of the land and ordered the U.S. Army to counter the force and violence of the mob and secure to the Negro children their lawful right to attend the Little Rock Central High School."

. . . . .

"All people with a sense of justice, humanity and patriotism welcome the action of the President....

"Let this decisive action of President Eisenhower evoke a new pattern of civic responsibility on the part of government officials, the trade union leaders, the spokesmen of religious and cultural circles, to counter the outrageous work of the racists with crusading deeds to wipe the stench of segregation and discrimination from all areas of national life."

"The action of the government at Little Rock must not become a single shot expedient. Little Rock cannot be a half-way way house for the government to rest its case against the insurrectionary southern segregationists. As Faubus' infamy was no isolated stunt of a wild man, so Eisenhower's counter-action at Little Rock must not be an isolated deed but the first of a series of measures that the government must be compelled to undertake to put down the southern racists revolt and secure the rights of the millions of Negroes to exercise their full rights as citizens.

"The Department of Justice must initiate criminal proceedings against the circle of high placed insurrectionary conspirators who have plotted and organized defiance of the laws. It must act to indict, prosecute and jail the chieftains of the White Citizens Council and KKK subversives who flaunt the laws of the land. Governor Faubus is the chief instrument of the Dixiecrat profiteers-in-prejudice but he is only one of a list of criminals-at-large-Faubus shares the responsibility for the infamy of Little Rock with such notables as Governor Timmerman of Georgia, \* Governor Darden of Virginia, \*\* Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, and Senator Strom Thurman of South Carolina. The world has not forgotten the 'Manifesto of 100 Southern Congressmen' entered in the Congressional Record by the notorious witchhunter Howard W. Smith of Virginia which invoked the spirit of Confederate rebellion to the Union and summoned the South to 'resist by every lawful means' the desegregation and anti-discrimination rulings of the Supreme Court. Impeachment proceedings must be brought against them. They must be expelled from the Congressional Committees which they dominate."

\*George B. Timmerman is Governor of South Carolina.

\*\*J. Lindsay Almond was elected Governor of Virginia in November, 1957, to succeed Thomas B. Stanley.

"The government must be compelled to recognize that the policy of tedious 'moderation and gradualism' only comforts the segregationists. It provides them with time to organize legalistic, legislative and mob defiance of the law. The constitutional rights of Negro school children and their parents are personal and present and do not lend themselves to 'gradual and moderate' remedy. Justice deferred is justice denied when it comes to the rights of children to schooling and of their parents to voting in a given election.

"To insure the outcome of the crisis of Little Rock the President should act NOW to impanel the six-man bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission as authorized by the Civil Rights law to set up the Civil Rights Department of the Justice Department and set it to work implementing the newly enacted Civil Rights Law....

"The epic struggle of the Negro people and democracy loving Americans for an end to segregation and discrimination has entered a new phase. The issue is irrevocably joined and it must be fought out on a vast scale with new sharpness and decisiveness. There can be no halfway stopping point."

"Let everyone in this hour act to manifest support and solidarity with all measures taken to secure the enforcement of the laws of the U.S. in respect to the citizenship and human rights of the Negro People...."

Daily Worker,  
September 30, 1957, pp. 1, 4.

## 7. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"...in its present framework the issue is whether American citizens can be secure in their federally guaranteed rights against racist officials and private citizens who are influenced by their actions. The President is duty bound to act with speed the preserve\*these rights under a republican form of government.

\*This probably should read "to preserve."

"If Negroes--supported by some Southern whites--are willing to die for this principle, the least the President can do is act to protect it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 11, 1957, p. 5.

"Racist law-breaking, when it has the blessings of the Dixiecrat political machines in the Deep South, is, in effect, encouraged. This only invites greater defiance and more violence. The President has the duty to speak up for law and order, to mount a moral crusade for law and order, to demand respect for law by prosecuting law-breakers."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
November 21, 1957, p. 2.

"... The Department of Justice and the great powers at the command of the President, as chief executive of the Government, must be fully applied throughout the offending areas of the country to enforce compliance with the desegregation rulings of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional provisions which uphold the right of the Negro people to full and unfettered equality!"

Daily Worker,  
September 11, 1957, p. 2.

8. Right To Vote in the South

"The fight for the ballot is a uniting movement in the South, drawing into activity the five million Negro sharecroppers and poor farmers, whose suffering from terror and intimidation is even more terrifying than that of the Negroes in the Southern cities...."

"The battle for the vote still requires the outlawing of the poll tax and all the other contemptible and illegal subterfuges used by the racist officials to disfranchise not only Negroes but whites."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1957, p. 5.

"For now, let labor and the popular forces render every material aid to the newly launched crusade of the Southern Negroes to secure to themselves the tools of effective political action--the right to vote and to stand for election.\* The 'register and vote' campaign, with its goal to qualify 5,000,000 Negro voters by 1960, is now getting under way throughout the South... As this movement succeeds, new, progressive alliances and Negro-white mass political relations will be born of it; the South will witness the emergence of a different sort of power relation in its political complexion, which will be altogether favorable to the cause of social progress and working-class advance in the nation as a whole."

James E. Jackson, Jr., "The Challenge of Little Rock," Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 10.

#### 9. Organizing Drive in the South

"...It is essential that the AFL-CIO throw its great weight **ACTIVELY** into the integration struggle. This requires consistent support to the struggle in Arkansas; an educational campaign against poisonous racist ideas that affect sections of labor, particularly in the South; above all, a far-flung organizing drive of unorganized Negro and white workers in the South.

"To organize the South is to battle against centers of the open-shop, the runaway shop, the sweatshop. To organize the South is to weaken politically the racists and open-shoppers who control key Congressional committees as well as Southern state legislatures. They are the gentry who pass right-to-scab laws, resist minimum wage legislation and fight every economic and social advance sought by the people.

"In the all-out national offensive against racism labor can play a key role. Thus it will not only cement its alliance with the Negro people--an absolute condition for political progress in our country--but will strengthen itself and the people of America immeasurably."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 3, 1957, p. 5.

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

10. Negro-Labor Unity

"Labor and the Negro people stand in the forefront of the social forces making for a progressive democratic America. The unity in struggle of these two is indispensable to a people's victory and the realization of a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people.' The rights and interests of labor and the Negro people are inseparably related. Their destinies are inextricably interwoven. Yet labor and the Negro people are separate entities. It is, however, a dangerous fallacy to see in that individuality a barrier to united action."

"...the prerequisites for eliminating racial restrictions through the establishment of broad unified cultural and political actions of the people exist. Given this unity of the Negro people, labor and their allies, victory can be realized."

Daily Worker,  
May 27, 1957, p. 4.

11. Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom

"THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE of May 17 was a magnificent and historic protest demonstration, representing a new high level of the Negro people's movement. It registered their united will, together with significant sections of their white labor and progressive allies, for full integration into first-class citizenship, particularly in the deep South. The demonstration will have its impact on coming events, nationally and internationally, and will greatly strengthen the confidence of the Negro people in moving together as a people. But the struggle has just begun."

"Not since the Civil War has there ever been such a powerful, massive demonstration of the Negro people for first class



citizenship; nor has there been in modern America a similar mobilization from any other section of the population, not excluding labor in its own direct interest...."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, pp. 14, 15.

12. Negroes Need Socialism

"The Communists are interested not alone in the immediate reforms necessary in advancing Negro rights, but also in the ultimate achievement of socialism. The present system of national oppression of the Negro people, the brutal racist crimes committed against them are the failure of American capitalism, and are inherent in capitalism and imperialism, of which the U.S. is the most ruthless in the world. In this sense, U.S. capitalism is in a political crisis.

"...Socialism alone in our over-ripe country can smash the capitalist roots of racism and national oppression and prepare the conditions for the full manhood status of the Negro people, conditions which are thwarted by the profit system of the big monopolies.

"Against this perspective, American capitalism offers only nuclear tests and wars, the retention of colonialism, international tension, factory speedup and a free hand to the Eastlands, the Klans and the white citizens councils."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1957, pp. 5, 7.

13. Foreign-Born Americans

"THE UPSTATE New York convention of gangsters raided by police, almost all their listed names sounding Italian, provided the press

with a fresh opportunity to blaze out rewrites of their racket stories, but this time angled 'Mafia.'..."

"The Mafia yarn is directed at Italian-Americans just as the 'Protocols of Zion' fake is used for anti-Semitic incitement and 'rape' charge are aimed at Negroes.

"The same pattern of 'special' slanders is applied against Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, American Indians people of Asia in this country and every nationality of European origin.

"AMERICANS from childhood on are trained to believe that the filth in our lives is brought into the country from elsewhere....

"The truth is that when heavy immigration to America began, crime in all its forms was already in full flower here. New arrivals who were attracted into one or another field of crime had 'pure' Americans as their trainers in most cases."

Daily Worker,  
November 20, 1957, p. 2.

#### 14. Soviet Anti-Semitism

"THE resolution on the Jewish question in the Soviet Union points out the historic achievements of the USSR in outlawing anti-Semitism, enabling Jews to enter all phases of economic, political and cultural life, encouraging the development of a variegated Yiddish-language culture, and in rescuing hundreds of thousands of Jews when Hitler launched World War II.

"The resolution notes, however, that the Soviet Jewish community was later hard hit by distortions of 'the Leninist policy on the national question,' It states:

" 'Administrative actions that go back so far as the mid-1930s led, after World War II, to the liquidation of all Jewish secular institutions, organizations and channels of cultural expression, outside of Biro-Bidjan, whose Jewish cultural life, however, was also adversely affected by these administrative actions....

" 'Jewish cultural figures, many of them with worldwide reputations and following, were unjustly and secretly executed. Many others were persecuted and imprisoned. We who were incredulous when enemies of socialism rumored such events were horrified when unimpeachable Communist sources since the 20th Congress (of the Soviet Communist Party) corroborated them.'

"THE resolution records the positive changes that began even before the 20th Congress and the plans reported by visitors to the Soviet Union, for the restoration of various Jewish cultural institutions.

" 'Thus far,' the resolution states, 'not one of these projects had been carried to fruition. The fact that there was no publicly proclaimed program for the restoration and re-establishment of Jewish cultural life... has increased the anxiety of the Jewish people and other democratically minded Americans and sections of the working class.'

"Citing the fact that Soviet Jews 'are notably active in government positions, in all aspects of the economic, administrative, scientific, cultural and political work of the Soviet Union,' the resolution continues;

" 'We reject the slander of anti-Soviet elements accusing the Soviet Union of anti-Semitism. There is no official state policy of anti-Semitism. However, remnants of anti-Semitism, implanted by generations of former tsarist rule and revived to a certain degree among backward elements by the Hitlerite wartime occupation, apparently remain.'

"The document further states:

" 'All those in many lands concerned with the matter would be heartened by the Soviet government's issuing a statement on what happened to

Jewish culture and on how the errors on the Lenin policy on the question are being and would be overcome.'

"The resolution expresses confidence that 'the Soviet party, which is steadily correcting the errors of the Stalin period, will...give full expression to the cultural needs and desires of the Jewish people.' "

The Worker,  
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. Education in the United States is in a state of crisis.
2. Greater educational opportunities should be afforded to the children of low-income families.
3. A program of increased Federal and state assistance is necessary to relieve the crisis in education.
4. Socialism has proved its superiority over capitalism in the field of education.
5. The closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science\* was a "big blow" to the working class in America.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Crisis in Education

"YES, WE AMERICANS must think more deeply than ever we did in our lifetime. The question, 'Why did they do it first?' \*\* is an enormous challenge. Can it be that socialism's overwhelming emphasis on education--on the well-being of the young--has something to do with the answer?

"Must we not ask why its schools and universities are turning out more scientists and technicians than we are?

"How can that be when we are the richest nation of the world? And why is it that our public school system is in crisis, lacking teachers and adequate space?"

The Worker,  
October 13, 1957, p. 9.

\*The Jefferson School of Social Science has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

\*\*This refers to the launching of the Soviet earth satellite.

"It is obvious that kids suffer when crammed into overloaded classes. Academic standards have sagged noticeably as many of the ablest teachers are lured out of the classrooms by better pay in industry and other fields. This is especially true of men teachers and most especially of those teaching mathematics and the sciences."

"Moreover, the physical surroundings of many youngsters during that third of their waking hours which is spent in school, are in the words of the Teachers' Union, 'dismal, dilapidated and even dangerous' in some instances. Equipment and supplies are often as antiquated and inadequate as the buildings which house them...."

The Worker,  
September 15, 1957, p. 5.

## 2. Education for All

"...What is needed here is the democratization of our educational system, in quantity and quality; an end to racism, to conditions favoring the rich, to an atmosphere choking the conscientious teacher, to male supremacy, to budgetary stinginess when it comes to the mental development of our youth. That is the lesson for the American educational system from the thrilling advances made in this regard during 40 years of Socialism in the USSR."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1957,  
p. 26.

"How quickly forgotten here is the talk about our country's lag in education as compared to the advances in the Soviet Union. Does anyone seriously propose that the way to keep America in the forefront scientifically and educationally is to hang the sign 'For Rich Only' on our universities?"

"A real inquiry into higher education would come to exactly opposite conclusions... More and more scholarships for qualified youngsters, regardless of their families' abilities to pay, should be the demand."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 29, 1957, p. 2.

"...It is not a question of creating opportunities for the 'highest IQ' handful--but of raising the level of ALL students in an educational schedule for DEMOCRACY, not for death. That is the issue that confronts every American father and mother and child, and it presses urgently on every household in the country."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 1, 1957, p. 2.

3. Increased Aid for Education

"... More and better schools are desperately needed. Better pay for teachers so they do not need to work two jobs to make a living. This better pay and improved conditions for teachers will attract many young people to become dedicated teachers.

"Much more federal and state aid to schools is the only answer to the tremendous problems that face the educational system today."

Daily Worker,  
October 4, 1957, p. 5.

4. Education under Socialism

"... Forty years ago, when the Russian Revolution occurred, we were known as the country with the world's highest literacy and the educational picture in Czarist Russia was just about what it was in Chiang Kai-shek China. Today, as all our experts concede, the USSR surpasses us in educational development, especially in the training of scientists."

"Socialism is showing its superiority in many fields, most strikingly in the field of education. The socialist countries have difficulties, of course--difficulties stemming from rapid growth. But we, boastful of our riches, are falling behind. The record should shame America and arouse the people for a major campaign for more schools, more teachers and better treatment of those who teach our children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
September 3, 1957, p. 5.

5. Jefferson School of Social Science

"LOSS OF THE Jefferson School of Social Science was a big blow to the workingclass movement of New York and, indeed, the country. It left a vacuum that must be filled by advanced workers who long ago realized that theory is the inseparable handmaiden of practice.

"It is good to learn, therefore, that a group of Marxist instructors will resume a series of courses in various aspects of Marxist theory...

"Progressive workers will, we are sure, give these courses their support. For there can be no real advance towards socialism without a profound understanding of socialist theory...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
October 21, 1957, p. 5.



X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. In capitalist society, the ruling class controls the media of cultural expression.
2. The people of the Soviet Union have developed a high cultural level.
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of cultural delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
4. The working class should offer greater support for the enactment of a Fine Arts Bill.
5. Increased Federal aid would assist in promoting the arts in the United States.
6. "Big Business" prevented the fulfillment of the "cultural evolution" which began during the 1930's.
7. Culture is "a dynamic force" in the struggle for socialism.
8. Recent Soviet scientific achievements foretell even greater successes in the future.
9. Scientific development in the United States has been handicapped by "witch-hunting" and the "cold war."
10. The International Geophysical Year is a symbol of peace.
11. Both science and socialism are "collective, planned, socially-oriented."
12. The true current evangelists are the leaders of the struggle for Negro rights in the Southern States.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Culture under Capitalism

"The main enemy in the cultural as well as other fields is the monopolist-imperialist who owns, controls, vulgarizes, censors or suppresses culture and cultural institutions, media of communication, etc...."

"...It is of course true that the ultimately decisive factor in cultural as in all history is the economic factor. In the depression thirties economic pressures drove most intellectuals to identify their interests with those of the workers, and to feel hospitable to the aims of depression-proof socialism; whereas in recent years it has cost cultural workers their jobs, their audience, even their personal liberty to defy the ruling class and side with socialism and peace against capitalism and war...."

"...Capitalist art, therefore, will reflect in artistic, metaphorical terms the competitiveness, individualism and class antagonisms of capitalism in the most favorable light and will ascribe to the ruling class many of the virtues of a superior species. Only the greatest humanist art, as a rule, transcends the narrow class view of current reality."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, pp. 26, 27, 28.

### 2. Culture in the USSR

"The cultural level of the Soviet people, as one may see it in Moscow and Leningrad, is so high as to be breathtaking. Everywhere

people are reading, and they are reading the classics of the entire world's literature. People are reading while riding the escalators in the Metros-- everywhere. I never saw anything like it. And the enthusiasm for music and the ballet is enormous; and I found that everybody, those I met most casually who were working in the Metro, or ordinary citizens walking on the streets, could discuss music and art and literature with fluency and real interest. I found, too, a very great familiarity with the artistic and cultural achievements of the Western world."

"... The Russians seemed almost fanatical about knowledge, about learning; they seemed unable to get their fill of culture. It was thrilling to see working men and women flocking to the theatre, ballet, music halls, art museums, libraries, the jammed bookstores. Culture seemed as necessary and as important as food."

Charlotte Saxe, "The Youth Festival in Moscow," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 12.

### 3. Exchange of Cultural Delegations

"Both our government and the U.S.S.R. are officially committed to the sound principle that cultural and other exchanges between the two countries and peoples are conducive to better understanding.

"The more Americans and Russians exchange visits the better...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 14, 1957, p. 4.

### 4. Fine Arts Bill

"It is a paradoxical fact that the utility of art, both on the obvious and the unobvious level, has always been recognized and combatted

by the class in power, while the working class remains largely unaware of the valuable services available to it in various cultural forms. Save for rare instances, when unions have employed technical and talent workers to mount a theatrical production in their behalf... or hired an artist to decorate a union hall, or helped to promote a book club, the labor movement has hardly begun to tap the tremendous resources at its command. It is significant that today's belated and timid campaign for a Fine Arts Bill is being conducted by intellectuals unaided by the working class and that the most effective argument in its favor is not that it will bring cultural advantages within range of the people but that it will constitute a valuable instrument in the cold war!

"So long as the mass of the people--including their most progressive leaders--exhibit the traditional backwoods contempt for culture and ignore it in favor of exclusive concentration on pork chops, we shall not even begin the job of creating a humanist American culture indispensable to the overall campaign for socialism."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 26.

##### 5. Federal Aid for the Arts

"For an immediate solution, the theatre needs more artistic boldness. An ultimate solution must come through establishment of repertory theatre sponsored by federal, state and local governments where actors, directors and playwrights can work together free from the roadblocks and frustrations of a commercial theatre which is dominated by landlords and businessmen."

"... But unhappily prices of tickets remain up somewhere in the clouds. And I guess they will remain there until we catch up with the rest of the world and establish permanent repertory companies

fully or partially subsidized by grants from a federal fine arts commission."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, pp. 8, 14.

6. Art for the People

"Any writer who went through the Thirties can never forget the surging thunder and glory of those days. The great arts projects were started by the Roosevelt government solely to keep alive thousands of hungry writers, musicians, artists and other cultural workers. But the projects grew far beyond anyone's original plan. For the first time, they brought art galleries, symphony concerts, the theatre classics in live form, and other expressions of man's spiritual heritage to thousands of crossroad villages, factory towns, slums, cities and fields where the people did their daily living and struggling, and where never before had culture penetrated. Art went to the people, for the first time in America. What is more, the people gladly welcomed the artists. It was a true cultural evolution that could have changed the people and the artists. If it hadn't been stopped in time by Big Business and its Congress.

"AS FOR THE writers, they produced many good things... The books and poems and plays of the Hungry Thirties, whatever form they took had a common spirit. They were not metaphysical, but lived on earth, not among little self-absorbed saints or ivory-tower sensibilities, but among the vast creators of new worlds--the People."

The Worker,  
May 12, 1957, p. 9.

"...In the United States the depression had created a glorious renaissance of the arts. Social realism, charged with fire, imagination and every kind of new form, inspired the country. Painting came close to the people. But after Roosevelt died, the rich returned

from their underground, and took over American life again. They made an open assault on the hated realism of the people."

The Worker,  
May 19, 1957, p. 11.

"... The flowering of Left-wing theatre, art and literature in the 1930's, although seldom attaining a very high cultural level, nevertheless heightened the social consciousness of the entire country...."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 25.

## 7. Communist Cultural Program

"THE resolution on cultural work states that the Communist Party's approach to this question must be based on:

"Recognition of 'the critical importance of culture'; thorough understanding of 'our country's democratic cultural heritage, including the rich workingclass and socialist traditions of our people and cultural contributions of the Negro people, of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American peoples, of the Jewish, Italian and other national groups'; opposition to political censorship and economic blacklisting; a break with past practices 'which tended to impose a narrow, doctrinaire conception of the role of the artist in the Party'; a determined effort to improve artistic criticism on a Marxist-Leninist basis; struggle against 'anti-cultural and anti-intellectual tendencies within the Party and against all reactionary ideas and influences of monopoly capitalism.' "

The Worker,  
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

"...in a period like the present, when creative activity on the Left has all but petered out, the first step should be to encourage cultural

activity on every level and in every form. The best encouragement to this end would be a new attitude toward culture in our ranks from top to bottom--a whole-hearted, not merely verbal recognition of culture as a dynamic force in the total campaign for socialism."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 31.

8. Science in the USSR

"With the launching of the world's first space satellite two weeks ago, world attention focused once again on Soviet science--on the men and women responsible for this latter-day wonder and on the accomplishments of inventors, theoreticians, engineers, and scientists of every kind in the largest country on earth.

"One of the reasons for the tremendous surprise in the United States at the Soviet Union's feat has been the decades-long propaganda barrage which has told us time and again that Soviet scientists could accomplish nothing important because communism imposed a totalitarian system on them...."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1957, p. 6.

"In scientific development the simple fact is that no country surpasses the USSR, and that in important areas the work of Soviet scientists is without peer in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 21.

"ALL THIS, of course, is only a beginning. The Soviet Union is still a very young country. Only 40 years old, it is developing with unparalleled

speed. Although it has already established Socialism, it is still building the economic base and educating the great armies of scientists, engineers and skilled workers who will soon carry the country on to the realization of still more astonishing 'impossibilities' than it has yet done."

Daily Worker,  
October 9, 1957, p. 7.

9. Science in America

"...Mr. Wilson, of course, has been Secretary for Defense; and it is he who remarked: 'Basic research is when you don't know what you're doing.'

"In that remark is not only the egregious ignorance of a Cabinet member and one of our leading 'industrial statesmen'; in it is focused the purely pragmatic, anti-cultural philistinism of the American monopoly bourgeoisie. Therein is characteristic contempt for scholarship and for teaching... There is the explanation for the average yearly salary of \$3,700 for instructors in large state universities. There is the attitude that makes possible and urges on the hounding of scientists by a McCarthy and the firing or intimidating of the most original minds in the country."

Herbert Aptheker "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 23.

"Many American scientists and educators differ concerning the unprecedented scope and rate of progress, as well as the inherent values of and potentiality of socialist scientific research, education, invention and industrial production. But many of them presently recognize that a decade of witch-hunting McCarthyism and Truman-Dulles cold war policies have severely disoriented and set back scientific inquiry and progress in the U.S.A."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 3.



10. International Geophysical Year

"Call it 'Operation IGY,' if you like, but bear in mind that it has little similarity to the types of organized activity a military-minded generation labels 'operations.'"

"In this project the 'enemy' is man's ignorance of his terrestrial home, and mayhap the example of 64 nations collaborating to dispel this 'enemy' will also be useful in saving mankind from the greater enemy of its own inhumanity."

"...in these days of the cold war and the nuclear arms race, 64 nations are relying on one another, demonstrating their confidence in the integrity of one another, in what is undoubtedly the greatest peacetime project for human advancement in human history."

Daily Worker,  
July 17, 1957, p. 6.

"Clearly the International Geophysical Year is a symbol of peace and of the uses to which man's growing mastery over nature can be put to build a better world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 7, 1957, p. 4.

11. Socialism and Science

"...Socialism is collective, planned, socially-oriented. So is science; and the identity stems from the fact that socialism is the first scientific social order ever brought into existence. A socialist society is a society consciously reared in Marxism-Leninism, on the scientific outlook of dialectical materialism. Science is to socialism as the fingers are to the hand..."

Herbert Apthekar, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 23.

12. Evangelism

"Listen, and what real evangelists do we hear today. Not Billy Graham, who has made revival another tranquilizer....

"But, we do hear Martin Luther King...we hear the voices of the Negro people, walking a sawdust trail that has not been swept, waxed and air-conditioned.

"They fight with the New Testament, as Midwest and Southern labor organizers fought in the 30s and early 40s.

"When we listen now for the voice of love and anger, we hear Martin Luther King thunder across the land...."

The Worker,  
October 13, 1957, p. 10.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women want to rear their children in an era of peace.
2. Present laws and customs "cage women and curb their talents."
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of women's delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women Want Peace

"WE CANNOT go along with those who poo-poo Mother's Day as nothing more than a commercial racket. It is true that like many other good things, it has been somewhat cheapened by the frantic pursuit of the almighty buck. Nonetheless, the idea of honoring the mothers of our land once a year remains a valid one far beyond the ability of high pressure merchandising to spoil.

"We join in the tribute to Mother, who must raise a family, make do despite the high cost of living, and increasingly do those things while holding down an outside job.

"We would only add that the very best Mother's Day present in 1957 would be the guarantee that today's children will grow up free from the menace of the A- and H-bomb."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 12, 1957, p. 4.

#### 2. Women's Wasted Talents

"I CAME into the sunny conference room at the river level of the United Nations..."

. . . . .

"The delegates represented the women of the world: here a delicate woman wearing a flowered sari, of India, there a smartly-tailored, graying woman of the U. S. A., bent intent over their desks shaped in a huge double horse-shoe that curves toward the chairman's podium, were leafing through documents that one day may help millions of women toward freedom.

"...This was the 11th meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women--the one world group steadily working to change the complex laws and customs that cage women and curb their talents. It was starting this 11th year with an exciting project that promises in time to transform the fight for women's rights."

"In the cool language of UN, the project they were discussing is called 'Economic Opportunities for Women.'... A global survey to find just what chances a woman has for a decent education in the field that interests her and afterward, what opening there are."

"ACTUALLY, the UN is no stranger to this area of women's rights. Many of its earlier and current projects--the one on equal pay for equal work, another on access to education, one on part-time jobs--have touched facets of it. But before now, the studies have been separated.

"Today the work is being merged and unified, and all the delegates consider it a large step forward...."

"The commission wants the whole picture, so that a girl just starting can tell what she must face, in which direction to funnel her efforts."

"Soon, UN will have the full story of how women are treated in the professions. Later, it will supply the same services to any woman who wants to work.

"These fact may, in time, help the struggle to open the doors of every school, office and factory in the world, so that the gifts and strength of women can be fully used."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1957, pp. 6, 14.

3. Exchange of Women's Delegations

"IN THE MIDST of heightened tension between the two countries the U.S. and the Soviet Union have opened negotiations on cultural exchange. The very holding of these negotiations is a result of the Geneva Conference in July, 1955, and is proof that the four-power summit meeting bore fruit that not even the cold-war blasts could kill."

. . . . .

"The possibilities as far as organizations are concerned are limitless. For example, one can imagine the League of Women Voters, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Federation of Women's Clubs, women's trade union auxiliaries, etc. choosing a joint delegation to study the status of women in the USSR, while a delegation from the Soviet women's organizations does the same here."

Daily Worker,  
October 31, 1957, p. 2.

## XII. YOUTH

1. The emphasis on financial success, rather than on ethics, in our society helps to explain the rise of juvenile delinquency.
2. There should be an increase in the exchange of youth delegations between the United States and the socialist nations.
3. Socialism would provide American youth with a higher standard of values.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Juvenile Delinquency

"THE TRIAL of 'Confidential' magazine has ousted news of protests against radioactive fall-out from the headlines. And now the folk of our nation is being showered by lurid stories of scandal, tales of madams and boudoir spies, titillated by big name sdragged through mud and unknown names coming up from the mire."

. . . . .

"The abhorrent mess has its logic in a world where cash is preferable to ethics. And there is a small step from the invasion of political privacy to that of personal privacy."

. . . . .

"And all of us are casting about for causes to explain what is happening to our youth who are being locked up for juvenile delinquent behavior. Look at 'Confidential,' if that kind of phenomenon isn't a reason we will eat the next copy of the Daily News front page, photograph of Desi Arnaz, Ronnie Quillan and all."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 18, 1957, p. 4.

## 2. Exchange of Youth Delegations

"THE STATE Department is reportedly discouraging young Americans from attending the World Youth Festival in Moscow this summer. Presumably the department suspects that any youngster who gets to Russia will promptly snag himself a press card and head for Peking, to cover China and confound John Foster.

"The State Department has not--so far--actually prohibited Americans from going; it is granting passports permitting our young people to join the 35,000 from 120 other nations who are expected at the festival.

"But it is not 'encouraging' attendance--a euphemism for doing your darnedest to keep people from going."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 14, 1957, p. 4.

"As a matter of fact, the State Department, agitated by the affair, could well consider promoting a Youth Festival in the USA, and invite youngsters from all lands--including the socialist lands--to learn of our ways. Why not?"

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 28, 1957, p. 4.

## 3. Youth Needs Socialism

"...Can it be that our society, based upon capitalism and the drive for private profits is demonstrating its inferiority to socialism?"

"A useful gauge to judge a society is its treatment of the young. Are we providing the necessary facilities to evoke their latent capacities, to rear them so that they can realize their magnificent potential? The answer, many American voices are crying, is in the negative--this tragic day of Little Rock."

The Worker,  
October 13, 1957, p. 9.

"American youth grows up under a system which promotes what might be called valueless values. Get to the top regardless of whom you trample over. The Big Dollar, the biggest automobile becomes the thing worth killing for. And why not kill? The main media for shaping public opinion; television, movies, newspapers, etc., suggests to the young that murder pays off if you avoid the stupid mistakes of moviedom characters. In other words, today's youth are victimized by an general environment which knows no race nor community boundary.

"There is no doubt but what America needs a new social system. One in which new values are created. A system in which the main drive will be to promote the advancement of all society rather than the individual. Such a system is socialism."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1957, p. 11.



# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1958 -- JUNE 1958



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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**January 1958--June 1958**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker (until publication was suspended on January 13, 1958) and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued to stress the themes of peaceful coexistence and the abolishment of nuclear-weapons tests. Peaceful coexistence was hailed as the only alternative to "no existence." In this connection, the Party has continued its demands for a summit conference as a necessary step toward world peace.

The Party has consistently taken the side of the Soviet Union in the matter of missile bases in Europe and the Middle East, describing the establishment of such bases by the Western Powers as a provocative act which endangers world peace. Demands for a nuclear-free Germany continued. United States foreign aid was criticized as being part of a war program, and the Party line has consistently called for reciprocal trade agreements with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries.

The Party continued to advocate recognition of communist China. General Charles de Gaulle's rise to power in France was termed a "fascist threat." The Party approved of the execution of the Hungarian leaders and claimed that the "imperialists" were using the incident as a



pretext to avoid a summit conference. The United States was charged with responsibility for the unrest in Latin America and the Middle East because of its support of colonialism in those areas. In all phases of international relations, the overriding theme of the Party line has been that the Soviet Union is at all times motivated by a desire for peace.

With reference to national affairs, the economic situation received the greatest emphasis. The Administration was criticized for its "do-nothing" policy. The President's budget was condemned for its emphasis on military expenditures at the expense of welfare items.

A "butter, not guns" program was called for to relieve unemployment by providing funds for public works, health, schools, and general welfare. Socialism was held to be the only permanent answer to the economic problems of the United States.

The Party criticized labor-union leadership for not providing "effective political leadership" to the working class. The problems of unemployed workers received constant attention in the Party press.

Tax cuts, wage increases, a shorter work week, and a \$1.50 minimum hourly wage were among the demands made to improve the lot of the workers. Organization of the unemployed was called for, as was the formation of a

mass labor-farmer coalition. The Party saw a threat of further restrictive legislation against labor in the congressional investigations of labor unions.

The Party called for more Government aid to agriculture, such aid to be keyed to the needs of the small farmer. Increased efforts were called for in the organizing of agricultural workers.

The Party continued to call for the abolition of congressional investigating committees and the loyalty program and for the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, and all other anticommunist legislation. Amnesty was demanded for the Party leaders still serving sentences for violation of the Smith Act.

The issue of equal rights for Negroes was designated by the Party as "the foremost democratic cause of all America," the ultimate goal of which was complete integration and equal rights for Negroes and all other minorities. The public educational system in the United States was deemed "basically faulty," and increased Federal aid to education was demanded. More cultural and scientific exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States were called for as a step toward world peace.

The Communist Party, USA, reaffirmed its belief in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concept of proletarian internationalism and continued to proclaim the possibility of the peaceful achievement of socialism in this country.

B. Conclusions

1. The Party has taken a stronger pro-Soviet position since February, 1958, when the left-wing leadership of the Party overwhelmingly crushed the right-wing faction. In the absence of any indication that the right-wing faction can muster any substantial support for its position in the near future, this pro-Soviet trend can be expected to continue.
2. During the past few months, the economic situation in the United States has provided the Party with ammunition for an intensified propaganda campaign designed to show the inherent superiority of the socialist system over an economy based on capitalism. As long as the current economic status continues, the Party can be expected to exploit it to full advantage in every way possible.
3. The current campaign by the Party to ban the testing of all nuclear weapons is expected to continue. In this regard, the Party can be expected more and more to lend its support to and actively participate in the activities of various noncommunist organizations which, for reasons of their own, are also seeking to ban nuclear-weapons tests.
4. The Communist Party, USA, seeks to create the impression that it is a legitimate political party. In furtherance of this aim, it is to be expected that future political campaigns will see an increase in the number of communist candidates for public office. In addition, the Party can be expected to participate more actively in behalf of selected noncommunists whom the Party will support for its own reasons.

5. The Party has long held itself out as the champion of the rights of Negroes in this country. Current developments in the controversial integration situation in the South can be expected to receive more and more propaganda attention from the Party.
6. The Communist Party, USA, recognizes that its goal of becoming the mass party of socialism in this country cannot be achieved from a position of isolation. In the coming months, therefore, it is to be expected that the Party, without losing its identity and when it is to its advantage to do so, will continue its efforts to engage in united action with other socialist organizations on issues of mutual interest.

**I. FOREIGN POLICY**

1. The monopoly capitalists, who control United States foreign policy, are leading our country to national suicide.
2. World opinion favors the Soviet Union's proposal to hold a summit conference.
3. The testing of all nuclear weapons should be stopped.
4. Monopoly capital must be compelled to accept peaceful coexistence.
5. The establishment of missile bases in Europe and the Middle East endangers the peace of the world.
6. The ban on trade with socialist countries should be lifted.
7. U. S. foreign aid is part of a war program.
8. The United States should recognize communist China and establish formal diplomatic and trade relations with it.
9. The denuclearization of Germany would be a step toward peace.
10. Peace-loving Americans should demonstrate their opposition to De Gaulle's "illegal" assumption of power in France.
11. Imperialists are using the execution of Hungarian leaders as a pretext to avoid a summit conference.
12. The world center of economic and political strength is moving toward socialism.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"Who controls the United States and dictates its basic policies, foreign and domestic?"

"The fact is that the basic economic and political power in our nation is held by a tiny handful of monopoly capitalists...."

"...giant corporations and the great banking combines--that which is broadly known as Wall Street--control our government, decide basic foreign policy, determine taxation for little people and fancy oil depletion allowances for oil trusts.

"...the Aramco oil cartel is far more decisive in determining American foreign policy in the Middle East than, all the voters of the South."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"...In international affairs, the monopolists demand of our 'allies' in Europe and Asia that they provide bases around the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries for missile and hydrogen bomb warfare. They treat with contempt efforts by the Soviet Union to end H-bomb tests and arrive at peaceful relations. They line us up on the side of the monopolists of the other capitalist nations against the colonial peoples.

"They have, in effect, alienated and isolated us from the peoples of the rest of the world, at a time when universal friendship is the only alternative to death.

"And in our own country, their solution is to destroy the standard of living which our working class won only after bitter warfare. Freeze wages, increase the hours of work, hamstring the unions, those are the methods Wall Street proposes for meeting the challenge of the release of the energy of the atomc."

"Is it not clear that the making of our foreign policy cannot be entrusted to such 'craftsmen?' "

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 9.

"The Truman-Eisenhower foreign policy starts from the position that the Soviet Union is the enemy whose destruction would redound to the benefit of the United States. Ever since it appeared possible that the release of atomic energy might be transformed into a deliverable weapon, that weapon--thought of as the ultimate one--was looked upon as the instrument with which that fundamental aim could be accomplished."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 48-49.

## 2. Summit Conference

"Public opinion has compelled the Western governments to open a door a crack to the idea of negotiations with the Soviet Union."

"We must compel them to open the whole door for a serious Summit conference for disarmament and peace."

Daily Worker,  
January 1, 1958, p. 2.

"...only an unalterable emphasis on negotiation with the other giant power of the world--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--can save us and the world from utter hayoc; and that the expansion of trade agreements with the third of the world which is socialist, can be of aid in the growing recession."

"No policy today, be it the President's, or the Democratic leader, or any politician the imagination can conjure up, can carry a precinct unless he stands for a program of peace--and that means inevitably, more and more of our Allies are saying, peace talks with the socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 12, 1958, p. 2.

"...The politics of peace is always more attractive to the masses of mankind than the politics of war or cold war. The politics of peace flow as naturally and inevitably from the socialist system as do the politics of war and cold war from the capitalith imperialist system.

"That's why the American people who want peace need to throw their weight around much more actively to achieve a summit meeting that can move us all out of the shadow of nuclear catastrophe."

The Worker,  
March 16, 1958, p. 14.

"WHILE A GOOD part of the world stares in amazement, shock, or dismay, John Foster Dulles has done it again. He used the press conference last week once more to rail against the persistent Soviet demands for a summit conference. Again he told the world from the conference room in the State Department building that the U.S. will not negotiate with the Russians because they are demanding too much.



"Unfortunately for Mr. Dulles, and fortunately for the cause of peace, his words are having less and less effect on the peoples in the NATO orbit."

The Worker,  
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"THE WORLD HAS moved a step closer to a summit conference as a result of the Soviet agreement that the foreign ministers meet first to arrange it. The Soviet agreement carries the proviso that there must be a firm commitment to hold a summit meeting. The Russians propose that such a meeting be held in June, with the foreign ministers getting together in April to prepare it.

"The Russians have made a genuine concession as to the procedure for organizing a summit conference without abandoning their opposition to the type of foreign ministers' meeting that would seek to preempt the function of a heads of government conference.

"The Soviet Union is holding fast to its original idea--and it looks as if world opinion is holding fast to the same idea--that the government leaders with the final responsibility for policy that will determine whether the human race survives or perishes are the ones that must talk it out and see how and to what extent they can accommodate their different views.

"THE PRESSURE for accommodation--for coexistence--comes not only from hundreds of millions of ordinary folk all over the world, but from certain business interests who recognize that the Dulles policy of trying to bully and blackmail the Soviet Union into submission is no less bankrupt than was the insistence of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes 35 years ago that the first socialist republic didn't exist."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 1.

"...the threat from the Soviet Union is non-existent. Even American military men have on occasion admitted that there is no danger of an attack from the Soviet Union.

"Second, the question of who 'leads' and who 'falls behind' in the arms race is a mirage. As of now both sides are fully capable of destroying each other and the rest of the world."

"What the peoples everywhere are pressing for is top-level negotiations with the Soviet Union. This is the road to real security for America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1958, p. 2.

"...We must reject the bankrupt foreign policy of the irresponsible monopolists who are leading us to national suicide. We must halt all H-bomb tests and ban use of the atom for war. We must seek out the way to peaceful coexistence of all the nations of the world."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

### 3. Nuclear Tests

"Vast popular support has developed throughout the world for suspending nuclear weapon tests precisely because this is a limited issue, the ban could be easily enforced and it would give no advantage to either side that the other side wouldn't enjoy, and because continued testing affects human health everywhere."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 12.

"Public pressure, mounting throughout the world, should demand that a summit conference be convoked speedily. Its first point should be swift agreement to end the possibility of an overwhelming atomic tragedy for mankind."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 23, 1958, p. 2.

"The historic unilateral halt to nuclear weapons tests by the Soviet Union is being hailed by peace-lovers throughout the world. Our nation, the first to drop the A-bomb, should have been the first to stop the tests. This was not done despite the fact that a growing body of Americans of various political views have urged such a course.

"Today we have an opportunity to make a vast contribution to the cause of peace. This we can do by ending our own A- and H-bomb tests and, specifically, calling off the projected Marshall Island tests.

"This will not only help immensely to relax world tensions but will immeasurably reduce and halt radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere with its genetic damage to millions yet unborn.

"Our State Department, headed by Secretary John Foster Dulles, is engaged in a cynical obstruction of the national will, both in respect to ending nuclear weapons tests and convening speedily a summit conference.

"The American people, in a vast outpouring from their grass roots organizations, from trade unions, churches, civic groups and bodies, should make the national will felt in Washington now for an end to A- and H-bomb tests, prohibiting nuclear weapons, a prompt summit conference and expanded trade and cultural relations with the socialist countries--in short, for a settled national policy of peaceful co-existence, the only basis for preventing a nuclear war and building a durable peace."

The Worker,  
April 6, 1958, p. 3.

"With renewed hopes for a peaceful world, American workers join with all people of our country and other lands in demanding a halt to nuclear tests and in calling for peace."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

#### 4. Peaceful Coexistence

"... Monopoly capital must be compelled to accept peaceful co-existence...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1958,  
p. 53.

"THE HOPES of the nation and the world are focussed on Washington where the 85th Congress opens Tuesday as the life-and-death question before humanity awaits resolution. This question is the opening of U.S. -U.S.S.R. talks to find the basis for peaceful co-existence."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 1.

"ABOVE ALL ELSE, the American people want peace and good will in a nuclear age. They prefer co-existence to non-existence. They want to live abundantly and let live."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"... The historic process of the ascendancy of Socialism over capitalism reaches its apex in the fight of Socialism for world peace over the forces of imperialism making for war. World imperialism is

fundamentally war-like, developing a constant urge for wars between the imperialist powers themselves, for wars of imperialist powers against the colonial peoples, and for wars of imperialist powers against the Socialist states. World Socialism, however, is fundamentally peaceful, since there are no classes in a Socialist society which stand to gain anything from war. Because of these fundamental characteristics, world Socialism has emerged as the recognized outstanding champion of the whole world struggle for peace...."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 28.

"Embarrassments keep piling up for the present American government and will continue to do so as long as that policy conflicts with the real national interest and with the irrepressible desire for peace among the world's masses...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 53.

"AMERICAN car fans saw a Skoda for the first time at New York's International Automobile Show last month--and were visibly impressed with the product of Czechoslovakia's great industrial complex."

"...It's not only a solid piece of automobile; it's a vehicular example of peaceful co-existence. And that, no matter what auto fan club you belong to, is good in our book."

The Worker,  
May 18, 1958, pp. 8, 11.

5. Missile Bases

"NOTHING REVEALS the essentially aggressive, antipeace policy of our State Department more than its attitude on missile bases in the Mideast."

. . . . .

"...If missile bases are jammed down the throats of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and the other countries of the Baghdad Pact--and the people of these nations are yet to be heard from on this issue--it can only sharpen tensions between these nations and their neighbors. How, for example, will India feel if its neighbor, Pakistan, has missile bases?

"The Soviet Union did the cause of world peace a service--and thus the peace aspirations of the American people--by its sharp statement of last week. It pointed out that placing missile bases in Baghdad Pact countries was part of the total Dulles plan of uniting 'under the same shingle the aggressive military alignments of NATO, the Baghdad Pact and SEATO (the Southern Asian Treaty Organization)'."

. . . . .

"Why should not the USSR, twice invaded during its 40-year history, be 'unhappy' about a hostile ring of bases? Would not the United States be similarly 'unhappy' if it found itself in similar circumstances?"

. . . . .

"The Soviet government clearly is exercising considerable 'self-control' and speaking exactly as any self-respecting nation would when it calls for the banning of missile bases in the Mid-East. It is, in essence, reminding Mr. Dulles and the great oil cartels whom he represents of what Mr. Dulles once correctly said.

"The USSR has thus done a service to the cause of world peace, which is exactly what one would expect from a country which is not ruled by oil millionaires but has a socialist economy based on production for use, not profit.

"Like or dislike the Socialist character of the Soviet state, Americans can see that Dulles' policy of new missile bases is provocative and endangers the peace of America and the world.

"Dulles and Dulles' policies must go. The voice of the great mass of Americans must be heard for a new direction in our foreign policy--a truly patriotic policy based on peaceful co-existence, negotiations, banning of A-tests, establishing of nuclear-free zones and a speedy summit conference."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 2.

"These missile bases will be built for war against the Soviet Union, if the NATO governments let them be set up. They will be armed with Thor and Jupiter rockets. And atomic war can start at the push of a button."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 5.

#### 6. Reciprocal Trade Agreements

"We support the extension of legislation for reciprocal trade agreements and urge its extension, without discrimination, to all countries including the Soviet Union, People's China, and the Eastern European countries. If we are to strengthen our domestic economy, we must remove all restrictions on loans to, and commerce with, the countries of the socialist world, as well as the other lands."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"Let the government lift its ban on trade with socialist countries, and new jobs would be opened for America's unemployed...."

"In addition to providing jobs, such a course would also contribute to world peace--and hundreds of millions now spent by our government for planning destruction could be used to assure the public welfare."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 12.

"...Today it is no longer a matter for speculation on how big a market the socialist countries offer. And there is hardly an 'anti-recession' measure that can be turned to jobs faster than the available trade with countries populated by a billion souls. The AFL-CIO leaders overlooked trade with the socialist countries because they are still drawn back by their hard-bitten anti-Sovietism."

George Morris, "The Rising  
Struggle against Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 5.

#### 7. Foreign Aid

"...the stubborn fact is that the Congress is restive about the foreign aid program and the White House stage managers are exhibiting signs of desperation...."

"...for the most part the massive propaganda effort for the nearly \$4 billion mutual security appropriation fell on its face. Born in the worst period of the cold war, it still bears its ugly birthmark. It was sold to the delegates as the answer to the trade and aid policies of the Soviet Union. While there were, indeed, different stresses laid on different aspects of the program, ...the overall impact was that the U.S. foreign aid legislation was part of a war program."

The Worker,  
March 2, 1958, p. 1.



"There are other aspects of Washington's foreign aid policy that don't sit well with the peoples of those countries. About 60 percent is direct military aid, usually extended to reactionary dictatorships. A big chunk of the rest is called 'defense support'--that is, it goes to shore up economies that would otherwise collapse because of the military burdens imposed on them by Washington.

"Of that minor portion which can be considered non-military economic aid, hardly any is ever allotted for industrial development.... And attached to U. S. economic aid are nearly always political or military strings."

Daily Worker,  
January 7, 1958, p. 2.

8. Communist China

"We urge the recognition of People's China and the establishment of normal diplomatic and trade relations with it and its admission into the United Nations."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Germany

"RISING TO THE FORE in world consciousness is the suspicion that U.S. policy-makers--dragging their feet on the road to 'disengagement'--do so because they have pegged their foreign program to the nuclear rearmament of the Adenauer government...."

The Worker,  
April 20, 1958, p. 2.

"The Eisenhower Administration has tried to sell the American people a gold brick: that at Geneva the Russians agreed to solve the whole German problem at one stroke and then broke their promise. The purpose of this fakery is to discredit the possibility of reaching workable agreements with the Soviet Union and therefore to pour cold water on the idea of a summit meeting.

"At the same time the Administration opposes simple, limited idea like denuclearization, which would mark a small step toward the solution of the German question and toward sparing Central Europe the horrors of nuclear warfare."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, p. 9.

10. France

"THE EYES OF THE WORLD are on France where the peril of De Gaulle fascism is unfolding. The mask he put on his policies was torn off this week when his generals spread their conspiracy and their armed terror to Corsica, and to Tunisia whose people are being bombed by planes built in America.

"Americans can make no mistake about this: imperialist-minded generals and politicians (despite all their demagogic promises) will seek to have their way by fire and sword. The menace of spreading conflict hangs over us all at the moment that our nation's policy-makers and Britain's are accommodating themselves to a De Gaullist accession to power, as once they accommodated themselves to a Franco victory in Spain--with all its dire consequences."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

"The tragic picture was all too reminiscent of January 1933 in Berlin, Adolf Hitler, too, preferred 'constitutional' appointment to the

chancellorship so that he would enjoy the appearance of legality. General von Hindenburg, head of state, obliged. De Gaulle, obviously, is angling for a similar deal."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 1.

"THE FACT REMAINS that De Gaulle came to power illegally...."

The Worker,  
June 8, 1958, p. 1.

"ALL DEMOCRATIC and peace-loving Americans should demonstrate their opposition to the murder of the French Republic and be on guard more than ever in defense of peace and civil liberties at home."

The Worker,  
June 8, 1958, p. 14.

"Americans of democratic mind dare not forget that the Dulles' mentality vibrates to the same wave-length as that of De Gaulle's, and not to the French democrats."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 14.

#### 11. Execution of Hungarian Leaders

"The Budapest Verdict

"MEN WHO manage to restrain their horror over the unceasing murder of Negroes in our South, and who can look the other way while Algerians enmasse are being tortured by the Gestapo-like Massu generals,

are in a virtuous rage today. DeGaulle, front man for aspirant fascists; Adenauer, surrounded by the blood-stained alumni of Hitler's Reich, and Chiang Kai-shek are among them. American congressmen, who lost no sleep when Guatemalan democracy was crushed, Batista henchmen who torture and kill Cuban schoolboys, are in the outraged company.

"It even includes President Eisenhower who could find no word to redress or safeguard the nine Negro children of Little Rock.

"All, in one clamoring chorus, lament the trial and the execution of the four Hungarians guilty of leading an armed insurrection against the workers' and farmers' state, and who invited foreign armies onto their soil to help them."

"...DESPITE THE imprecations of the dollar press today, there is no doubt that the accused were guilty of the most serious crimes against the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Nagy and the others did form conspiracies within the Hungarian Working Peoples' Party. They did plot to undermine the People's Democracy and restore a capitalist state.

"They were responsible, the indictment reveals, of assassinating 234 Hungarians, and they had lists drawn up of 10,000 more to be executed."

"NAGY, MALETAR and their co-conspirators were guilty of high treason. If one goes into the record known even before the trial, there can be no doubt that extreme reaction was in the saddle and that a fascist regime was impending when the Red Army returned to rescue Hungary from that fate. And not only Hungary was involved at that moment: the security of the entire socialist world was in peril. Nor is that all: had the armed plotters succeeded, the possibility of winning peace in the world would have been set back immeasurably, perhaps irretrievably."

"AND THE CAPITALIST outcry against the death sentence. There is only support or hallelujas for that penalty when it is applied for political acts against the capitalist system, or against imperialist rule in the colonies. But when the same penalty is brought in a case in the socialist world we hear only the wolf-howl of anguished indignation."

"These are a few of the facts to remember in the midst of the current din that is manufactured in the chancellories of imperialism. And all men of honesty, of peace, whatever their differences on the execution of Imre Nagy, should not allow themselves to be divided by imperialists who can stomach the idea of destroying the whole world by nuclear havoc. The foremost enemies of peace--the loudest shouters on the Hungarian situation--are using it as one further pretext to delay or to annul a meeting at the summit that could promote the fruitful co-existence of East and West."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 29, 1958, p. 2.

## 12. Socialist Expansion

"...During the past period, beginning with the Russian Revolution in 1917, but especially since World War II, vast and rapid changes politically have been taking place in the world. On the one hand, shattered by two great world wars, torn by various Socialist and colonial revolutionary movements, and weakened from within by the broad growth of trade unions, workers' parties, and other essentially anticapitalist organizations--world capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into general crisis. And on the other hand, a vast system of Socialist states has been created, embracing over one-third of humanity; many erstwhile colonial countries have broken their imperialist chains and, with an increasingly pro-Socialist orientation, have embarked upon a course of political independence; and a great growth of working-class organizations, as indicated, has taken place throughout the capitalist world. The general effect of all this is that the world center of actual economic and political strength has been moving more and more towards world Socialism--

indeed, it may well be that this center of world political gravity is already on the side of Socialism. This shift has been especially dramatized by the sensational launching of the Soviet satellite, Sputnik, an event which threw American capitalists almost into panic."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 52.

"The Soviet leaders, the Soviet press, have never spoken for war. Our guarantee lies in understanding the Soviet system and socialism. Socialism needs peace as an organism needs air. It can profit infinitely more by peace than by war. It has no need of war. It needs only time in which to create a new and better social system. It has made many sacrifices to America in the way of humiliations and insults in order to ease off the war tensions.

"Every time the Soviets have made an offer of peace, like the last note from Bulganin, we have insulted them with the same old contemptuous brush-off. 'It is only propaganda. The word of the Soviets cannot be trusted.'

"Dulles and Eisenhower are responsible for this doctrine. It can only mean ultimate war, since peace is declared altogether impossible...."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 8.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. U. S. economy stands at the threshold of a major depression.
2. The Communist Party, USA, has adopted a program to meet the effects of the current "recession."
3. The problem of inflation demonstrates the "need" for a socialist America.
4. Individual income tax exemptions should be raised to \$2,000 for heads of families and \$1,000 for dependents.
5. Increased Government spending is needed, but it must be for public works, health, schools, and other social needs, not for instruments of war.
6. A socialist America is needed to end monopoly control of our Government.
7. The President's budget is "based on protection of profits of the rich and conscienceless contempt for the needs of the mass."
8. Only in a socialist America will depressions and unemployment end forever.
9. Without the Communist Party, USA, the fight for social progress would be limited and the victory of socialism inconceivable.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Economic Picture

"THE ECONOMIC picture is getting more serious from day to day. The downtrend, far from slowing, is gaining in velocity. No one in his right mind denies that we are in a 'recession' or something worse...."

"...we are not just heading TOWARDS a 'recession' but are in it quite deeply and we may be heading towards something WORSE."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 4.

"...The economy today stands at the threshold of a major depression, which appears more imminent now than at any time since the end of the war. We are plainly in for something distinctly worse in character than 1948-49 or 1953-54.

"How much worse, we can at this moment only guess at. We can take little comfort, however, from assurances that it is unlikely to be another 1929. Even a depression of considerably smaller proportions will cause tremendous hardship and suffering; in fact, the present levels of employment are already a source of acute distress in many parts of the country. And even if matters were to get no worse, the continued recurrence of such recessions every few years is in itself serious cause for alarm."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 8.

"BEHIND ITS CURRENT ballyhoo that the crisis is 'bottoming,' the Administration is scheming a cruel hoax on the unemployed who had been under



the illusion that legislation now in the works would extend unemployment insurance payments by 50%."

"The watered-down jobless pay and an almost flat assurance the Administration will not favor tax reduction this session, are the first consequences of the propaganda drive to convince Americans the decline is 'bottoming' and that relief measures are really not necessary."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

"THE PRESIDENT, in issuing his optimistic statements, apparently believes there is nothing wrong with the economy that a Madison Avenue publicity campaign can't cure. The same theory guided former President Herbert Hoover's periodic 'prosperity-around-the-corner' predictions when the great depression of the thirties was building up."

"What concerns us is not so much that our President's unfounded predictions make him ridiculous but that his statements may lull some Americans who should be aroused to the fact that we are on the threshold of a full-scale depression.

"The country needs to be aroused to the danger. In face of an administration policy of doing virtually nothing, when even Senators of the President's own party are calling for more substantial steps, the country needs above all at this moment demonstrations of indignant workers and farmers in its public squares or at factory gates to dramatize the issues."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 2.

## 2. Communist Party, USA, Program

"The Communist Party national committee unanimously adopted a comprehensive program to meet the effects of the current recession. The 60-member committee met last week-end."

"Included in the program adopted were demands for wage increases; against speed-up; legislative action to guarantee the shorter work-week without pay cuts; \$1.50 hourly minimum wage; a stepped-up struggle against employment discrimination visited on Negro, Puerto Rican and other minorities; a tax cut with exemptions raised to \$1,000; raising of unemployment insurance to level of two-thirds of weekly wages; Federal aid to provided mortgage moratorium for small homeowners; a wide-scale public works program; and an expanded program of trade with the socialist countries, based on the concept of peaceful co-existence."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 16.

"The times call for emergency action..."

"The proposed tax cut, through lifting of exemptions from \$600 to only \$700, is so modest that even some congressmen said it wasn't enough. With non-white unemployed at more than twice the rate of whites, fair employment legislation and executive action, is an immediate need. Another potential immediate source of jobs, totally ignored by the conference, is expansion of trade with socialist countries. The movement for amending the Wage-Hour law to cut hours to 35 weekly, should be revived.

"Then there are measures which the unions are already taking up in some areas, through resolutions before their city councils and state legislatures, for a moratorium on mortgages and installments of unemployed, or some federal forms for refinancing such debts. This must be done before repossessions, foreclosures and mass marches to pawnbrokers spread throughout America."

Editorial, The Worker  
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"We urge immediate enactment of the following measures which, in the main have been proposed by the labor movement and progressive farm organizations, as minimum measures to halt the recession and promote economic security:

"A federal system of unemployment insurance covering all workers, with benefits equal to two-thirds of weekly earnings for one year.

"A 30-hour week with no reduction in pay on all government work.

"Increase the minimum wage to \$1.50 per hour and extend its coverage.

"Increase old age insurance benefits to \$200 monthly.

"Provide for federal refinancing on long terms and at low interest of home mortgages and installment purchases on which workers, farmers, professionals and others cannot meet payments because of loss of jobs and income."

"Provide for a federally-financed low-cost housing program to construct a minimum of one million units annually, to be made available without discrimination or segregation.

"End the give-away of our natural resources by adopting a regional program for Federal development of our river valleys and a federal resources conservation program with full power to control the exploitation of all natural resources."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"The false optimism emanating from the Administration is clearly designed to further a phony Madison Avenue-type campaign to headline ourselves back to 'prosperity,' when the need is for immediate tangible steps

to raise and extend benefits for the unemployed, improve relief standards, cut the taxes of small-income people, develop trade with the eager buyers in the lands of socialism, and expand public works, housing and school construction."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 20, 1958, p. 2.

### 3. Inflation

"...The fight against inflation is therefore a fundamental part of the economic struggles of labor and its allies. To be effective, it must be based on a comprehensive program which should include the following major points:

"1. Higher wages and shorter hours.\* If they are not to fall increasingly behind in the race with rising prices, workers are compelled to fight for frequent and substantial wage increases. Moreover, wage demands must be made independently of productivity increases.\* This applies with special force to the demand for a shorter work week with no cut in pay, which entails a considerable increase in hourly rates. Employer propaganda tying wages to prices, which has unfortunately had widespread effects among workers, must be vigorously combatted.

"2. Monopoly prices.\* The need for curbing monopoly price-fixing is becoming very widely apparent....

"...Serious consideration needs to be given to proposals for actual regulation of monopoly prices by government agencies, treating all monopolies as we now do public utilities, and in some cases to proposals for outright nationalization of enterprises.

"3. Tax reductions.\* Lower taxes, like higher wages, are a means of offsetting increased prices and enlarging mass purchasing power. What is required, however, is not a general tax cut, but rather the shifting of more of the tax burden to the big corporations and wealthy individuals. Since 1939,

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

there has been a steady rise in the share of the tax load borne by low-income groups. This trend must be reversed through higher income tax exemptions, the repeal of a number of exise taxes, and similar measures.

"4. Reduction of military expenditures.\* This is essential to the struggle against inflation. Unfortunately, most of organized labor has opposed cuts in military outlays, and has on the contrary called for higher arms budgets, both to 'fight world communism' and to provide jobs. But such a position is wrong and, in the end, self-defeating. An unceasing fight must be waged to reduce armaments expenditures and to spend the money instead for housing, schools, health and other socially useful purposes.

"The threat of inflation, it must be borne in mind, is inherent in the boom-bust character of capitalist production.... Within the framework of capitalism, therefore, workers can hope to do little more than combat the effects of inflation and prevent big business from saddling them with its costs.

"Marxists should make clear that the fight against inflation can be fully won only in a society in which the means of production are publicly owned and in which production is for use, not profit--a society in which wars, military budgets, monopoly price-gouging and economic crises will be evils of the past. In short, the problem of inflation is but another demonstration of the need for a socialist America."

Hyman Lumer, "The Problem of Inflation," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 38, 39.

#### 4. Income Taxes

"... Individual income tax exemptions should be raised to \$2,000 for heads of families and \$1,000 for each dependent. Taxes on incomes in the top brackets should be increased and all loopholes should

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

be plugged. Sales, excise and other taxes bearing most heavily on the lowest income groups should be reduced or abolished."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"There has been some talk of a Democratic plan to lift exemptions from \$600 a person to \$700. This would ease slightly the burden of taxation on the workingclass and other low income groups, though it is very far from getting back to the original income tax principle. Yet even this will have rough sailing in the coming session of Congress, in face of the hysteria over military expansion."

Editorial, Daily Worker  
January 2, 1958, p. 2.

"...With 4,500,000 unemployed--and more to come--the fight for tax reduction would be greatly helped by agreements with Russia that would lead to arms reduction and cuts in military expenditures. Clearly, Mr. and Mrs. American have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a summit conference."

The Worker,  
March 2, 1958, p. 14.

## 5. Social Welfare

"To protect the people from the ravages of depression, money will of course have to be spent by the federal government. But it must be spent for socially useful purposes, benefitting the masses of the people. The monopoly program of reliance on war economy must be vigorously fought at every turn. The demand must be 'butter, not guns.' "

. . . . .

"Increased government spending is needed today, but it must go for public works, health, schools, pensions and other social needs, not for instruments of war. In its own interests, labor must, in contrast to its present policy, fight for reduction of arms expenditures and the diversion of these funds to useful peacetime purposes."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 11.

"...To provide jobs, immediate action is needed to launch vastly expanded federal, state and local public works programs for building schools, hospitals and other public buildings, for construction of one million low-cost housing units a year, and for new conservation, flood control and power projects throughout the country."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs,  
March, 1958, p. 24.

"Establish a complete federal health insurance system with facilities and personnel, providing free medical services."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"...present-day unemployment insurance benefits are entirely insufficient to meet even the minimum needs of the unemployed worker...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs,  
March, 1958, p. 15.

"...The present grossly inadequate benefits must be drastically increased. A federal law is needed covering every working person and providing benefits equal to at least two-thirds of previous earnings for as long as the unemployment lasts."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"...Even at the miserable levels which now prevail, local governments are totally unprepared for the huge relief burdens which have begun to develop. More than one city has already had a relief crisis. Immediate emergency action is required to provide sharp increases in federal and state contributions, with the calling of special sessions of state legislatures where necessary. Standards of relief must be greatly improved, and distribution of surplus foods must be simplified and expanded."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

## 6. Monopoly Control

"FRANTIC EFFORTS of Washington politicians of both major parties to bury quietly the major revelations of Dr. Bernard Schwartz about the Federal Communications Commission, are now under way."

"...the details, important though they be, can be understood best only in the perspective of the two-party system and the basic monopoly control of that system."



"Otherwise, the current scandal will be seen and dismissed only as some accidental episode, caused by some 'bad' men. Yet a detailed examination shows that it illustrates a basic tendency inherent in the monopoly control of the two-party system."

"Doubtless much can be done today by labor and other groups about the current situation. But the more far-reaching conclusions can only be drawn and the anti-monopoly steps taken in the course of the political struggle for the building of great popular anti-monopoly coalition in the nation.

"And, ultimately, these scandals will be ended when the monopoly source of them is ended--when in a socialist America the great banks, industries and communications will be socially owned--and not simply formally 'regulated'--by the productive American people and run for public use and not private profit."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, pp. 1, 14.

"THE MONOPOLIES are the real U. S. Government today...."

"A.T.&T. is the biggest monopoly in the capitalist world."

"What is needed most is nationalization of the phone trust. And a People's Government is needed for that."

The Worker,  
April 20, 1958, p. 6.

## 7. The Budget

"IT HAS BEEN the settled policy of our Washington rulers to try, by artificially-induced hysterias over non-existent dangers of aggression, to persuade the American people that our national existence depends on surrender of the social gains of the New Deal.

"This policy has not been successful, . These New Deal social gains have remained a permanent part of the American scene, though without much significant addition over the years.

"When the Soviets launched their Sputniks, the masters of White House propaganda seized upon them as God-given instruments for projecting a new hysteria of outer-space proportions. Under cover of this new hysteria. Eisenhower has once again proposed cutting out substantial social aspects of the budget.

"His budget message of last week asked for \$74 billion dollars, of which \$46 billions was for 'national security.' Something over 60 percent thus goes for military and related purposes.

"THE PRESIDENT wants \$3 billion dollars more for these purposes than spent in 1957. To make up for this added money, he says, he wants to cut funds for the aged needy, for dependent children, for construction of schools, for housing, for farm price support funds, for rural electrification, for hospital construction, for land reclamation and other public works, for aid to sick veterans.

"In short, the President's program calls for sacrifices on the part of the lame, the halt, the blind, the seekers of homes, the farmers striving desperately to hold on to their farms, the nation's children and its hapless veterans, in order to pay for added war preparations.

"The President does not ask a single nickel from the fabulous Texas oil multi-millionaires, the vast profit-takers in all trustified industries who have mulcted the people, and continue to mulct them, of billions in tax loop-holes and in swollen government contracts.

"If ever there was a class budget, one based on protection of profits of the rich and conscienceless contempt for the needs of the mass, this is it!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 2.

"...a budget message whose emphasis on military expenditures and slashes in welfare items certainly do not point in the direction of top-level negotiations that can ease international tensions and put a brake on the nuclear arms race."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 12.

"...The people must debate this budget and fight for a people's budget based on peaceful co-existence and the people's welfare."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 2.

#### 8. Capitalism versus Socialism

"The current economic situation demonstrates anew the basic instability of the American economy. It bears out the position taken in the Main Political Resolution of the 16th National Convention of the Party, which states:

"...despite the prolonged prosperity and despite the significant new features which have emerged in the American economy, the basic contradictions inherent in capitalist production are not abating but are becoming sharper. The fundamental factors making for economic crisis continue to operate today, no less than in the twenties--in particular, the basic factor which Marx described as the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit,' while the actual purchasing power of the masses remains relatively restricted and lags increasingly behind.

"The boom, with its growing credit inflation, only conceals the sharpening contradiction between the forces of production and the

capitalist relations under which they are operated--a contradiction which can be finally resolved in the people's interests only through the establishment of a socialist society. The Marxist theory of crisis is not invalidated by the prolonged period of prosperity.' "

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 8

" 'Misery, starvation, evictions and suffering stalk millions of our fellow workers who are unemployed... "People's capitalism" has become literally people's misery. Is this the way American capitalism is going to automatically better the condition of the workers, free the Negro people, help colonial liberation and champion peace as was contended by pseudo-Marxists in and out of our ranks so that a vanguard Communist Party and not even a left was necessary?' "

The Worker,  
May 11, 1958, p. 3.

"...Is the capitalist economy simply managed badly or is there something fundamental about the capitalist system that brings forth periodic depressions and mass joblessness of varying severity, like those of 1945-46; 1949-50, 1953-54 and now in 1957-58?

"And if these heart-attacks can be 'planned' every four years, can they also be 'cured' by such artificial means?"

"...to picture our capitalist economy as run by a few men on a chessboard who move its parts at will as pawns on a board, is very naive, or an effort to evade the real question."

"...Through organizations and governments, people can affect the economy, but they cannot reverse the basic laws that move it. One of the biggest falsehoods capitalism has fed the people is the idea that persons in high office or a political part, \* have made a 'boom' or caused a depression."

"CLEARLY THERE IS something more fundamental involved and we have to come back to the century-old proposition of scientific socialists the -- Marxists -- that it is the private ownership that is at root of the sickness in our economy. Just as medication and care may relieve a heart condition, so do the 'built-ins.' But they don't cure it. The best proof of that is that countries with a population of a billion that have gone socialist -- with the means of production made public property under the planned management of those who work in them -- don't have these heart-attacks."

"WE HAVE TO WAGE a struggle, of course, for everything that may limit the harm capitalist economy and its periodic convulsions have on the people. In that respect the Communists do not yield second place to anyone, as history has proved. But it is high time labor waged this struggle with its eyes open; aware that the ultimate real solution is a socialist economy."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1958, pp. 9, 11.

"...For Socialism is triumphantly advancing today. It is raising the living standards of nearly one billion men, women and children.

\* This probably should read "party."

It is protecting the independence of former colonial nations and preserving world peace. It is demonstrating to the whole world that working people need not be exploited by capitalists any longer...."

The Worker,  
April 20, 1958, p. 8.

"The greatest of historical developments is the socialist revolution. We live in the time of that epoch, at its beginning, indeed. It has moved a billion people forward, out of the realm of blind necessity towards the era of the conscious and informed conduct of social life. All revolutionary transformations of the past have been accompanied by great difficulty; there is no reason to expect that this most revolutionary of all social transformations should occur without difficulty. The difficulties from within and without have appeared and more will appear; they are to be faced and overcome. In the facing, one must himself not be overcome.

"The movement for socialism is the greatest movement for human freedom in all history. In that movement none has been so staunch and so effective as the Communist. From this fact must come pride and confidence--qualities far different from arrogance, and from self-abnegation."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs,  
January, 1958, p. 28.

"While we struggle for every advance, for every demand to improve the living standards and liberties of our class and of the mass of the American people, we also strive for the achievement of socialism as the way of life for the American people.

"...Unemployment and insecurity, poverty and slums, brutal discrimination against the Negro people and minorities, and every form of political and social injustice are among the evils bred by capitalism. They are with us today in our rich and powerful country.

"...Capitalism with his history of wars, brutal imperialism and mass suffering can never meet the highest desires and needs of the people. Only a socialist American can do so."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

"But while unemployment mounts here and the American people prepare to fight it, the latest economic reports from the Soviet Union speak of 1957 as another year free of unemployment. And while production here was declining, Soviet production rose in 1957 by another 10 per cent.

"Herein lies the contrast between a socialist and capitalist economy--between an economy free of depressions, with ever-rising production, employment and living standards, and an economy which is continually beset by epidemics of falling production and growing joblessness and privation....Only a socialist America will end the scourge of unemployment and depression forever."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"...In order for the United States, or any capitalist country, to 'catch up' with the Soviet Union, it will be necessary to make a basic change in the structure of society, namely to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 28.

9. Future Role of the Communist Party, USA

"...the CPUSA is very much better off than it used to be. This is because it now foresees a road to Socialism in this country that will appear as very realistic and much more acceptable to American workers. The Party must know how to make the most of this very valuable point. The Party has also a more realistic attitude towards the Soviet Union, with its new attitude of comradely criticism of that country. This also removes a great handicap that the Party suffered from in the past. But the Party must eliminate from its work the recently developed Right tendencies to snipe at the USSR and to minimize its past, present, and future Socialist role. The USSR is the outstanding leader of world Socialism, a fact of which capitalism is well aware. The question of teaching the workers the significance of Socialism takes on double importance now, with the sharp growth of anti-Socialist agitation under the guises of the welfare state and people's capitalism. These are vital new phases in our Socialist work."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 61.

"THE DENNIS RESOLUTION, which was established as the definitive policy of the party, clearly sets forth the party's character as defined by the 16th convention, in these words:

"The convention emphasized the indispensable vanguard role of a Marxist working class party of socialism, and the necessity of striving as such to win mass influence and leadership for our party. It declared that the party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is motivated by both the highest patriotism toward our own country and the great concept of proletarian internationalism.

"It defined the party as a party of action--not a debating society--in which the minority must be subordinated to the majority once a decision is



taken. At the same time, it took steps to combat bureaucracy, reinforcing inner-party democracy to assure the fullest contribution of all members in the making and execution of policy, while prohibiting all factions and anti-party groupings and practices.

" 'The convention also underscored the fact that the party is not a temporary organization nor a holding operation, supposedly serving as a stepping stone to some nebulously-defined successor. The party is here to stay. Without it, the fight for social progress will be limited and the victory of socialism is inconceivable.

" 'The mass party of socialism for which we strive must also be a party of this type--a working class vanguard party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism. It must not be confused with other types of political parties of a united front character, or with an idea of a so-called united socialist party in which adherents of Marxism-Leninism would be only one among a number of other ideological currents. Nor should it be confused with the urgent need of promoting united front relations and cooperation between Communists and other pro-socialists elements.' "

" 'For us--American Marxists who fight for peace, democracy and socialism--the party is our most precious possession. This is why we American Communists, like Communists everywhere, treasure our party, and will make every effort and sacrifice to preserve and build it...

" 'We call on all party members to defend the party, and to fight for its Marxist-Leninist program, theory and principles. We call on all party members and organizations to strive to develop the maximum political and organizing initiatives and participation in the momentous mass struggles of today, to meet the great challenge of 1958. By so doing, we will strengthen the party and its mass ties and influence. And we shall help shape the course of events in the interests of our class and our country.' "

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, pp. 3, 14.

"...We must restore in the Party a clearer concept of the major Leninist policy of democratic centralism. This policy, containing as it does the two indispensable elements of democracy and centralization, is the only possible policy for a fighting Party.... The Party, therefore, must learn to apply the policy more effectively, and in harmony with American conditions and traditions. We must have a Party in which, not only do the members accept the Party program and pay their dues, but they also carry on Party work. There must be a political line that is obligatory and a sound Party discipline. There must be the broadest possible participation of the membership in policy making at all levels. Dissent must be permitted, but no factionalism. Party papers must be controlled by the Party and required to express the Party line."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 61-62.

"...Unquestioned loyalty to the party and a readiness to fight for it against its attackers must be established as fundamental criteria for Communists, above all for leading Communist cadres...."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 13.

### **III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY**

1. Unemployment, which is rising in the United States, "is as strange in the Soviet Union as cannibalism."
2. Organization of unemployed workers by labor unions is necessary in the fight for welfare and jobs.
3. Union leaders are not giving "effective political leadership" to the working class.
4. The Communist Party, USA, has the opportunity to function as vanguard in the labor movement.
5. The working class must have its mass party, such as a Labor-Farmer Party.
6. Big business has stepped up its antilabor offensive in order to try to saddle the workers with the burden of the economic slump.
7. The enactment of antilabor legislation is the real purpose behind the congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions.
8. In periods of rising unemployment, the struggle against job discrimination must be brought to the fore.
9. A shorter work week with no cut in pay must be kept in the forefront as a major demand.
10. Automation, which has presented the labor movement with a new and complex problem, eventually will be so widespread that only socialism will save the workers from idleness and starvation.
11. The peaceful advance to socialism in this country can be realized only by a powerful labor movement; one that is sympathetic to the workers' "historic class goal of Socialism."

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Unemployment

"...Unemployment is rising at fantastic speed. The government in Washington is trying to kid us by making us believe that this is just a passing phenomena. That this is not a beginning of a real depression, perhaps with the same results we had before.

"President Eisenhower is receiving committee after committee in Washington telling them that he would not be 'panicked by alarmists' in regards to the unemployment situation all over the country.

"But Negroes, Puerto Ricans and many others who belong to the last-hired and first-fired class, together with millions of others skilled and unskilled workers are gradually starving in unhealthy holes for which they have to pay astronomical rents...."

The Worker,  
March 30, 1958, p. 15.

"Unemployment in America is now over 5 1/2 million, and growing; our industrial production is slowing down considerably; and the other capitalist countries of the world are rapidly being dragged down into the crisis. At the same time, the industrial production and the standard of living of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries keep rising steadily. The world is able to see in this another glaring example of the superiority of the Socialist system over capitalism."

William Z. Foster, "The  
Superiority of World Socialism  
over World Capitalism," Political  
Affairs, May, 1958, p. 24.

"...Unemployment is as strange in the Soviet Union as cannibalism."

The Worker,  
March 23, 1958, p. 8.

## 2. Organizing the Unemployed

"...As joblessness grows and becomes more chronic, it becomes increasingly necessary for unions in each locality to take steps to bring the unemployed workers together in organized forms for the purpose of fighting for welfare and jobs, side by side with those still working. In the case of unorganized workers, special approaches to the problem of organizing the unemployed may be necessary."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"Marxists and other Left-progressives find much ground for criticizing labor's leadership today on its economic outlook and policy. The issue today is no longer, as in 1929, whether unions should be interested in the problems of the unemployed. How those problems are met, the scope of the program and the extent to which rank and file participation is encouraged in the struggle for it, are the issues today...."

George Morris, "The Rising Struggle against Unemployment," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 3.

## 3. Union Leadership

"...the trade-union leaders are giving anything but 'effective political leadership' to the working class. The need for the type of

leadership that will come from effective cooperation between the Left and the Progressive elements is a burning one...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 64.

"THE LEADERSHIP of our trade union movement is as disoriented and aimless today as it was during the 'prosperity' twenties and the crisis days of the early thirties that followed...."

"Most disturbing perhaps is the silence and inaction of those in the top and middle layers of trade union leadership, who in recent years talked much of labor's need of a 'dynamic' policy, a 'broader vision' and a 'new look' at many problems...."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 7.

"...the great bulk of the unions are now dominated by a conservative leadership, without a peer in this respect in the capitalist world; and they have harmful policies to fit. The truth is that in the American labor movement, instead of coming from such corrupt and conservative elements, the progressive leadership has always come from the pressure of the Left and Progressive forces, and there is no good reason to suppose that it will be otherwise in the near future. These forces, working together, built the modern trade-union movement, and for the most part, they did it in the face of violent opposition from the conservative leadership...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 54.

#### 4. The Vanguard Party

"...Our Party is not 'a' but 'the' vanguard Party. This is because it is the bearer of Marxism-Leninism and it tries to put into effect this basic philosophy and program of the working class. The opportunity to function as vanguard in the labor movement lies open before our Party on every front in the class struggle...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 63.

"...the stronger our party becomes, the more its influence is extended (in the unions and the mass organizations of the people), the greater and more successful will be the struggle for jobs, for shorter hours, for expanded unemployment insurance, for really effective and adequate FEPC regulations."

"Our entire party must become permeated with the understanding and the feeling that our chief problems as a party are the problems of our class and of its allies; the problems of the unemployed worker and his family; of the mother concerned with fallout and the dangers of atomic blast; of the Negro worker concerned with more far-reaching and effective FEPC legislation, the equalizing of unemployment insurance standards in the South, and the right to vote."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, pp. 4, 13.

"...The United Front:"\* The Party must re-develop this fundamental and effective Leninist policy, especially in the form of Left-Progressive cooperation in the trade unions. This was the means by which we built the Party and made it a real influence in the labor movement. And despite all the changes and advances in the labor movement, the policy basically still

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

retains its validity....Our job is to find the practical ways to enter into active collaboration with the Progressives, not to deny that they exist. This is the broad road to trade union unity and to progress generally in the unions.

"...it is imperatively necessary to activate the combined Progressive forces in the unions, including within the general meaning of this term all those elements, whatever their past attitudes, who are taking a progressive course with regard to the given issue or situation."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 62-63.

##### 5. Labor-Farmer Party

"...Trade unions as such are not enough: the working class must have its mass party; in this case, a Labor-Farmer Party."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 55.

"It is the great obligation of labor to utilize the growing opportunities to forge a democratic alliance of labor, the farmers, the Negro people, the intellectuals and small business to fight for a peacetime anti-depression program; to curb the monopolies; to strive for the election of a Congress and state legislatures responsive to the needs and will of the people; and to join hands with their brothers in all lands, East and West, to avert the catastrophe of nuclear warfare and to achieve good neighbor relations and peaceful co-existence among all nations. To fulfill these responsibilities is the solemn duty of the best leaders and the rank and file of labor, in the first place of the Communists and other class conscious and militant workers."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 4.



"The CPUSA must resume its agitation for the eventual formation of a mass Labor Farmer Party--as the workers, generally on the march, are obviously moving towards independent political action. In this agitation, however, we must, as the main resolution states, realize that the Labor-Farmer Party is 'not the only form' of mass political action--there may eventually be much broader coalitions, and we see now that there may also be far narrower ones. Its neglect of the Labor-Farmer Party slogan has been one of the most serious shortcomings in the history of the Communist Party."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II, "Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 59.

"What the labor movement and its allies did not do even during the Roosevelt New Deal--when they exerted tremendous influence on the political course in Washington--should be repaired as quickly and as much as possible today: successfully put forward and elect labor candidates, armed with a labor and people's program."

"The Communist Party has one central task in the elections and that is to work self-sacrificingly in every way to achieve the maximum victory for labor and the people--Negro and white--and to impose the biggest defeat upon the monopolies and the crooked political machines around the issues of jobs, peace, civil rights and civil liberties. It will participate in and help to organize -- jointly with any other labor and peoples organization -- mass struggle around the most elementary and vital needs of the people...."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, pp. 4, 16.

## 6. Antilabor Offensive

"...In its determination to saddle the workers with the burden of the economic slump, big business has greatly stepped up its anti-labor offensive. Intense campaigns to pass 'right-to-work' laws are being waged in

many states, and the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against labor is being increased through conspiracy trials and other devices. A determined struggle is required to defeat all 'right-to-work' and other anti-labor legislation, and for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"Today, labor demands freedom from Taft-Hartley shackles, while mobilizing against 'right-to-work' and other vicious anti-labor laws and against smears, slanders and investigations."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

#### 7. Labor Racketeering

"...Members of the Senate Rackets Committee, including chairman John L. McClellan, said today they were hopeful Congress would pass new laws imposing government restrictions on unions. The theme stressed by each was 'protection' of the members of unions from their leaders. But it was equally clear that the designed legislation was timed to set up virtual government control over the life of unions in the guise of 'protecting' the members."

Daily Worker,  
January 6, 1958, p. 4.

"The committee will aim its hearings to provide ammunition and 'atmosphere' for legislation by its members to curb political activities of unions and to restrict strike activities, particularly the boycott weapon."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1958, p. 12.

"THE SENATE racket committee, it need hardly be repeated here, is far more interested in a dead labor movement than in a 'clean' one. Its investigations have been directed primarily with the view of spotlighting the dirty parts of unions to 'justify' the enactment of new anti-labor laws."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

#### 8. Job Discrimination

"...In periods of rising unemployment, it is the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers who are first to be laid off. Moreover, in such periods they are subjected to greatly intensified discrimination in employment. Hence the struggle against job discrimination must be brought to the fore and considerably sharpened on all fronts."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs,  
March, 1958, p. 24.

#### 9. Shorter Work Week

"Shorter hours with increased take-home pay remain a basic need of America's workers. Current conditions of economic recession demonstrate this as well as the fact that winning them will require unity of the employed and unemployed, together with vigorous struggle by organized labor."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 12.

"...In the face of growing joblessness, the need for a shorter work week with no cut in pay becomes all the more urgent. It must be kept in the forefront as a major demand, and all attempts to sidetrack it must be opposed."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs,  
March, 1958, p. 23.

"A shorter work week with increased take-home pay, coupled with drastic surbs on speedup, would help spread employment opportunities, save workers' health, and bolster purchasing power. A bigger share of the auto monopolies' profits is a small price to pay for this contribution to the public welfare."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 13.

#### 10. Automation

"...automation, no longer a novelty, has already run a considerable way and it has been definitely PROVEN that under our 'free society' it brings only negative results for the men and women who work for wages....

"...automation cannot provide blessings to the workers under capitalism, the system under which the means of production are owned and controlled by those who profit from labor....

"...the workers should be told the truth, that for workers there is no BASIC permanent solution of the problem of automation under capitalism."

"...today, more than any time in a century, the world looks to socialism for the basic solution."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 9.

"But such is the law of capitalism: when an economic downturn -- such as we now have every four and five years, -- hits, competition for the narrowed market becomes fiercer among the giants, and the drive to 'cut costs' -- in the first place human manpower, is all the fiercer."

"...how can automation...become a 'blessing' to workers in capitalist America? Whence will come the jobs for the multitudes of displaced Americans?"

The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

"IN THE ENGINE assembly room we saw part of the process (here in the hands of older workers) already done by automation. It gives one a weird feeling to watch the machine system that moves things along, stops and starts without human guidance, checks and inspects and suddenly reaches its mechanical claws in to pull out anything defective. It is a foreshadowing of things to come or already here in many places--complete automation, which has presented the labor movement with a new and complex problem. Eventually it will be so widespread that only Socialism will save the masses of workers from idleness and starvation and give them the benefits of scientific production."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 9.

#### 11. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"...A militant forecast of future struggle in no sense conflicts with the Party's correct perspective of the possibility in the United States of a peaceful and parliamentary road to Socialism; for such a peaceful advance can only be realized by a powerful labor movement, able and willing to suppress the counter-revolutionary attempts of the monopolists and to maintain the necessary democracy in the country to enable the workers to proceed peacefully to their historic class goal of Socialism."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 55.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The organization of agricultural workers into effective unions is of paramount importance.
2. Agricultural aid must be keyed to the needs of the small-scale farmers.
3. Farm price supports must be maintained.
4. A farmer-labor coalition is necessary to combat the growing domination of agriculture by the monopolies.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Organize the Agricultural Workers

"...effective and militant mass struggles in which farm policy is part of the program of a people's coalition\* could help wring concessions that will offer more stability to the small and medium-sized farmers."

Carl Ross, "The National Farmers' Union," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 10.

"Three most significant features of U.S. agriculture are: The steady and rapid elimination of farmers; the chronic crisis of 'over-production'; the fact that many millions of rural people constitute the rock bottom of the economic and social ladder."

. . . . .

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"The most important future class struggles in the countryside will be fought by the agricultural workers--the lowest paid and most impoverished group in the U.S...."

"We will unite with all who are sincerely interested in shielding poor and middle farmers from their enemies and in saving them from extinction as family farmers..."

"The key question for agricultural workers is their organization into effective unions...."\*

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 11, 13, 14, 17.

## 2. A Suggested Program

"1. Parity prices paid to a farm operator must cover only that amount of production necessary to sustain a family farmer....

"2. All cuts in acreage or production must be taken on the big producers, with a minimum level of production absolutely protected against any cut-back....

"3. Loans at very low interest rates must be made available to family farmers only.

"4. Federal hail, drought and other crop insurance should cost a nominal amount on that quantity of production necessary to maintain a family farmer.

"5. A graduated land tax that sharply increases the rate of property taxation on large holdings....

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"6. Agricultural workers must be organized and their living standards raised to the level of factory labor...."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 15, 16.

"Enact the income-parity provisions of the Brannan Plan. Provide 100 percent federal crop and livestock insurance. Establish a fund for loans to small farm owners, tenant farmers and share-croppers for acquisition of land, equipment, and supplies."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"Communists made notable contributions to farm struggles during the Great Depression. With the same spirit of dedication and with a Marxist understanding of the trends in U.S. agriculture, our Party can again play a vital role in the countryside."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 18.

### 3. Farm Price Supports

"...The most immediate need is a reversal of the Eisenhower policy of cutting parity payments, which are being reduced to 60 per cent of parity. Payments should be raised to a full 100 per cent of parity. Cheap credit for farmers should be made available from government sources. Steps should be taken to ease the lot of farm laborers, especially migratory workers, and to provide them with the benefits now available to other workers."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, pp. 24-25.



"THE PRESIDENT wept last week and then vetoed the farm price bill which would have sustained price supports at current levels."

"The Administration shows no interest in unfreezing the controls through which the food monopolies grabbed off huge profits last year....

"Removal of price supports will aggravate the economic downturn. The President's action is, thus, of concern not only to farmers but to labor."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 6, 1958, p. 2.

"...as the economic downtrend continues and the demand for farm products dwindles, the agricultural decline bids fair to become an acute crisis, a process which the Eisenhower Administration's efforts to cut price supports can only hasten."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs,  
March, 1958, p. 12.

"IT IS EVIDENT that Secretary of Agriculture 'Elder' Benson is far from popular. The latest farm poll found 60% opposed to his policies, 24% favoring and 14% undecided. Benson's policy would:

"Slowly bring farm supports to an end.

"Retire as much land as possible from active production.

"To these two points may be added two sponsored by the Committee for Economic Development which is considered to have Secretary Benson's approval:

"Get 'inefficient' (which means smaller sized) farmers to leave the land for other occupations.

"End all marketing controls."

The Worker,  
March 16, 1958, p. 7.

"We sharply oppose the Big Business program of callously scrapping millions of farmers..."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers:  
Problems and Proposals,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1958,  
p. 15.

#### 4. Farmer-Labor Unity

"By far the best, and the main current in the defense struggles of the family farmers has been and must be one which recognizes and promotes their fraternal interests with the industrial workers--the principle expressed as farm-labor unity, a unity in resistance to monopoly capitalism which we may confidently expect to reach logical fulfillment in unity for achievement of a socialist economy."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers:  
Problems and Proposals,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1958,  
p. 17.

"...a successful popular movement against monopoly must stand upon a farmer-labor alliance as well as a Negro-labor alliance..."

"...it is an indisputable fact that the farm co-op movement will serve farmers' interests only under the protective umbrella of a massive anti-monopoly struggle that can place restraints upon the--as yet--virtually unrestricted power and growing domination of agriculture that monopoly exercises."

"The Communists and the Left have much to contribute both to the development of a militant farm movement and especially toward strengthening the coalition of the non-monopoly farmers with labor and the Negro people...."

Carl Ross, "The National Farmers' Union," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 7, 12.

"...under the pressure of the farm crisis and under the guns of monopoly only a militant and anti-monopoly movement will satisfy these Great Plains farmers."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 3.

V. COLONIALISM

1. The United States supports colonialism.
2. United States corporations are building a world empire based on imperialism.
3. The socialist countries are opposed to imperialism.
4. American imperialism supports Latin-American dictators.
5. Batista's dictatorship in Cuba depends upon United States assistance.
6. "Yankee imperialism" is an important factor in Guatemalan affairs.
7. American imperialism has violated every mandate of the United Nations in its relations with Peru.
8. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is actually a colony of the United States.
9. "Rockefeller imperialism" has dominated Venezuelan dictatorships ever since the Standard Oil Company got its first oil concession in Venezuela.
10. American monopolists have been taking possession of the natural resources of the West Indies.
11. Oil, not the threat of communism, determines United States policy in the Middle East.
12. Israel has become identified with Western colonialism.
13. Imperialist intervention in Indonesian affairs could set off World War III.
14. United States capital and governmental policy are the chief obstacles to Africa's liberation.
15. The United States supports the French "colonialist" war in North Africa.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. United States Supports Colonialism

"Complementing and supplementing the American government's dedication to the destruction of the socialist Soviet Union, is its support to colonialism. This support derives in part from the relationship of colonialism to the strength of its allies--Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Belgium; but it is ambivalent, largely because of the simultaneous desire to strip those allies of much of the loot they obtain from their colonies...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 49.

"HERE IS THE IMAGE of the Dulles policy toward colonial and semi-colonial countries:

"In North Africa: support of French colonialism against the liberation struggles of the predominantly Arab peoples.

"In Indonesia: support of reactionary rebels against a legitimate, democratic government.

"In Cuba: support of an illegitimate brutal dictatorship against the opposition of the majority of the people.

"Is it any wonder that 'so much of humanity (is) alienated from us, distrustful of us, uninspired by us?'

"But of course the Eisenhower Administration isn't 'us.' It represents only a handful of billionaire buccaneers.

"The way to restore our country's good name and make it a constructive force that can win friends everywhere is to change this shameful policy. The trade unions and other people's organizations need to help fashion that change. All over the world the signs are up: DULLESISM MUST GO."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 5.

## 2. Profits from Imperialism

"Another truth is that the peoples of the world have real needs and interests that they must struggle for in order to survive. The United States corporations are now engaged in building a world empire where they can harvest the super-profits of imperialism. At every spot where they operate, human tragedy is bound to attend, civil wars, dictatorships, eventually world war."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 8.

## 3. Socialism Opposes Imperialism

"One of the outstanding characteristics of monopoly capitalism, and therewith one of its fundamental weaknesses, is its imperialist nature. The big monopolies, which dominate capitalism, undertake to rule the world and control all social life generally, in order to rob and exploit the peoples of weaker countries. The inevitable results are wars and national oppression of all kinds. One of the great strengths of the Socialist countries, on the other hand, is that they are opposed to imperialism and all its works."

William Z. Foster, "The  
Superiority of World Socialism  
over World Capitalism,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 27.

4. Latin America

"The peoples of Latin America are blowing the whistle not only on homegrown dictatorship but on the foreign colonialism that nurtures it.

"This is the underlying meaning of the stormy events in Venezuela, Cuba, Guatemala and the Bahamas. This was the underlying meaning of the revolts last year that swept through Haiti and Colombia."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"The great popular struggles now developing in Venezuela, Cuba, Chile, the Argentine Republic and many other Latin American countries are aimed principally at American imperialism and its dollar supported dictators."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1958, p. 10.

5. Cuba

"GEN. FULGENCIO Batista and his Washington sponsors would like the world to believe that in Cuba it's all over but the shooting. Batista's troops and gunmen will tend to the shooting. And then there will be a nice, quiet 'free world' election on Nov. 3, a well managed 'victory' for Batista's-- and Washington's -- man, after which the dictator will retire modestly to run the country behind the scenes instead of onstage."

"Ever since Cuba wrested its independence from Spain in 1898, it has been so dominated economically, politically and militarily by the United States that playing ball with the norteamericanos has become a tradition among the country's capitalist and middle classes and their political parties."

"THE CUBAN Communists and their Popular Socialist Party have, from their first statement on March 13, 1952, three days after Batista seized power, emphasized two points as indispensable for victory: unity of all opposition forces and the organization of mass struggle.

"Cuba's Marxists have combatted all tendencies to collaborate with the U.S. Embassy and all deals behind the backs of the people...."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 6.

"American arms -- planes, machine-guns, tanks -- uphold the Batista regime. And one may well imagine that the pincers and hot irons which the sadistic police wield were 'made in Pittsburgh.' "

"The people of Cuba are doubtless asking if their blood is less precious than the dividends of Wall Street's sugar corporations which are a dominating influence in their land."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 23, 1958, p. 2.

"The Communists urged all Cubans, regardless of party, whether they were Roman Catholics or not, to stand together at this decisive moment in Cuba's life. For disunity is the besetting weakness of the country's valiant resistance to native despots, and to Wall Street imperialism. And as Castro sources have declared, Batista could not reign a day without U.S. assistance. With unity, they feel, the cause of Cuban freedom could triumph despite the strafing of jet-planes made in USA that are flown by U.S.-trained pilots."

The Worker,  
April 13, 1958, p. 14.



6. Guatemala

"THE RECENT STORMY EVENTS in Guatemala, with farce elections and Presidents and military juntas following each other, reveal the instability of the regime which the U.S. State Department and the United Fruit Company imposed by violence in June-July 1954."

"The Guatemalan people have succeeded in ridding themselves of one of the most despotic and pro-imperialist Governments that has ever afflicted our country; that of Castillo Armas and his accomplices. That made-in-Washington regime used arms and money from the U.S. to murder many and imprison thousands, to abolish democratic liberties, rob the peasants of the land they had received under the Arbenz reform, liquidate the gains of the workers, deliver the wealth and natural resources of Guatemala to American monopolies, and engulf the country in misery and economic ruin.

"The people of Guatemala also defeated the Yankee imperialist plans to impose a military junta in order to continue the despotic regime...."

Jose Martinez, "Behind the Guatemalan Elections," Political Affairs, February, 1958, pp. 45, 46-47.

7. Peru

"The Worker is that American voice which must assure the peoples of Peru and of Latin America who rebuffed Richard Nixon that there are Americans who neither traffic with or have respect for Nixon, his associates or those whom these gentlemen represent.

"Nixon wanted to 'explain' things to the people of Peru. They would have none of his lies. American imperialism has violated every

mandate of the United Nations in its relations with Peru and other Western Hemisphere governments. Life has taught the Peruvians that the Nixons are the 'masters of deceit.' The Worker will expose Nixon's explanations and the lies of the metropolitan press which now will seek to make a hero out of this liar, economic buccaneer and ruthless colonialist."

The Worker,  
May 18, 1958, p. 15.

8. Puerto Rico

"PUERTO RICO or, as it is called today, the 'Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,' is not an independent country.

"Not all the legalistic juggling in the U.S. Congress or its counterpart in Puerto Rico, can hide the fact that Puerto Rico is still a colony of the U.S.

"That this colony is assigned the role of being a showcase for other colonial and semi-colonial countries cannot obscure the fact that Puerto Rico is still a colony though it presents a seemingly prosperous look for the moment."

"Let us not be blinded by a Puerto Rican economy based on a tax-free chance for U.S. industrialists to convert Puerto Rico into a sweatshop, air-conditioned though it be, of low wages and colonial exploitation."

The Worker,  
April 6, 1958, p. 10.

"We call for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and the establishment of Good Neighbor relations with the Latin American nations and other countries."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Venezuela

"In Venezuela the great people's struggle which on Jan. 23 dumped the nine-year military dictatorship of Gen. Marcos Perez Jimenez is by no means over. Relations with the U.S. and the foreign oil companies promise to be a key issue. Most of these companies are American, with the Rockefellers' Standard Oil of New Jersey on top.

"Washington and the oil trusts helped put and keep Perez Jimenez in power. The \$3 billion U.S. investment in Venezuela -- chiefly in oil -- is the largest in any underdeveloped country...."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"THE VENEZUELAN revolution is a shock to Wall Street. The Rockefellers, Mellons and Morgan bankers thought they owned Venezuela as fully as they owned Texas. And Wall Street writers have often boasted of America's control of this big Caribbean land and its fabulous riches...

"Yes, Venezuela was a paradise for the billionaires to wallow in. Oil, iron ore and land were bringing fantastic profits. Trade unionists and Communists were hunted, jailed, exiled and butchered...."

"The Venezuela oil fields are the Rockefellers' biggest single source of profits today. Nearly half the fantastic take of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey--running to seven and eight hundred million dollars a year--comes from Venezuela."

"...THE ROCKEFELLERS' Standard Oil -- with more than two million acres in its fist -- has the biggest forests of derricks in the Lake Maracaibo region. The Rockefellers are also powerful figures in Venezuelan

banking, farming, fishing, dairying and hotels as well. And they have dominated all the Venezuelan dictatorships since they got h their first oil concessions.

"The Morgan bankers are exploiting the Venezuelan workers too. Their United States Steel Corp. is shipping seven and eight million tons of iron ore every year from its mines at Cerro Bolívar, near the Orinoco River.

"Bethlehem Steel (in which the Mellons have a stake) is also taking out several million tons of Venezuelan ore every year.

"THE OUSTING of Dictator Perez Jimenez, of course, is only a beginning. And the ousting of his successors and the building of a democratic regime will not finish the job. The struggle will go on until the Venezuelan people control their own economic life, and the corrupting influence of Rockefeller imperialism is set aside.

"That time may not be many years off...."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1958, p. 2.

#### 10. West Indies

"THE ELECTION on March 25th of the first Federal Assembly in the West Indies marks a new political stage in the history of the Caribbean.

"This period will also witness the advancing role of American capital investment in the forthcoming West Indian Federation. Increasing United States economic penetration is not, of course, unrelated to the struggle of the West Indian people for full political and economic independence.

"... While the outward political responsibility remains with Britain, increasingly Washington controls the economic basis of the Federation."

"The growth of American economic and political influence in the West Indies was facilitated by the establishment in 1942 of an Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, renamed the Caribbean Commission in 1946. Presumably its function was 'to advise and consult' the governments concerned on matters pertaining to 'labor, agriculture, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics, etc.' But with the help of this Commission, American monopolists have been seizing possession of the natural resources of the West Indies...."

"The danger of the new West Indies Federation falling into the pit of U.S. imperialist domination cannot be sounded too often...."

"What unites the all-class\* struggle of the West Indian peoples is opposition to foreign imperialism...."

Claudia Jones, "American Imperialism and the British West Indies," Political Affairs, April, 1958, pp. 9, 10, 11, 16.

## 11. Middle East

"This gigantic Rockefeller empire would be helpless without the State Department and the U.S. mailed fist. This was shown in Iran in 1953, when Dulles and his brother organized a military plot to overthrow the Mossadegh Government, that nationalized the oil fields.

"This was shown again in the oil-rich Middle East last year. Here Dulles and Eisenhower brought the Sixth Fleet after the nationalization of Suez. This was done under the cover of the double-talking Eisenhower Doctrine, that pretends to be saving the Middle East from 'Communism.' What

\*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

they are actually doing is reinforcing the reactionary Arab kings (Feisal of Iraq, Hussein of Jordan, and Saud of Saudi Arabia) against the Arab liberation movement.

"For that Arab liberation movement seems destined to claim the fabulous oil reserves for the people before long."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

"... President Eisenhower isn't thinking of 'democracy' when he sends his cruisers to Lebanon in the Middle East. He is thinking of the oil below the Arab sands, of the profits of the Rockefeller and Mellon families that put him into the White House."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 2.

## 12. Israel

"Israel, tragically, has become identified with Western colonialism in the eyes of the Arab world and elsewhere. The Arab millions see that its position in the United Nations is overwhelming that of the U.S. State Department...."

"Its future rests in breaking with cold-war policies. Improved political and trade relations with the socialist countries, as well as with the colonial and semi-colonial world, will enormously strengthen Israel's cause, contribute to the prosperity of its inhabitants and their good relations with all Arab nations."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 2.

13. Indonesia

"Today the two Dulles brothers are maneuvering in Indonesia with rebel separatist leaders, who want to split the progressive island republic in the interest of the foreign oil and rubber companies, and the imperialists' military plans."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

"DULLES learns nothing from history, however. And he despises exploited colored people. So he hails the oil companies 'rebels' in Sumatra as fighters against 'Communism.' "

"The common folks of America have a stake in this Indonesian struggle. For the common people want peace. And the present Indonesian Government, which Dulles want to overthrow, is a Government of Peace."

The Worker,  
March 23, 1958, p. 7.

"The Dulles machinations are heightening tensions in the Far East and could trigger World War III...."

The Worker,  
March 23, 1958, p. 14

14. Africa

"...the U.S. government is today the main foe of African self-determination, and...the rich families of the United States and the great

corporations they own and control rank with the worst exploiters of African labor and resources."

"...we Americans have a major responsibility for what has happened in Africa in the past, what is happening today and what will happen there tomorrow; because American capital and governmental policy are now the chief obstacle to Africa's liberation."

John Pittman, "Africa and the United States," Political Affairs,

February, 1958, pp. 49, 50.

## 15. Tunisia

"IT WAS MURDER in Tunisia -- premeditated murder...."

"And this time the guilt and the shame besmirch our own country. The Eisenhower Administration provided most of the planes that murdered 78 defenseless men, women and children in the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. This is the grisly reality of the NATO alliance.

"And the ink is hardly dry on the agreement by which the Administration is giving the French government a \$655,000,000 loan to enable it to continue perpetrating more bestialities against Tunisia and against the Algerian people on whom it has been waging war for more than three years."

"President Eisenhower should be flooded with demands that:

"Our United Nations delegation give complete, unequivocal support in the Security Council to the Tunisian complaint;

"All military and economic aid to France be ended so long as it continues the colonialist war in North Africa;

"The \$655,000,000 loan be immediately canceled."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 16, 1958, p. 2.



## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The second session of the 85th Congress has delayed enactment of needed legislation to provide jobs and additional unemployment benefits.
2. Congressional investigating committees should be abolished.
3. The Smith Act and the Internal Security Act should be repealed and the "McCarthyite" loyalty program should be abolished.
4. The "informer system" must be abolished.
5. The Administration has adopted a "do-nothing" policy on the issue of civil rights.
6. A constant struggle must be waged against McCarthyism.
7. Amnesty should be granted immediately to those leaders of the Communist Party, USA, who are serving sentences for violation of the Smith Act.
8. The Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.
9. The denial of passports on political grounds should be prohibited.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The 85th Congress

"...Steps must be taken to ease credit for farmers, small businessmen, home buyers and working people generally. For those who have suffered loss of jobs and income, federal legislation is needed to provide refinancing of mortgage and other debt on long terms and at low interest rates, with a moratorium on debt payments during periods of unemployment."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"The White House, feeding the country 'buy now' ballyhoo, is holding off tax cuts or other anti-depression measures and it is now indicated that nothing is planned until June or July...."

"...as the fourth month since Congress opened is rounded out, there is still not a single piece of enacted legislation that has the value of a job or more in unemployment benefits."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 11.

### 2. Congressional Investigating Committees

"...Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"THE HISTORIC SUPREME Court decision of June, 1957, for instance, which dealt a great blow to 'investigating committees' (and especially the notorious 'House Committee on Un-American Activities'), is now up before that Court for re-affirmation.

"Three times since last June, the U.S. Court of Appeals has tried to sap that decision of its meaning, which would in effect take away from the 'committees' their single most powerful weapon -- the authority to bring contempt proceedings against any 'witness' refusing to answer their questions. A new ruling by the Court will clinch its first decision, and help put all such 'investigations' out of business...."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, p. 6.

3. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"...End thought-control legislation and decrees.... Repeal the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act and abolish the McCarthyite Loyalty Program...."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

4. Confidential Informants

"...the whole system of repressive laws--the Taft-Hartley, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Walter-McCarran law--simply cannot be enforced without the Justice Department's rotten system of paid political informers.

"Conclusions should be drawn that go far beyond the Jencks case. Scores of trade unionists, Communist leaders and foreign born have been prosecuted under these repressive laws with built-in informer systems.

"The informer system must go; the McCarthyite laws must be wiped off the books; the fight back to the Bill of Rights must be stepped-up.

"The most dramatic step to this end would be the granting of Presidential amnesty to Smith Act prisoners Gil Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash--victims of thought-control trials where the Justice Department also 'didn't have the proof.' "

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 2.

## 5. Civil Rights

"The unknown hoodlums who last week bombed an all-Negro school and a Jewish center in Jacksonville, Florida, were undoubtedly encouraged to violence by the failure of the Eisenhower administration to take any action on civil rights, and by the passivity of Congress.

"The Civil Rights Commission which was set up last fall, under the Civil Rights Act, has done nothing about the more than 300 complaints it has received, it was disclosed last week."

"THE INACTION in the Administration-appointed commission is matched by the record of the House of Representatives...."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 16.

"MINNIJEAN BROWN, one of nine Negro students, was expelled from Central High School in Little Rock on charges that she replied to intolerable provocation.

"Climaxing a series of historic events around the segregation fight in Little Rock the shameful action should have set off a political explosion in Washington. But it did not.

"Why?

"Because there is, in effect, a bi-partisan conspiracy of the high commands of both major parties to bury the issue of civil rights at this session of Congress.

"Attorney General William Rogers, speaking for the Republican Administration, has announced a go-slow policy--which, in effect, is a do-nothing policy....

"Nor does the newly-appointed Civil Rights Commission indicate any program of struggle to defend even those legal rights supported by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"Leaders of the Democratic majority in the Senate and House, Messrs. Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, are following essentially the same policy....

"These policies by the leaders of the so-called free world are, in effect, support of the activity of the racists--and will be so judged not only by many Americans, Negro and white, but by the whole world."

"...A great new mass revival of the civil rights struggle is needed outside of the Congress. In such a struggle organized labor, in its own interest as well as that of the nation, should take a leading part. Labor will thus strengthen its alliance with the Negro people and other democratic forces.

"In this struggle the socialist-minded forces of America--the Communist Party and others--can and must make their own contribution."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 2.

"...Restore guarantees of the Bill of Rights for all citizens and foreign born...."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

6. McCarthyism

"JOE McCARTHY has been buried a year. But the disease of McCarthyism is far from dead...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"THE LATE SENATOR McCarthy may be moldering in his grave but McCarthyism, unfortunately, lingers on.

"While the trend is back to the Bill of Rights, as evidenced by numerous court decisions and public expressions, there is still enough McCarthyism around to make necessary continued alertness--and struggle.

"New proof is the conviction last weekend of Junius Scales on the charge of membership in the Communist Party. Scales, who, incidentally, is no longer a Communist Party member, was convicted by a Federal Court under the so-called membership clause of the widely discredited Smith Act."

"ANOTHER EVIDENCE of McCarthyism in practice is the recent conviction of seven persons in Cleveland on the tissue-thin charge of 'conspiring' to violate the Taft-Hartley anti-communist provision.

"This sinister proceeding foreshadows similar efforts by the Justice Department to frame-up scores of trade unionists and their supporters throughout the nation. It represents not only a general threat to the people's liberties; it is a specific threat to organized labor."

"These convictions can be reversed, as have been scores of others. But it will take unity and struggle without any illusions that victory will come, automatically or simply because Joe McCarthy is no longer among the living."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 2, 1958, p. 2.

"In the last ten years our Party has borne the brunt of the fight for the Bill of Rights against all forms of McCarthyism...."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

7. Amnesty for Imprisoned Party Leaders

"The decision of the United States Supreme Court, affirming by a 5 to 4 decision to\* convictions and three years sentences of Henry Winston and Gilbert Green on contempt charges, is a source of shock and indignation to all progressive forces, who had hopefully viewed their appeal in the context of recent victories against the infamous thought control Smith Act, under which they were originally sentenced."

"The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., vigorously protests this decision and calls for full steam ahead in the Amnesty Campaign, directed to President Eisenhower on behalf of the imprisoned Smith Act victims."

"Let us join together to end all political persecution and to secure the unconditional immediate release of our imprisoned comrades."

The Worker,  
April 6, 1958, p. 16.

\*This probably should read "the!"

"We shall increase our activity in defense of the Bill of Rights, including in behalf of our own legal and democratic rights, firm in our belief that the defense of our constitutional liberties and the granting of amnesty to Winston, Green, Potash and Thompson and to all other political prisoners is not a special privilege nor a partisan right, but is necessary to protect and expand the civil liberties of all Americans."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 5.

8. Immigration and Naturalization

"... Repeal the Walter-McCarran Act and enact an immigration and naturalization law that provides for a liberal immigration policy not based on national origin, eliminates all political tests for admission, residence and naturalization, and bars deportation after ten years of legal residence...."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Passports

"... Prohibit the denial of passports on political grounds...."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.



## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. It is the policy of the present Administration to raise military expenditures at the expense of domestic needs.
2. The hiring of military men to fill executive posts in war industries increases the danger that this country will be plunged into an atomic war.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Military Budget

"...Arms expenditures should be drastically reduced, and the money spent instead for purposes benefitting the American people. Idle arms factories should be converted to peacetime production, and provisions made to provide retraining, relocation, severance pay and other benefits for workers displaced by these changes."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"Unfortunately, most of our spokesmen for labor are still following the view that big military budgets are the basis for the boom. This is one of the major reasons for their support of a sabre-rattling and 'brink-of-war' foreign policy."

"...The figures may look convincing and the argument may sound 'logical,' but these economists overlook the realities: that those today in a position to decide in the government and Congress, raise military expenditures at the **EXPENSE** of the domestic needs.

"The argument of labor leaders for military expenditures only helps to lend justification to the program of chiseling into welfare needs, foregoing tax cuts and paring down wage demands, to increase the military budget. As for labor's larger objective of a vast anti-depression program of projects to fill long-postponed needs in education, housing, welfare, health, etc., they surely become unrealistic if accompanied by a demand for a higher military budget.

"The program for both more guns and more butter is also refuted by world conditions. Even many Americans who have long been ardent cold-war backers, are coming around to the view that there can be no end result but war in the continued arms race; that the point has been reached where both east and west must turn to negotiating an agreement under which the race could end and much of the world's productive power could be shifted to combatting poverty that still dominates most of the world...."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 4.

"...the President made no bones of his view that when it comes to military expenditures against steps to relieve the plight of the hungry, he placed the needs of war first...."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 3.

"The projected increases in armaments will undoubtedly stimulate capital investment in missile production and related areas. And they will undoubtedly provide additional jobs. Hence they enjoy the support of many working people.

"But arms budgets offer no real answer. In return for such benefits as they may confer, they exact a severe price. The arms must be paid for, in added inflation, in high taxes, and in the sacrifices of social welfare. Even more serious, they carry the threat of new assaults on democratic liberties,

and above all the increased menace of atomic war. Nor does such spending provide added jobs which would not be provided by spending the same sums for socially useful purposes. . . ."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 19.

2. Hiring of Military Men by War Industries

"THE TIES between the Brass Hats and the Brink-of-War profiteers grow closer day by day. . . ."

. . . . .  
". . . They hold down big jobs in other plane and missile concerns. And they are not only hired for their engineering and executive talents, but for their ties with the Pentagon as well. For they are still part of the Brink-of-War apparatus, while in civvies. And the danger that America will be plunged into atomic war is greater than ever when military men are in Wall Street's executive posts."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1958, p. 5.

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The issue of equal rights for Negroes is "the foremost democratic cause of all America."
2. The issue of Negro rights is a political football in this country.
3. Governmental policy based on racism must be changed.
4. The United States is a "classic example of a white supremacist society," and reforms in the area of Negro rights must be "wrung" from the ruling class by means of mass struggle.
5. The goal is complete integration and equal rights for Negroes and all other minorities.
6. The Communist Party, USA, "must concentrate on helping to develop actual Negro-white unity, so vital to the battle for peace, and democracy--and Negro rights."
7. The ultimate solution to the problem of anti-Semitism is the ending of class society.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Equal Rights for Negroes

"Equality of citizenship rights without discrimination in political affairs, economic opportunity, cultural life and social status remain rights deferred for the vast majority of Negro Americans. They remain still the golden dream of their heart's desire and the urgent objectives of their evermore united and militant freedom struggle."

"The message to all Americans this Negro History Week, 1958, is to swell the active struggle to secure to the Negro people equality of rights in all aspects of the political, economic and cultural life of the nation; to swell it to a crusade that will level all the barriers of Jim Crow racism, segregation and discrimination, that will result in the enactment of the necessary laws and the enforcement of the existing Constitutional privileges to secure the ballot to the Negroes of the South and the full respect for their equality and dignity everywhere in the nation, in all avenues of social endeavor."

"On this commemorative occasion of Negro History Week, Communists everywhere, renew their appreciation of the glorious chapters of American history which have been inscribed by the valiant struggles of the Negro people's freedom struggle and in the deeds of her foremost sons and daughters.

"We appraise the struggle of the Negro people for their equal rights today as the first cause of all Americans concerned with the social advancement of our nation. We pledge our renewed dedication to service in the cause of the Negro people's struggle for equality, the foremost democratic cause of all America."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1958, pp. 3, 11.

## 2. Negro Rights and Politics

"The issue of Negro rights has long been the major political football in this country. The game is played on state and national levels. The teams are the Republican and Democratic parties, and the tempo of the play is determined by the height of the struggle for Negro rights at a given moment.

"Neither side is animated by principle. The ninety-year-old failure of successive governments to end the subversion of the Constitution by racists is proof. No love of constitutional government or respect for human dignity; no great concern for the moral and political prestige of this country abroad; no concern for the status of constitutional liberties and rights at home, motivate either team. The stakes are the Negro vote, and have been for more than seventy-five years."

William L. Patterson, "The Battle for Civil Rights Today," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 1.

"The present mood and the future destiny of the Negro people call for independent political action; and those Negro leaders who prefer collaboration with the rich, the powerful and the corrupt political machines over the well-nigh-unanimous mandate of their own oppressed and fed-up people are doing a grave disservice to the struggle for the dignity and rights of the Negro."

The Worker,  
June 1, 1958, p. 16.

### 3. Racism as Governmental Policy

"...The employment of a few Negroes by the government cannot hide a policy of racist terror.

"The struggle of Negro liberation moves too slowly. The figures of legal execution expose a relentless government that will not change and must be changed.

"It is necessary to soberly assess the situation. He who argues that a gradual change will come through judicial decree must realize that a policy of government based on racism does not change that way...."

The Worker,  
April 13, 1958, p. 9.

"...America's progressive face their greatest crisis of racism. The racist policy is a policy varying only in degree, of every city, state government and the federal government.

"But the governments will resolve the crisis of jim-crow, segregation and moral depravity at the expense of the Negro people and labor if left to their own devices...."

The Worker,  
May 18, 1958, p. 15.

"The struggle for conditions guaranteeing permanent peace will not wait. The battle against racist dehumanization and inequalities is being waged on a world wide scale, and the struggle for Negro rights is an integral part of it. The racist policies of this country are ammunition for the most reactionary leaders of Europe, Asia and Africa."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1958, p. 3.

"The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the UN had constantly referred to the racial prejudices of the rulers of America, much to the embarrassment of their representatives in the General Assembly. American racism was becoming anathema throughout the world. Its continued existence bade fair to have dangerous effects upon the trade relations of American monopoly with Egypt, the Arabian countries, and other eastern lands."

William L. Patterson, "The  
Battle for Civil Rights Today,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1958,  
p. 6.

#### 4. Mass Struggle for Negro Rights

"Moreover, one must bear in mind that concessions or reforms won in a class-exploitative society are wrung\* from the ruling class; this is particularly true in the area of Negro rights in the United States, classic example of a white supremacist society. The concessions are won in mass struggle against the desire of the dominant components within the ruling class. How meaningful they will be, how quickly and how fully implemented, and how permanent, basically depends upon how persistent and organized is the pressure from the mass which extracted the concession or reform in the first place. This does not mean that the gaining of the reform was not assisted by splits and differences among those on top--and in the area of Negro rights there are significant splits of this kind, originating in international pressures and considerations, and in differing compulsions of a domestic nature, both political and economic. But it does mean that advances in popular rights fundamentally derive in spite\* of ruling class opposition, and because\* of popular struggle. This is especially true when one deals with the oppression of the Negro people..."

"Today, advice of moderation, in the face of continued segregation and a mounting offensive of reaction is especially monstrous because never has there been so good an opportunity as in our day to really smash jim crow. The Negro people are aroused as never before...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1958,  
pp. 11-12, 18.

"The freedom struggle of the Negro people in the United States has reached a historic level. The highest point was reached in the Supreme Court decisions against segregation. But forces of reaction are fighting not only to wipe this concession off the books but to set back civil rights progress for a long time to come...."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 11.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



"This is the way the battle lines shape up at the end of 1957 on the legal front of the southern desegregation battle. The apparent targets were the U. S. Supreme Court and the NAACP; the slogan was 'To Preserve States' Rights'; but the real targets were due process and law and order.

"In a sense, the NAACP is bearing the brunt of this fight because it, and not the office of the U. S. Attorney General, has been the outstanding defender of the U. S. Constitution as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court."

The Worker,  
January 12, 1958, p. 9.

"This means that any approach to the question of the struggle for Negro rights which limits itself to the good-will of the rich, or the enlightenment of segments of the ruling class is doomed to failure, and in fact helps to continue the oppression...."

"Flowing from this comprehension, and understanding that concessions are wrung\* from the bourgeoisie, not given\* by them, one must see that, society never being static, the ruling class will always try and always has tried, first, to minimize the concession, second to hedge it about with delaying devices, third, to take back the concession and, finally, if possible, to turn their battle against the implementing of the concession into one that eventuates not only in cancelling it, but in pushing back the forces that extracted the concession to begin with."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1958,  
p. 12.

5. Integration and Equal Rights

"From coast to coast and border to border we shall work to speed realization of complete integration and equal rights in education, housing,

\*Underlined word is italicized in the original text.

employment and public life everywhere in America, and we propose a great all-inclusive, nationwide crusade to democratize the South."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 5.

"If the Negro people are to be free, the struggle must be deepened and sharpened. A Five-Year Plan for the total elimination of Jim Crow and segregation in the United States can and must be formulated. Such a plan could be a unifier of all humane, justice-loving, democratic-minded people. A master Five-Year Plan with calendar fixed goals for the enjoyment of the civil rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution would mobilize tens of thousands of Americans. It would immeasurably strengthen the struggle for national morality and integrity. It would reach into every household, and city council, every State assembly, every institution of government in the United States. Without capitulation to a 'gradualist' position, it would give recognition to the need for time to develop the struggle.

"The struggle could be directed toward the removal of all segregation measures from all statute books and the ending by law of the evil practices that reflect and make for the perpetuation of racial and religious bias and bigotry in counties, cities, states and nation."

William L. Patterson, "The  
Battle for Civil Rights Today,"  
Political Affairs, February,  
1958, p. 9.

#### 6. Negro-White Unity

"Specifically, today, in terms of the Negro movement, our job is to see the class roots of Negro oppression, the relationship between the whole world-wide struggle against imperialism and the Negro liberation movement, the necessity for Negro-white unity and particularly a Negro-

white labor alliance. Our job now is to help develop the widest possible unity--among the Negro people, among Negro and white people, and between the organized labor movement and the Negro freedom effort."

"...The Party as a whole must concentrate on helping to develop actual Negro-white unity, so vital to the battle for peace, and democracy--and Negro rights."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, pp. 23-24, 25.

"The danger to all Americans, regardless of color, grows as the White Citizens Councils and their backers conspire to a greater attack on the Negro populace. While the crisis deepens they plan to divide the Negro from the white worker in the trade-unions, to pit one against another in the vital need for jobs. And to undo whatever gain resulted from the Supreme Court desegregation decision, here as well as in the South."

"Clearly, the time calls for a resurgent and mightier counter-attack upon those who would fling back the advance of the Negroes in America since the New Deal Days."

Editorial, The Worker, April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 2.

## 7. Anti-Semitism

"THE MARXIST view has always been that the ultimate solution to the problem of anti-Semitism -- a product of class society -- is the ending of class society, which is a barrier to the fullest development of democracy, and to the nationality or class."

The Worker, March 30, 1958, p. 6.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The public educational system in the United States is basically faulty.
2. "Education for all" must be the guiding principle in our public schools.
3. Federal aid to education should be increased.
4. Big business dominates education and is responsible for the educational crisis in our country.
5. Racial, religious, and economic discrimination exists in American education.
6. "Fascist-like" loyalty requirements discourage prospective teachers.
7. The Soviet Union excels the United States in the field of education.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Faulty Educational System

"The whole public educational system rests today on foundations that are shaky and questionable at best, and at worst false and destructive. But on those foundations have been erected a structure that has begun to crack, visibly and dangerously, in several places. Delinquency; semi-illiteracy in the 'three R's'; scientific and cultural backwardness; and the huge toll of discrimination and segregation -- these are the ways in which the basically faulty educational system has thrust itself upon the attention of the whole nation and the world...."

The Worker,  
April 20, 1958, p. 11.

"Now those responsible for the educational debacle in our country will seek to make Deweyism the scapegoat; will seek to preserve its most reactionary qualities; and will attempt to return to the worst features of 19th century education--elitism, rote, brutal discipline, and a general effort to crush the freshness and beauty, the honesty and courage so natural to youth."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 25.

## 2. Education for All

"TWO SERIOUS problems of public education are now engaging wide public attention. One is the problem of delinquency, especially as it has been appearing among so-called 'substandard' pupils; the other is the problem of wasted talents, with emphasis on the so-called 'gifted' pupils. Each is a problem of long standing, as everyone knows who has ever had anything to do with our public schools; and both therefore warrant the widest attention they can get, and the boldest action.

"There is a serious danger, nevertheless, that in this new concern with two 'special' questions, the general crisis in public education, and its roots, will not only continue to be neglected, but may be pushed even farther into the background. If that happens, we may be certain now that even the boldest of 'special measures' will be doomed from the start, while the deeprooted sources for every general and specific question in education today continue to flourish unhampered."

"... 'There is a group of uneducable youngsters,' one unidentified teacher is quoted in the New York Times as saying, 'who hate school or are in constant trouble, and yet must remain.... For them school is a place of detention or a prison.' And this same teacher expands the full implications of that terrible phrase 'uneducable' by going on to attack 'the great American myth that every kid no matter what his age or ability, must remain in school.'

"Here is an open, explicit, unashamed expression of a basic belief--the belief that 'education for all' (that old Jeffersonian dream!) is nothing after all but a 'myth'; the belief that some 'group' of our children (how many of what social class or national origin?) cannot in fact be educated at all!"

"That is why no real advance will be made anywhere in the school system--either on special problems, or on the schools as a whole--until this approach is smoked out, and 'education for all' once again made a guiding principle in our public schools."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 6.

### 3. Federal Aid to Education

"...President Eisenhower sets the pace. In his 'state of the union' message' and in his proposed budget he smoothly and piously proposes a greatly increased war budget in time of peace, and at the same time proposes cutbacks in funds for education and social welfare: for example, a \$3,000,000 cut in the Children's Bureau program to combat delinquency, a \$1,600,000 cut in funds for training teachers of mentally retarded children, etc. He was silent on a proposal he himself made, with great acclaim, a short time ago for a four-year Federal school building program to cost \$420,000,000 a year.

"THE OFFICE of Education at Washington has just issued a report on school construction throughout the country. It says the country is now short 140,000 classrooms...."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 6.

"The voice of all people who are doing the honest and necessary work of the world and who bear all costs must be raised against the war mongers who are demanding retrenchment in education. What a prospect these war profiteers offer the children of the nation! A denial of educational facilities that we could easily afford, and at the same time, a blight on their future more horrible than all past wars combined into one world-wide slaughter!"

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

"Appropriate five billion dollars annually for school construction, increase of teachers' salaries and scholarships and financial aid for students, to be made available without discrimination and on the basis of full compliance with the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

#### 4. Big Business Dominates Education

"The major need in attacking the educational crisis in our country, is to understand that responsibility for it lies squarely on the shoulders of Big Business which has dominated education. Having created the crisis out of its deep fear of real education for the masses, out of its contempt for culture and its deification of the Dollar, it is striving to turn the crisis to its own advantage. What Big Business wants is, above everything, to keep the masses of the people from seeing the source of perversion in this domination, to keep the masses from comprehending that it is for them to intercede directly and urgently and to see to it that their own children get the fullest benefits from the educational system, whose every brick and piece of chalk is paid for by the labor of the people themselves."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 23.

"In the last session of Congress there was a bill to provide Federal aid to the states in their educational programs. The United States Chamber of Commerce, representing the top business interests of the country, waged a vigorous, prolonged and nation-wide campaign against it. The bill never even came to a vote.

"It is the coalition of these business interests and the Dixiecrats of the South together with the Catholic Church, which has been blocking Federal aid for the schools for decades. Meanwhile the States have not been building classrooms as fast as the children have been born."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 6.

"...the American school system is in the hands of a powerful and self-perpetuating lobby of vested interests--the National Education Association."

Norbert Wiener, "The Education of Scientists," Mainstream, May, 1958, p. 16.

## 5. Discrimination

"An outstanding reflection of moral failure and social decay is the universally admitted crisis in American education. Addressing the bourgeoisie, eleven decades ago, Marx and Engels wrote: 'And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate...?' 'The Communists,' wrote those two young revolutionists, 'seek to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.'

"That education in our country needs rescuing is now everywhere affirmed. The crisis in education is total; no area has escaped....



"There exist the sharpest discriminations in American education, most notorious along sectional, racial, religious and--above all--economic lines...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 22.

"The ruling class seeks also to use the educational crisis as an excuse for halting any effort to integrate the school system. They say the struggle against segregation interferes with efforts to resolve the crisis; they say it is rocking the boat in the midst of a storm. They are wrong again. The existence of jimcrowism is a prime feature of and cause for the general educational crisis. Fighting against segregated education is not rocking the boat; it is helping to get some water out of a dangerously swamped ship."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 24.

"...We argue the need for reduced class-size, for remedial reading programs, for full integration..."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 8.

## 6. Teachers

"...in all the clamor about the shortage of teachers--of fearful proportions, most certainly--no consideration is given to the conclusive evidence that one feature which has discouraged many from becoming teachers and induced many others to leave are the fascist-like requirements relative to 'loyalty' and to '100% Americans' defined a la Eastland and

J. Edgar Hoover? And in the search for teachers, is it not extraordinary that no consideration is given to the thousands of teachers who were driven from their jobs by degenerate informers, like Howard Rushmore who belatedly ended his own miserable life after adding the crime of murder to his long record?"

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 25.

7. Education in the Soviet Union

"Another thing revealed by the Soviet Sputnik, as by a flash of lightning, was the superiority of the Soviet educational system...."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 24.

"...That the basic education of the Soviet citizen is without a peer in the world is now universally admitted; that scientific research in the USSR is without a superior is a fact...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 23.

"A total of 16 high schools anywhere in the country--8 of them private schools--are now teaching Russian, to a possible maximum of 7,500 young Americans. For every American youth now studying Russian, more than one thousand times as many Soviet youth are studying English. Whose education in truth is broad and rounded?"

The Worker,  
March 30, 1958, p. 8.

"Certainly, the United States with capitalism cannot hope to apply under that system the educational theories and practices possible in the higher order of socialism....

"But we Americans can gain inspiration--no matter what our politics--from the magnificent and indisputable achievements registered in the USSR in bringing a notoriously uneducated peoples, immersed in illiteracy, out into the light, within one generation--despite catastrophic war--of universal literacy, pre-eminent scientific achievement and the most highly cultured level in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 27.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. Cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union are a step toward peace.
2. Labor unions must sponsor cultural activities for the workers.
3. The intellectual atmosphere in the United States is "still poisoned with the 'fall-out' set off by the explosions of witch-hunts, McCarthyism, Smith Act trials and the 'Cold War.'"
4. International scientific gatherings have become testing grounds for peace.
5. An international agency should be established within the United Nations to develop a long-range program for artificial satellites, the exploration of space, and interplanetary travel.
6. Socialism furnishes the "social soil" for the growth of genuine morality.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Cultural Exchanges**

"We welcome the agreement in principle which has been reached for scientific, educational and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union and urge the full implementation of this agreement."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"The accord between the United States and the Soviet Union for a five-fold increase in cultural, technical, education and sports exchanges between the two countries, is widely hailed as another step in the direction of peaceful relations between peoples and co-existence."

"As a result of that exchange many hundreds of visiting persons in the arts, technical fields, sports, entertainment, sciences and learning, will be met and greeted by millions of peoples in both lands. Direct contact between the two peoples will be expanded on a scale never known before.

"This accord has been reached despite the fact that efforts to bring about conferences at the summitt are only in the talking stage and relations at the diplomatic level are still quite hostile. The power that is pulling the two great peoples together is becoming strong enough to even overcome diplomatic and military barriers."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1958, p. 6.

"One of the most heartening phenomena on the national scene--in terms of understanding betwee nations, and a drawing together for peace--is the cultural interchange between us and the Russians. Music has been called the international language, it hurdles barriers of speech and affords a glimpse into the heart of peoples. It can serve as an ambassador of good will and it is doing just that in the current exchange of Soviet artists coming here and American artists going there."

"...it would be well if the international relations between nations accorded to the response shown their musicians."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 8, 1958, p. 2.

## 2. Culture and Labor

"History has been on the side of the snobs. For hundreds of years the middle class artist has created for the upper class patron. Who finances the symphonies, buys the Picassos, pays \$20 for a seat at the B'way musical,

owns the publishing houses and newspapers, decides (through his Banks) what movies Hollywood will make, and sponsors the Songs to Cigarettes our young children sing!"

"The Union must, and will, once again organize choruses and theatre groups and book clubs and even publish a worker-poet now and then. But, when..."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, pp. 8, 11.

### 3. Intellectual Atmosphere

"THE NEW YORK CITY CENTER program of American opera, which took place for five weeks in April and early May, and was based on a study of about 200 scores, both fresh and familiar, by the general director, Julius Rudel, should have been an occasion for serious study and discussion by New York musicians and critics. For it is probably in the creation of an exciting and significant musical theatre that American composers will first establish music itself as something of consequence to the country's people.

"But so far no such serious discussion has been forthcoming. Instead of trying to throw some light on the path ahead, on the basis of the stimulating experiences offered by these 10 operas, the critics seem content to give the works various grades, from 'passing' or 'excellent' to 'failure,' like a teacher marking term papers, and let things move along in the usual pragmatic and hit-or-miss fashion.

"It could be that a contributing factor is the fact that the intellectual atmosphere is still poisoned with the 'fall-out' set off by the explosions of witch-hunts, McCarthyism, Smith Act trials and the 'Cold War.' "

"IT IS ALSO A PITY that this season of American opera had to be made possible by a grant of \$105,000 by the Ford Foundation. We have to grow up to realize that such cultural events should be supported by the people directly through their elected government, instead of what amounts to an indirect support in the form of 'taxation without representation.' "

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 8.

#### 4. International Scientific Gatherings

"No single class or nation has a monopoly to truth. One of the cardinal tenets of our faith as a mathematician is the belief in the collaboration of all men and women of good will, from whatever peoples or creeds they may hail. The boundaries of science are not those of nations, but only those of the human mind as it exists in a particular historical period, and these boundaries are highly elastic. Now, more than ever, the internationalism of science should be stressed, our creed that all countries should participate, that no secrets be kept, that full information can stream across the borders as in olden times. What needs pleading now in the middle of the 20th century was taken for granted by the scientists of the 17th century! Let us stress our points anew: the guarding of scientific truths by one group or another is not only duplication of efforts, but a stupid kind of pride. It does not promote that peaceful atmosphere in which our own knowledge--and wisdom--as well as that of others, can best grow. We believe that peace is necessary for the full unfolding of our science; we also believe conversely that all attempts to promote this full unfolding will promote better understanding between the peoples. This holds the more with the importance our present civilization gives to the exact sciences. International scientific gatherings are not only what they used to be, exchanges of information. They have become testing grounds for peace."

Dirk Struik, "A Mathematician's Faith," Mainstream, January, 1958, pp. 45-46.

5. International Space Agency

"Establish an international agency within the UN to develop and administer a long-range program for artificial satellites, the exploration of space, and interplanetary travel."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

6. Socialism and Morality

"Socialism, then, is much more than nationalized industry and the free-admitted class rule of workers allied with other exploited sections of the population it is also an atmosphere in which venality and attendant vices must give way to the elevation of the human spirit; it furnishes the social soil for the growth of genuine morality."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1958, p. 9.



## XI. WOMEN

1. American women need socialism.
2. The Communist Party, USA, must secure the fullest participation of all Negro women.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Socialism and American Women

"...International Women's Day was born out of struggles of American working men and women and later adopted in other lands.

"...the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, adopted March 8th as International Women's Day....

"...In the last 50 years... women have gained equal rights in the Socialist countries and have made great progress politically and in all spheres of activity--science, education, medicine, art, etc....A new woman has been born in our century.

"Unfortunately under capitalism the same 50 year old worries still beset us here, such as unemployment, wage differentials and unequal opportunities in industry and the professions. The labor movement has not yet carried out its good resolutions for the protection of the rights of women on the job and in unions. There are few women union officials and few in government posts. There is still the high cost of living, the need for adequate housing, schools, and health facilities, to trouble women. More than ever American women are deeply alarmed at the prospect of a global war that could destroy humanity....Every day spent...among women brings new arguments for Socialism right here in the U.S.A...."

The Worker,  
March 9, 1958, p. 8.

"...Significantly, in the Soviet Union about half the scientists, doctors, and teachers are women..."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 27.

## 2. Communist Party, USA, and Negro Women

"Within the Party itself there remain as crucial questions the fullest participation in all levels, including the highest, of our Negro comrades, especially the women among them; and intensified opposition to every manifestation of racist thinking or practice."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 22.

## XII. YOUTH

1. Socialism holds the final answer to the problems of our youth.
2. Labor unions should actively participate in youth activities.
3. Youth must be taught more of the "facts of life" concerning labor and labor unions.
4. Young Negroes face "heart-breaking obstacles" in their search for jobs.
5. Juvenile delinquency is declining in the Soviet Union, where special treatment is provided for delinquents.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Youth Needs Socialism

"Less than 3 percent of our country's 25 million youngsters get into 'trouble' with 'The Law', and less than 1 percent of these are considered 'delinquent' by even an over-zealous police. But the problems which drive these young people to anti-social acts are the problems of all youth. They are problems created by the capitalist society in which they live. They are problems magnified by the Cold War Decade in which these youth grew up. A decade characterized by government-inspired campaigns of hatred for countries, social systems, cultures, and peoples different from ours, so-called 'little wars', the compulsory military draft, and uncertainty about a future which John Foster Dulles threatens daily to blow up in our faces--with 'clean' or 'dirty' bombs.

"It is true that only socialism holds the final answer to these problems of our youth. But these problems can and must be tackled today in the same way that labor has tackled, and continues to fight for, a partial solution of its immediate problems, even within the existing system. It is the responsibility of labor and the democratic forces in our country. They are America's future."

The Worker,  
June 8, 1958, p. 11.

"It is our whole system that is delinquent and not the children... No greater crime can be committed against a youth than to brand him in his adolescent period as a criminal. Every possible effort should be made to save them."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 8.

## 2. Labor's Responsibility to Youth

"...the trade union leaderships have a responsibility to the men and women--the working parents--who make up their organizations, to help them cope with the problems of their young people. Many forms of youth activities--not only dances--could be organized by the unions to help impart to these children some social understanding of the world around them, a feeling of pride in being part of America's organized working people, and drawing them into some aspects of union life."

"Community and neighborhood movements to develop youth activities and democratic programs should have the active participation of the trade unions whose memberships often make up the majority in these communities...."

The Worker,  
June 8, 1958, p. 11.

## 3. Youth's Ignorance of the Labor Movement

"Ask anyone who has ever had close dealings with young workers, how much it often takes to undo the ignorance and the cynicism that they come out of school with, concerning labor and labor unions; and he will readily agree that it is in 'their own interests' -- and in the interests of the labor movement -- the hundreds of thousands of high-school graduates entering the work-force each year, to know a great deal more of the facts of life."

The Worker,  
May 25, 1958, p. 10.

4. Negro Youth

"...what of the awful extra burdens of Negro youth? Deprived in the largest percentage of professional and skilled training, barred in the majority from apprenticeship-training programs, and then facing the 'normal' discrimination burdening any Negro job-seeker, the Negro youth starting out life and seeking work is facing heart-breaking obstacles. And this is true in 'prosperous' times; it is a thousand times more true as the first hints of a break in the blue skies of 'prosperity' begin to appear."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 21.

"History offers Negro youth both the privilege and the opportunity to stand forth today as foremost among those fighters against American imperialism, the most rapacious, most ruthless and merciless social force humanity has ever known."

The Worker,  
April 6, 1958, p. 11.

5. Juvenile Delinquency in the Soviet Union

"JUVENILE DELINQUENCY has been steadily declining in the USSR since the war, and crime by youth under 18 is now down to a tiny fraction of the country's total offenses..."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1958, p. 8.

"On Friday, Feb. 7, headlines heralded the expulsion of 600 pupils from the N. Y. City public schools. By Sunday it was announced as over 900. The Board of Education, acting in this unlawful and arbitrary manner, estimates

that 1% of the total school population, or 10,000 children, are 'seriously aggressive and disruptive,' hinting at further action. Those expelled are pupils charged with 'a violation of law involving violence or insubordination.'

"What a terrible thing this is to be blazoned to the world. No such story ever comes out of a Socialist country, as a solution of juvenile delinquency, where adequate facilities are provided for their special treatment...."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1958, p. 8.

*B* *etc.* *7-1*

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1958 -- DECEMBER 1958



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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, in the field of international relations, continues to condemn the foreign policy of the United States as a threat to world peace. The Party has demanded that the nations of the West end their intervention in the Middle East and end their occupation of West Germany and West Berlin. Also, the United States, according to the Party, must not "meddle" in the dispute between communist China and CHIANG Kai-shek over Formosa and the offshore islands of the Chinese mainland. The United States should grant diplomatic recognition to communist China.

Communists still call for a summit conference to preserve world peace. They praise the Soviet Union for its newly announced seven-year plan for economic and industrial development. A ban on the testing of nuclear weapons is demanded by communists who complain that the United States is obstructing Soviet efforts to reach international agreement on such a ban.

The rise of General Charles de Gaulle to power in France and the defeat of French communists in recent legislative elections are called signs of growing fascism in that country.

In domestic affairs, the Party has been concentrating on the economic situation, saying that the recession is serious and typical of periodic failures of the capitalist system. The Party sees the November 4, 1958, election results as a defeat for "reaction" and a shift to "liberalism." In celebrating its 39th anniversary in September, 1958, the Party again calls itself a Marxist-Leninist party and claims that its influence is spreading. It has called for a peaceful transition to socialism in this country, but views that transition in terms of a dynamic concept with a revolutionary process under Marxist leadership.

Communists have condemned labor leaders for clinging to capitalist schemes to cure the economic crisis. They urge independent political action by labor and place on themselves the burden of trying to influence the labor movement to adopt a class struggle program. Political cooperation between workers and farmers is also urged.

The United States, according to the Party, is guilty of practicing imperialism in the Middle East and Latin America. At the same time, the anti-imperialist revolution against colonial domination is seen gaining throughout the world.

The Party has called for pressure on the newly elected Congress to insure it carries out the mandate of "liberalism" shown by the November

elections. The abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is demanded in the fight against McCarthyism.

In the field of civil rights, communists clamor for strong Federal intervention, even by troops, in the Southern States. The reign of terror by bombing and violence in the South is called an American type of fascism directed against Negroes, Jews, and others.

The Party, in stating that women and young people have been greatly affected by the economic crisis, has called for Federal aid in the form of day care centers for children of working mothers as well as training programs for youth.

The Nobel Prize winning novel, Doctor Zhivago, by Soviet writer Boris Pasternak, is called an attack on socialism and is described as a book which is poorly written.

The Soviet Union is, as always, considered in communist publications as the defender of world peace, the guide of the working class, and the pioneer of socialism.



## B. Conclusions

1. The Party, as in the past, can be expected to continue its persistent and specious demands for a summit conference and a ban on testing of nuclear weapons. Such demands have usually been accompanied by praise for the Soviet Union for its efforts toward peace and condemnation of the United States for obstructing fulfillment of world peace.
2. The Party appears to have set its aim on finding a "common ground" with the labor movement so as to best exploit what the Party calls a trend to "liberalism" shown in the November, 1958, election results.
3. The Party will probably continue to call attention to the economic situation in this country, claiming that the recession and unemployment are the so-called curses of the capitalist system. At the same time, the Party can be expected to point to the rapid economic and industrial development of the Soviet Union as a classic example of the socialist system.
4. The Party has shown that the issue of freedom for nations under imperialist domination will undoubtedly be emphasized with the purpose of disrupting and weakening ties of Western nations to those so-called dominated nations.
5. The continuing exploitation by the Party of the racial integration problems in this country is virtually certain. The Party is deceitfully trying to gain Negro support for selfish purposes and not for the benefit of the Negro people.
6. The Party appears to be reaching the end of a period of factionalist conflicts. It is now maintaining a pro-Soviet outlook and is loudly proclaiming itself a Marxist-Leninist party. As a result, a greater unity and an increased program of propaganda and agitation can probably be expected.

## I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. United States foreign policy with its emphasis on atomic and nuclear weapons development is a threat to world peace.
2. A summit conference is necessary to settle issues threatening world peace.
3. The United States is obstructing efforts of the Soviet Union to ban nuclear weapons testing.
4. American proposals of private investment for technical assistance and loans to underdeveloped countries are favored by "Big Business."
5. American agreement to protect CHIANG Kai-shek on Formosa and the offshore islands of China increases the danger of nuclear warfare.
6. The Soviet Union, in a peaceful competition challenge to capitalism, has announced a seven-year plan to equal American economic development by 1965.
7. Nations of the West, by violating the Potsdam Treaty, have renounced their rights to occupy West Berlin and West Germany.
8. De Gaulle's betrayal of democracy in France indicates the danger of fascism exists in the world today.
9. American intervention in Lebanon was an imperialist move in violation of the United Nations charter.
10. The Soviet Union, despite its support of Israel's independence, condemns imperialist use of Israel to dominate Arab countries.
11. The strength and support of the Soviet Union have advanced socialism and have prevented fascism from oppressing the world.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"...it is a simple but fundamental fact, apparent to any real Marxist, that it is monopoly capitalism -- imperialism--which gives rise to the threat of war and to national oppression. And it is equally fundamental that socialist countries, which have no capitalists, can by their very nature have no interests other than the defense of peace and national freedom.

"This vital distinction is clearly reflected in the words and actions of leaders on both sides. Just as those of Dulles, on the one hand, have consistently served to promote aggression and the enslavement of other nations, those of Khrushchev, on the other hand, have with equal consistency served the cause of peace and national liberation.

"The Soviet Union, which has itself suffered grievously from imperialist aggression, has at no time been guilty of attacking another country. And today it stands out as the most powerful bulwark of the entire world camp of peace."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 6.

"...It is imperative to understand that the United States Government moves more and more certainly not only in the direction of war-making, but also in the direction of committing itself to the employment of atomic weapons in war.

"Since 1954, the United States has adopted the position of considering so-called tactical atomic weapons as being in the 'conventional' arms category. In the past several years it has moved--together with Great Britain--in the direction of revamping its military tactics and strategy, and therefore its tables of equipment and organization, in the direction of atomic warfare. Once the huge military machine is committed, it develops a power and an inertia to change that are vast. The fact is that the reorganization of the American

armed forces from the high-explosive base of World War II to the atomic and nuclear energy base for its projected World War III is so well advanced that it now plays a significant part in predisposing the Government towards atomic warfare and opposing a ban on atomic-weapon development, let alone atomic-weapon disarmament."

Herbert Aptheker, "The United States and China: Peace or War?" Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 10-11.

"...UNFORTUNATELY on this, the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our country and the USSR by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present policy, begun by Truman and now carried forward in even sharpened form by Eisenhower and Dulles, is one that wishes to turn the clock back and still entertains dangerous illusions that socialism, in China and elsewhere including the USSR, is a temporary phenomenon. They do not merely hold such views philosophically; the cold war is a stark reminder that behind these views are the foreign policy, the military establishments, the alliances and the bases on foreign soil. This is at the bottom of the failure so far of all the conferences to banish the H-bombs and their testing and reduction of arms generally as well as the failure to reach agreements on all other outstanding differences."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

## 2. Summit Conference

"NOTHING BEFORE MANKIND today begins to rival the importance of a successful summit conference for peace. World opinion polls repeatedly show that, including those taken in the USA. How much deeper that desire is today, in the midst of the fearful Mideast crisis, every thinking man can assess.

"Therefore, at this perilous moment in world history, when the balance can be tilted one way or another in the oil--soaked lands in question, the present form of Pres. Eisenhower's reply to premier Khrushchev's proposal is a cynical perversion of the very essence of a summit conference.

"Instead of laying the basis for give-and-take talks, Eisenhower's formula hots up the atmosphere, stacking the cards against calm and cool conclusions...."

"THE VOICE for peace -- for a genuine summit conference -- must be heard on every byway and crossroad. And we mean genuine -- under circumstances facilitating the chance of success.

"Resolutions, protest meetings, delegations to our authorities, municipal, state and federal, are unquestionably in order.

"Labor, in the first place, the Negro tenth of our people, the churches, municipal and civic organizations, every aggregate of America must head the voices for peace and speak out. Every candidate for office must be seen."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 2.

"OVERSHADOWING ALL OTHER questions on the agenda of the harried world today... is the matter of a summit conference that would ease the explosive Mideast crisis.

"Premier Nikita Khrushchev's proposal for a meeting of the chief executives of the U. S., the USSR, Britain, France and India, and the secretary-general of the UN, received a stinging reply from President Eisenhower. Our President, travestyng the idea of a summit conference, nonetheless felt the world's pressures for peaceful solutions..."

"...Washington's response was that the heads of state meet under UN auspices, in the UN skyscraper, as part of the deliberations of the Security Council. This represents no few difficulties..."

"One top American security official is quoted as saying, 'If Khrushchev does come here, we'll have a tough time keeping him alive.' "

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 1.

### 3. Nuclear Tests

"If Great Britain and the U. S. A. were to announce the cessation of tests, the end to thermonuclear manufacture would be the next logical step. It would be infinitely easier to induce three States to arrive at agreement on nuclear disarmament than it will be to get a dozen to do so later."

The Worker,  
July 13, 1958, p. 14.

"WE NOW HAVE a proposal by President Eisenhower and Mr. MacMillan for negotiations on banning nuclear weapons tests, the negotiations to begin Oct. 31. We also have Premier Khrushchev's acceptance, made a week after the Aug. 22 offer.

"All this should be news for thanksgiving--if that were all to the story. Tragically, it is not all.

"Outside of some pious editorials in papers which have been cool to ending the tests, what were the reactions to Eisenhower's proposals? At home, we mean. We didn't notice any dancing in the streets, or crowds assembling to give prayerful thanks.

"It didn't take Mr. Khrushchev to show us the booby traps in Mr. Eisenhower's conditions. The Soviet premier set forth compellingly what he found wrong with them; our point is that the U. S. offer failed to evoke the enthusiasm that a genuine, no-strings-attached proposal would have excited here."

"When will the leading voices in our own labor movement break their virtual silence on tests? Surely now is the time for locals, district leaders and rank and filers to pressure labor leaders into action."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 2.

"...through all the jockeying and murkiness of Western maneuvers to prevent a permanent ban on tests, the following truths come through:

"1: Most of mankind wants an end to the overriding peril, wants it now, with no ifs, ands, and buts.

"2: Science has demonstrated that tests are detectable--despite the original Western pettifogging and loudly advertised skepticism to the contrary.

"3: The Western powers continue their weary round of arguments tying immediate and permanent suspension to numerous conditions--the institution of a 'detecting' system, and 'progress' on the multitude of disarmament questions.

"4: It must be recalled that every time the socialist bloc of nations agreed to certain contentions of the West on the reduction of armaments--both 'conventional' as well as nuclear--the West backtracked, stalled and protracted the possibility of agreements.

"THE FINAL FACT is this: world safety, its present well-being and that of future generations, demands an immediate ban on nuclear tests, and an end to the danger of nuclear warfare."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 15.

"WORLD POLITICS zoomed to new highs last week with four major developments.

"They included:

"The Geneva conference of the USA, the USSR, and Britain to ban nuclear tests."

. . . . .

"...at the conference on banning nuclear tests, Washington refused to accept the Soviet proffer of an immediate and eternal ban. Dulles insisted on discussing knotty and long-drawn out questions of disarmament and controls before ending H-tests."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Foreign Aid

"...President Eisenhower, in a speech at Seattle, outlined a five-point program 'of expanded trade, technical assistance, and loans to help raise economic levels in needy regions.'

"This program was outlined at the first meeting in the U.S.A. of the Colombo (Ceylon) Plan Consultative Committee--a West backed set-up dealing with economic matters in South and Southeast Asia.

"Eisenhower stressed expansion of private investments, a 'more suitable' climate for them. 'The resources of American private capital,' he said, 'are far larger than the amounts which our Government can provide.'"

"There is no question that this perspective is one that imperialistic Big Business favors. There is no question either that the vast majority of Asian peoples are leery of Wall Street bearing gifts."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 14.

"What was the net result of the recent state visit of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana..."

. . . . .



"...Washington's non-committal reaction to Nkrumah's request for U.S. assistance toward financing the big Volta River project came as no surprise.

"The key sentence regarding this undertaking...was to the effect that the U.S. would 'consider how it might assist with loans if the required private financing were assured.' The implications are clear. Washington's help may be forthcoming if--and only if--U.S. corporations find the terms of investment in the Volta scheme to their liking."

"...The point, of course, is that such investment capital is attracted to countries which are devoid of political democracy, to countries where popular consent to the terms of foreign investment does not have to be reckoned with. And so it follows that the U.S. finds itself embroiled in trying to prop up tottering regimes around the world."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

##### 5. Communist China

"The Secretary of State, in his best church-going manner, cites the 'solemn obligation' imposed upon the 'honor' of the United States to support Chiang Kai-shek because of treaty commitments, notably the alliance of 1955, and the consequent Senate Resolution authorizing the President to use American military force to protect Chiang's hold on Taiwan and the Pescadores. He appears horrified if one suggests that the existence of the treaty and the Resolution do not put at rest all arguments opposed to his China policy."

"Dulles' treaty with Chiang has no more moral and legal force than did the treaties Hitler made with the 'Protector' of Moravia and

Bohemia. Moreover, concerning that treaty, and particularly its invocation to justify the Quemoy-Matsu line, there is more than the suspicion of fraud and deception...."

"The Dulles-Chiang treaty is a moral monstrosity and a legal fraud and needs to be discarded together with its author; the Senate Resolution was obtained through deception and has been stretched to cover measures either never envisioned or specifically barred by that Resolution itself."

Herbert Aptheker, "The United States and China: Peace or War?" Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 12, 13, 14.

"Our country and the world face the serious danger of a catastrophic nuclear war arising out of the explosive situation in the Taiwan Straits.

"This new and grave threat to world peace stems directly from the aggressive policies of American imperialism, from the reckless course pursued by the adventurist monopoly circles around the Rockefellers, whose chief political representative is Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, supported by a pliant president and a blustering ex-president.

"The provocative and bellicose course which the Administration pursues towards China is no accident; it is official policy. During the height of the Lebanon crisis, our State Department instigated Chiang Kai-shek's mercenaries to step up their military harassment of Chinese shipping and attacks in the areas of Amoy and Foochow."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 12.

"Our government must be made to accept the verdict of world opinion that the representatives of China's 600 million liberated people shall be seated in the UN, and be extended normal diplomatic recognition and participation in all conference at the Summit. It must be made to promote, not obstruct, normal trade and cultural relations with the Chinese people.

"Surely, it is in the true American traditional interest to outlaw atomic warfare and to make 600 million new friends for the United States. And, yes, perhaps also to secure 600 million new customers for American goods and products, thereby providing employment for many of America's 5 1/2 million jobless men and women."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 13.

#### 6. Soviet Seven-Year Plan

"The socialist world threw a new challenge to capitalism--the most far-reaching and breathtaking challenge yet--a seven-year plan by the Soviet Union to boost its output 80 percent and bring the living standards of the Soviet people to the highest in the world by 1970.... That isn't all. Premier Nikita Khrushchev in making public the seven-year plan for discussion, prior to approval by the 21st Communist Party Congress Jan. 27, said it envisages that the world's socialist lands will produce more than half the world's output by 1965...."

"THIS IS a peaceful competition challenge to capitalism and can be a tremendous lift to the workers of the capitalist countries. Already, in many capitalist countries, the workers are able to point to socialist advances and to capitalists who are fearful of growing socialist influence. In the next seven years socialist advances will be a factor even in the U.S., whose workers still top all others in average wages."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 1.

"IN THE LAST 41 years the Soviet people, having defeated all their enemies within and without, after defeating the early intervention by the armies of almost all imperialist countries, and then defeated the Hitler hordes as allies of our country in the second world war, have now on the basis of the unprecedented rate of growth achieved economic, scientific and cultural advances which place them in the van of social progress.

"This growth has taken a new spurt as a result of the self-criticism and the correction of errors made in the latter days under Stalin signaled by the historic 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Now the coming 21st Congress to be held next January is to set goals which by 1965 are to achieve economic, scientific and cultural goals at double the pace first set, and to place the USSR astride or even to surpass the U.S. in economic development."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

#### 7. Germany

"THE BELLICOSE, stand-pat posture of the Western powers on divided Berlin--and divided Germany--was severely shaken this past week after Prime Minister N. Khrushchev's proposals that the four occupying powers make the metropolis a free, demilitarized city, possibly under UN temporary aegis. The Soviet leader also suggested a six-month period in which East and West can talk things over and come to agreements.

"It is generally understood that the prime danger of world war can come from tensions over West Germany--now back in the hands of the Krupps and unreconstructed Nazis. The proposals come, significantly, as the U.S. authorities are about to hand West Germany shipments of Honest John and Matador missiles that can be fitted with nuclear warheads...."

"The fact is that the settlement of the Berlin issue is inextricably tied up with the full German settlement, but it is certainly clear that the latter can more easily be reached if long-standing strains in Berlin can be ended."

"ULTIMATELY, the biggest bone of contention in settling the German question is the matter of re-unification...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, pp. 1, 15.

"The issue, as Khrushchev put it, was, in brief, that the military occupation of Berlin by the U. S., France and Berlin and the USSR be ended, and that civil government be established by the German Democratic Government.

"His joint statement issued with Premier Gomulka, of Poland, warned that the West had aided in the revival of German militarism, and thereby had abandoned the Potsdam treaty which called for German denazification and demilitarization.

"SINCE POTSDAM, the world has seen the return of monopolies like Krupp to power, the very forces that brought Hitler to office. The wheels of German industry are mightier today than Britain's, or France's, and they have been encouraged to turn out a flood of weapons. Furthermore, Bonn will soon have all nuclear arms, if Western plans materialize."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 3.

"Khrushchev indicated that the West had violated the provisions to denazify and demilitarize Bonn Germany. Circles far beyond the Communists have expressed profound concern at the restoration of Nazis to high political office in the Adenauer government, and that the former Hitler power had rebuilt a mighty war industry."

"Khrushchev said reunification of Germany was a matter that the German people--East and West--must determine for themselves and that it cannot be decided, for them, by the occupying powers. Washington, instead of discussing the issues on their merits, rattled its sabre, saying the West is prepared 'to fight to defend West Berlin's freedom.' "

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, pp. 1, 14.

8. France

"A reactionary, authoritarian government headed by De Gaulle has been imposed on France by treachery and violence..."

"...The French crisis, precipitated by the Algerian War, demonstrates anew the poisoning effect of racism; it shows how the oppression of one people by another seriously weakens the democratic capacities of the oppressing people...The French events bring home dramatically that the most aggressive and chauvinist circles of monopoly capitalism naturally move, in our day, towards fascism; it emphasizes the reality of the danger of fascism, and war, in the present-day world..."

Eugene Dennis, "The Struggle for Peace,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 18-19,  
20.

"The De Gaulle constitution paves the way to perpetuate De Gaulle in dictatorship and for those to come, like Soustelle, who was evidently being groomed as De Gaulle's successor.

"The Constitution cancels such guarantees of the 1946 Constitution as union rights, the right to work, the right to strike, equal opportunity for education in nonreligious free schools.

"The National Assembly is rendered impotent; the president could even dissolve this assembly when he felt it hindered him.

"It becomes virtually impossible to carry a non-confidence motion against the government, which will be appointed by the President.

"THE DE GAULLE constitution remained silent regarding Algeria, and therein is its Achilles heel. For this problem cannot be solved without providing independence."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 16.

"THE RUN-OFF polls which Gaullist-led France called an election produced a French Chamber of Deputies that even many non-Communist Frenchmen indicate is a grotesque mockery of the democratic process."

"Most damning and revealing of the betrayal of the democratic process was the number of deputies accorded to the parties with the largest number of votes.

"The Communists, for example, who received over one in five votes--will have a bare 2.1 per cent of the deputies--ten!

"This is the way the Gaullists rigged it when they scuttled the proportional representation system."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 3.

9. Lebanon

" 'The sending of American armed forces into Lebanon is an act of aggressive imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of that country. It menaces the national independence and sovereignty of all the Arab nations. Like the invasion of Egypt in October 1956, it threatens to plunge the entire Middle East into armed conflict.' "

" 'This action is the inevitable fruit of the Eisenhower Doctrine which, in the interests of the oil trusts, calls for interference in the affairs of the Middle East nations, by-passing the UN and violating its charter and principles.' "

" '...we American Communists...say "hands off Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and all other Middle East countries." "

" 'We demand that removal of all American military forces from Lebanon and the Middle East.

" 'We call for abandonment of the Eisenhower Doctrine, an end to bypassing of the UN and adherence to the principles of the Bandung Conference regarding peace and national sovereignty.

" 'And we urge the speedy convening of a summit conference of the big powers, including the United Arab Republic and India, to effect a peaceful settlement of the Middle East situation and all other outstanding questions.' "

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 3.



"THE CAREFULLY-PLANNED attempts of the State Department to make the world forget that the U.S. has a formidable, nuclear-equipped war machine on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean has not made a very substantial impression either in the General Assembly or in the world outside."

"The President's unusual renunciation of the leading role of the U.S., in proposing that Mideast economic development be dominated by the Arab countries, plus his failure to mention any proposed specific U.S. funds for such a program, were evidence to many that the program is a fly-paper document to catch the unwary."

The Worker,  
August 17, 1958, p. 1.

#### 10. Soviet Union and Israel

"...The fact is that the Soviet Union has unequivocally defended the rights of all nations. When the occasion arose, it fought for the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine and aided Israel in establishing its independence. In recent years it has reaffirmed its support of Israel's independence, along with that of all other Middle East nations.

"There is no conflict between Soviet support of the Arab liberation movement and the principle of working-class unity. If it simultaneously opposes the present policies of the Ben Gurion government, it is simply because these policies serve the interests of imperialism in its efforts to dominate the Arab countries."

"Zionism is a reactionary nationalist movement which seeks, in alliance with imperialism, to 'solve' the Jewish question through the establishment of a Jewish national settlement as a 'homeland' for Jews everywhere. Today it looks upon Israel as that 'homeland.'

"It regards the gap between Jew and non-Jew as unbridgeable, and anti-Semitism as eternal. It sees no hope in fighting to end discrimination and achieve full democracy for Jews in the countries in which they live. It therefore serves to isolate the Jewish masses, as aliens in their own countries, from the democratic and socialist movements and to bind them rather to the big Jewish capitalists and to the forces of imperialism.

"World Zionism worked in collusion with British imperialism to open Palestine to Jewish settlement at the expense of its Arab population. And today its exponents who control the policies of Israel maintain that country as a tool of American imperialism in the Middle East."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, pp. 6, 11.

#### 11. Pioneer of World Socialism

"THE SOVIET UNION was the epic pioneer of socialism in the world. Its presence and growing strength have changed the balance of power and created a bulwark behind whose protection many great changes have occurred--the liberation of vast China from its feudal chains, the upsurge of the Arab peoples, and the peoples of Africa and Asia.

"Would India have been able to liberate itself without this mighty bulwark?

"Without the presence of the Soviet Union, the world would have been all fascist today.

"FASCISM is the martial law that capitalism uses in its great crises. It is a permanent feature of capitalism, and now it is coming back strongly, years after Hitler was crushed."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 8.

"NOR IS THIS ALL. With the fullest support and assistance of the USSR socialism is now being built in countries constituting more than one-third of the world's people with the great Chinese people of 650,000,000 making unbelievable progress in all directions in their year of the 'great leap'.

"These great achievements of the socialist world are having a profound influence on the struggle and aspiration of all peoples everywhere who yearn for freedom from oppression and for an end to exploitation, all who wish to be free and independent and to advance towards social progress.

"This is seen today in the struggle of the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America as well as in the struggle of the working people and their allies in the more advanced capitalist countries. In the latter the existence and strength of the socialist world is a direct aid to the struggles of the working people for economic and social gains."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Statistics refute Administration election claims that the economy has recovered from the recession in which workers continue to suffer.
2. The November 4 elections resulted in a "strong shift" to "liberalism."
3. Unemployment figures show that greater armament production does not mean prosperity.
4. The labor movement should demand more financial benefits from the Government.
5. Control of monopolies should be exercised by the unions and other "people's forces."
6. The Communist Party, USA, is again increasing its influence as it passes its 39th anniversary.
7. The Communist Party, USA, is a party based on Marxism-Leninism.
8. The present "depression" is indicative of the periodic failure of the capitalist system of profit.
9. The peaceful transition to socialism is a dynamic concept requiring a revolutionary process guided by Marxist leadership.
10. The forces of peace are growing stronger as criticism of the FBI rises.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Economic Picture

"NEW DATA coming to light refute some of the election campaign 'political statistics' on the economy that the President and others in the administration have been handing out for the headlines.

"One example of the artificial optimism was the claim in October by the administration, on the basis of a claim by the President's Council of Economic Advisors, that gross national production has reached a rate of \$440 billion annually recovering three fourths of the loss of the recession. The latest Commerce Department figures show the estimate of the rise to be a billion less."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 16.

"The February meeting of our National Committee was correct when it singled out the deepening economic crisis as the decisive feature of the American scene....since then, the impact of this crisis on all facets of national life...have taken clearer shape.

"Already severe inroads have been made on the wage and living standards of the working class as a whole. Caught in the scissors of growing layoffs, virtual elimination of overtime pay and spreading part-time pay on the one hand, and rising living costs on the other, real take-home pay has been sharply reduced....At the same time there are several million families in which the breadwinner is totally without employment. Of these a large part, either ineligible for unemployment compensation or having exhausted their payments, have been reduced to a level near the despised relief standards of the '30s...."

Bob Thompson, "On the Work and Consolidation of the Party,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 37.

"The present growing depression, with its shattering anew of illusions of 'permanent prosperity,' is greatly sharpening the class struggle. The impact of mounting unemployment tends to dispel the atmosphere of class collaboration and to heighten the workers' militance...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor," Political  
Affairs, August, 1958, p. 16.

"THE NATIONAL BUSINESS SHOW is haunted by a spectre of no business!

"Convening at New York City's futuristic Coliseum, the 50th annual showplace of the office equipment corporations, is 'running scared' before the recession; with salesmen literally pulling potential customers out of the aisles, gimmicks galore, and girls in tights to entice the tired businessman."

"BLITHELY ignoring the quiet desperation of the salesman at the National Business Show, the U. S. I. S. (United States Information Service) is filming the corporate shindig. This State Dept. propaganda will then be shown in 'more than 400 cities in foreign countries'. Using 'pre-selected' exhibits, the film's director states the film will be made 'according to the needs of the USIS'.

"It is not explained what this means. I imagine it means that the film will not interview the same businessmen I interviewed.

"For in the office equipment industry, the corporations, exhibitors, and salesmen don't seem to believe the publicity their own publicity men have been proclaiming--about the recession being over. If they don't believe their own publicity, why should I?"

The Worker,  
November 2, 1958, pp. 8-9.

## 2. Election Results

"THE ELECTION results have been examined and appraised. It is acknowledged by those who welcomed or disliked the results that they spell a strong shift to what is commonly called 'liberalism.' While the Republican Party, main party of big business and reaction, was given a smashing blow, it was its extreme McCarthyite, labor-hating right wing that suffered the main blow.

"Were the people given a real choice in the South, the extreme Right of the Democratic Party, too, would have felt the trend. The best sampling of the southern trend came in Virginia where Dr. Louise Wensel, (white), running as a pro-integration protest candidate against Sen. Harry Byrd, with neither money, organized party nor much opportunity to make a campaign, drew a third of the state's votes, most of them Negro but including some whites."

"Every Senate and House member, and the administration, should be reminded the people voted for--

"Elimination of the filibuster. This will be the first test of the kind of Congress we really have. For a real civil rights program.

"Real measures to meet the still continuing economic crisis, to provide jobs, more adequate jobless benefits, for a health program, \$1.25 minimum wage, expanded housing and the rest of the domestic social-economic program.

"A policy of peace, serious negotiations for disarmament, an end of atomic tests and of Dulles brinkmanship.

"Restoration and preservation of constitutional liberties and rejection of moves to curb the Supreme Court; restoration of labor relations on the original Wagner Act principle and elimination of all 'right-to-work' laws."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 2.

"...some conclusions stand out most emphatically. And they stand out especially because of the sweep and vigor in the verdict of the people Nov. 4.

"...THE EISENHOWER administration's foreign policy and its effort to give it a 'bi-partisan' character, has been repudiated....

"...THE RESULT was a protest against the Administration's pro-big business economic policy and its do-nothingism in face of the sharpest economic crisis since the war, the second under Eisenhower...."

"...THE VOTERS repudiated most emphatically the President's cry against 'radicalism' in the Democratic Party, and the movement sponsored by leading Republicans in alliance with the Dixiecrats, for legislation to nullify or cripple the Supreme Court's rulings affecting the Smith Act and civil liberties and jimcrow practices."

"...THE VOTE revealed clearly that the Eisenhower myth has run its course. The lustre has worn off his 'Modern Republicanism', and beneath it, as so well demonstrated in Eisenhower's campaign speeches, there is nothing but the familiar reactionary rust of big business capitalism. The people have obviously learned much since the days when Eisenhower's coat-tails carried a 'Cadillac cabinet' into Washington."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 1.

"THE DEMOCRATIC SWEEP through the country represents a repudiation of the policies of the Eisenhower Cadillac Cabinet.

"It is a protest against the lack of action to stave off the effects of the continuing depression with its close to five million presently unemployed.



"It reflects opposition to the Eisenhower policy of 'going slow' on integration while schools, churches, synagogues and temples in the South are bombed by racists.

"It shows decisive and overwhelming opposition to the attempts to shackle the labor movement further through the McClellan Committee and Right-to-Work laws.

"It represents a growing desire to change our foreign policy from the insecurity of brinkmanship expressed in military ventures in Latin America, the Middle East and China, to the relative security of negotiation and agreement."

"THE ROCKEFELLER victory is a defeat for the New York labor movement. Both the executive and legislative branches of the state government are now controlled by the Republicans. This could very well mean a revival of the anti-labor bills which were passed by the previous state legislature and vetoed by Harriman, the introduction of other reactionary legislation and the blocking of labor's legislative program."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 3.

### 3. Armament Production

"It is time to abandon support of a 'defense' program that not only provides no defense but is a prime cause for increasing tension abroad and taxes and inflation at home. In a world of H-bombs, peace based on co-existence is the only real security. Moreover, the notion that armaments production means prosperity is being exploded by the mounting unemployment in the face of the forty-odd billions now being spent on arms. Labor cuts the ground from under its own feet when it supports a policy which swallows two-thirds of the national budget at the expense of schools, hospitals, and social welfare."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 7.

#### 4. Social Welfare Benefits

"Labor's program is lacking in important respects. Some points require greater emphasis and concreteness, while other essential elements are missing. These include:

"...Every unemployed worker should receive at least two-thirds of his previous earnings for as long as he is unemployed....

"...The vague or inadequate proposals so far advanced must be replaced by a clear-cut set of demands based on increasing personal income tax exemptions to at least \$1,000."

"...There is growing need for legislation establishing a moratorium on mortgage and other debt payments, and protection against foreclosures and evictions."

"...Depression hits older workers with particular severity. A fight must be waged against discrimination in hiring because of age. Retirement ages should be reduced and social security and other pensions substantially increased."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 4, 5.

#### 5. Monopoly Control

"...Something new is demanded in the way of anti-monopoly action, that will defend the people from the effects of economic crises and of the mounting concentration of economic power...."

"We all know how government controls under the anti-trust laws, the various regulatory agencies, and government-owned projects like the atomic energy industry, have in practice redounded to the benefit of the monopolies and against the interests of the people....Also, the regulatory agencies of the government, which are supposed to administer utility rates for the benefit of the people, have actually followed the monopoly-dictated policy of high prices, granting one rate increase after another.

"It is obvious, of course, that as long as these controls are administered by government agencies under the complete domination of monopoly they will function exactly in the way they have--in the interests of monopoly and its policy of regimenting the entire economy to serve its aims....

"The essential thing is to approach the problem from the ground of continuous mass struggle to impose the kind of reforms that will allow for democratic controls by the unions and other people's forces over the operation of monopoly, much as labor and social reforms are won as a result of the pressures of the labor and popular movements...."

James S. Allen, "Some Key Elements of Party Program," Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 56-57.

#### 6. Communist Party, USA, Anniversary

"September, 1958, marks the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in the United States."

. . . . .

"In the nearly forty years of its existence, our Party has been deeply identified with the battles of the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers, and of every exploited, oppressed group. It pioneered in the fight for industrial unionism and gave yeoman service in the building of the CIO. It conducted brave and victorious battles against labor racketeering. It led the momentous struggles of the unemployed in the Great Depression of the thirties, and fought for unemployment insurance when the AFL branded it as 'communist.' "

. . . . .

"Our Party pioneered in the struggle against the fascist menace and in the fight for peace. We gave everything for victory against fascism in World War II. Following the war, we fought staunchly against McCarthyism and particularly against the Smith Act persecutions--a fight which has culminated in major victories. And we continued, even at the height of the cold war hysteria, to uphold the banner of peace.

"Today our Party is emerging from a severe crisis, both ideological and organizational. It has firmly re-established its Marxist-Leninist bearings and is beginning, slowly but surely, to resume its place in the economic and political life of our country. It has begun a process of rebuilding and consolidation of its ranks. Its influence is beginning again to grow."

National Education Department, CPUSA,  
"On the Thirty-Ninth Anniversary of the  
CPUSA," Political Affairs, September,  
1958, pp.38, 39.

"In all these years and in the face of many hardships and persecutions, while some grew tired and departed, the Communist Party has remained true to its principles and traditions. It is indestructible because it is flesh and blood of the working people of our land, is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, practices self criticism and strives to correct and overcome error and weaknesses. It is today emerging from a severe and protracted crisis, uniting its ranks, and taking steps forward in the direction of mass struggles.

"The economic crisis, international developments, the struggle of the Negro people, the attacks on the hard-won gains of labor, all show that our country too must one day take the road to socialism. One billion people of the world are already moving forward along that road. In this spirit we greet the Communist Party and urge all workers, progressives, to unite in struggle for peace, greater economic security, equal rights and democratic liberty."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 2.

7. Marxism-Leninism

"The Communist Party of the U.S. received congratulations from fraternal parties throughout the world last week on the 39th anniversary of its founding...."

. . . . .

"FROM THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union..."

. . . . .

" 'The Communist Party of the USA, true to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has gone through a glorious path of struggle for the living interests and democratic rights of the American people and all the toiling masses of the USA.' "

. . . . .

" 'The Communist Party of the USA has overcome many great hardships. The enemies of the working class have attempted on many occasions to undermine the ranks of the party and aimed to destroy it. But the U.S. Communists have frustrated their attempts.

" 'They are persistently fighting to strengthen the unity of party ranks, to ground the party on the foundation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.' "

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 3.

"...The Communist movement is the fruition and complete expression of Marxism. Lenin is the greatest of all modern Marxists, and the Communist leaders are following in his and Marx's footsteps. Marxism-Leninism is leading humanity to a new world."

The Worker,  
December 14, 1958, p. 11.

8. Capitalism versus Socialism

"...One of the symptoms of the final decay of capitalism is that it no longer has any vision and hope to offer to the people. Its arts are imbued with the colors of death. Its scientists are the soulless flunkies of the billionaire war-makers. Its statesmen and philosophers see a future for America of only two alternatives: another vast depression or a nuclear war."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 8.

"Ours is a country rich in resources with an industrial capacity that is the envy of the world. Our workers are famed for their know-how, their unexcelled productivity.

"The present depression once again sharply brings home to all thinking Americans that 'something is rotten' not in the state of Denmark but in our own country."

• • • • •  
"More and more, workers will come to the conclusion that what's rotten in our country is the capitalist system run by and for a handful of billionaire businessmen.

"They will realize that our vast industrial capacity and tremendous ingenuity, which under a system that produces only for profits becomes a periodic curse, under socialism will be a permanent blessing."

• • • • •  
"Poverty, disease, juvenile delinquency, racial intolerance, not to speak of the periodic scourges of war and depression, can be things of the dark past.

"Such a vision, the majority of American labor will learn in time is not a dreamer's 'utopia'...

"With typical American common sense, they will one day conclude that there must be something to socialism if it can transform a once semiliterate nation like the Soviet Union into the scientific and educational leader of the world."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 17.

"...Socialism is not just a political and industrial force--it is also the fulfilment of the dreams of the great prophets and fighters of history, all of whom sought social justice and the creative peace that will come when man has learned to live in collective harmony...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 8.

"...Socialism takes the negative out of 'No Help Wanted'. One social security we will not need in a socialist America is unemployment insurance."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 6.

#### 9. Peaceful Transition to Socialism

"...the concept of peaceful transition is dynamic, a concept of class struggles and strategic alliances aimed at monopoly and carried out in the interests of the entire nation. We cannot present the question as if the favorable world trend toward socialism or the possibilities of extended peaceful coexistence amount to a guarantee of peaceful transition, as is sometimes done. World conditions may indeed enhance such a possibility, but the guarantee can only be established in the process of the struggle against monopoly and reaction at home. Therefore, when we project the perspective of a peaceful transition, even presenting it as an historic

aim and duty, we should always begin with and return to the necessity of the struggle to win and preserve the prerequisites for such a development: The working class and its people's allies, in the process of building up their alliance and gaining the support of the people as a whole, will have to fight monopoly in order to keep open and broaden the democratic channels against the constant trend by monopoly to regiment our society and militarize the state. Without such a struggle, the aim of 'peaceful transition' is meaningless; moreover, it may become deceptive.

"What is of particular importance here and now is to guard against a sloganized concept of 'peaceful transition' that ignores its revolutionary content, and has the effect of stifling the will to struggle which is so precious to the working class and a working-class vanguard party. Peaceful transition is a revolutionary process that requires revolutionary Marxist leadership, and a fine fighting mettle on the part of all anti-monopoly forces."

James S. Allen, "Some Key Elements of Party Program," Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 48-49.

"The revolution of 1776 has never been completed. The Worker advocates its completion now and the completion of the historic tasks that are the property of progressive America. These are tasks in the fight for world peace, the peaceful co-existence of all peoples, the suppression of colonial tyranny, the freedom of the working class and its ascendancy to power."

"Those who hate the very thought of revolution are desecrating the sacred memories of our splendid yesterday. Loud were their praises in 1776, still louder their arguments as to why they now stand unalterably opposed to revolution and unequivocally behind the tottering colonial empire builders, behind the Batistas, the South American dictators they have brought to power, the racists of the United States."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 15.



10. Peace Forces Rising

"...PEACE is still a major offense on the FBI's calendar."

. . . . .

"ONE MIGHT THINK that Hoover is happy in his power and glory. His annual budget is 50 times bigger than when his witch-hunting career began. His army of spies and provocateurs is as large as an Army Division. And he has been almost immune to criticism, outside of the left wing press, for decades.

"...opposition to Hoover is rising in his own class. Thus Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland bankers, denounces the FBI's 'Gestapo' tactics. And some liberals are speaking out. The Nation, for example, attacked the 'deification' of Hoover in a full-length study of the FBI on October 18.

"But, best of all, Socialism is winning. And the strength of the Peace forces rises day by day. And a new world of Peace and Plenty is coming for sure."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 7.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Current mass unemployment, the result of a "boom-bust" cycle in capitalist production for profit, has affected millions of workers.
2. The voters in November rejected the demand for more curbs on the labor movement, including the "right-to-work" amendment.
3. The recent union mergers on a state level can give the labor movement added strength and impetus.
4. The Senate's McClellan Committee labor racket hearings are part of the antilabor drive.
5. Labor leaders continue to cling to capitalist schemes as answers to the economic crisis.
6. The labor movement should develop independent political action, ending its adherence to the two-party system.
7. The Communist Party, USA, must influence labor to adopt a strong class struggle program.
8. Automation must be used to benefit workers, not harm them.
9. The labor movement must join the Negro people to win their mutual battles for constitutional rights.
10. American labor leaders should permit delegations of workers to visit the Soviet Union.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Unemployment

"THE NATION is once again in an economic crisis. According to conservative estimates, more than five million are unemployed. Millions more are on short work weeks. In the past year and a half, industrial production has fallen nearly 15 per cent...."

"This is not a temporary decline. We are in for a prolonged period of depressed conditions and mass unemployment...."

"Layoffs, loss of overtime, and short work weeks have eaten seriously into take-home pay...."

"Not so long ago, the economy was booming. Industrial capacity was being expanded as if the sky alone was the limit.... There was, of course, no such growth in the consumer market... As a result of the unbridled expansion overproduction and surplus capacity rapidly developed, production was cut and workers were laid off. The boom ended and the slump set in. The age-old pattern of boom and bust, an inevitable feature of capitalist production for profit, repeated itself."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 1, 2.

"... Latest Department of Labor data show that since the start of the emergency unemployment program last summer, allowing unemployed an extra 50 percent (usually 13 weeks) of unemployment checks, 1,532,000 had filed emergency claims. Of these more than 1,100,000 had already been knocked off the rolls, having exhausted the emergency aid. That means that they have been unemployed in almost all cases 39 or more weeks...."

"Those figures reflect in part the large number whose resources, including saving accounts, were drained during the year...."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 16.

## 2. Labor Curbs

"3. THE BALLOTS rejected emphatically the No. 1 campaign issue of the Republicans--their cry of 'labor racketeering,' the demand for more curbs on the labor movement, with Walter Reuther as their main target....

"The Republicans also chose to tie their national campaign to the right-to-work amendments vote in six states. From the results it would appear their tactic had the contrary effect of arousing to greater action a labor movement that has been politically stagnant in recent years. The amendments were defeated in four states, notably the two major states--California and Ohio.."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 1.

## 3. Union Mergers

"The unification of the AFL and CIO joint convention in December, 1955, came from the top. Beneath the general merger there was no unity in the 48 states and hundreds of cities, most of which still have separate central bodies.

"THE ENTHUSIASM and hope that came with the national merger has undoubtedly worn off in the past three years. There is great disappointment because the promised organizing drives, more effectively organized political action, unity for major common bargaining objectives, have not come up to expectations.

"The merger in New York, therefore, and the final steps in Pennsylvania, California, and several other of the major industrial holdouts on the merger, where unification is now under way, can have the effect of recharging the labor movement for a fresh impetus.

"An upswing is a stronger possibility today than was the case at the time of the 1955 national merger when labor's position was at an ebb and the employer attack was picking up steam. Today labor is on the upgrade as a result of the resounding election defeat suffered by the foes of labor; the further setbacks to McCarthyism; the mounting struggle for civil rights; a rise in the economic struggles; and the extension of the unification process to the states and cities.

"The labor movement, therefore, has a fresh opportunity to make good on the program set forth in the 1955 AFL-CIO merger convention...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Antilabor Drive

"AT THE START of the current series of McClellan Committee hearings, the Worker pointed out that they were timed to accomplish several anti-labor objectives:

"To influence and press for congressional enactment of new drastic anti-labor legislation. The result has, in fact, been partly achieved with Senate passage of the 'reform' bill with the endorsement of Meany. But Congress killed even that bill because even more drastic legislation is sought by the NAM.

"To discredit labor's influence in the political campaign. A good example of what Racket committee headlines can do was the loss of the nomination for Congress by Carl Stellato, Ford, Local 600 president by a vote of 21,050 to 27,842 for the incumbent. During the week of the primary, Detroit papers screamed of the Keirdorf 'human torch' case. That type of publicity smearing ALL labor may have been decisive in defeating Stellato.

"To weaken labor, especially the auto workers, in current bargaining. The companies have not budged from their position.

"To further the campaign for more 'right-to-work' laws, In Ohio, California and five other states the foes of labor have obtained the needed signatures to put the measure on the ballot.

"To pressure the leaders of the AFL-CIO into open warfare against the powerful Teamsters and other unions, ostensibly as the way to keep the 'racket' charge from themselves. This is now also taking shape."

"...there is no effective force against racketeering either within... unions expelled or within the AFL-CIO itself.

"The leaders of the unions expelled for corruption are skillfully appealing for unity in their organization against the attacks, which they rightly point out are directed at the union. Hoffa is getting such unity notwithstanding the racket committee's exposures of much unrefuted corruption.

"Within the AFL-CIO, corrupt elements are taking full advantage of the division in labor to do as they like. The AFL-CIO top leadership's authority is not frightening to them these days. A rank and file movement against corruption, the only force that could be effective has not yet come up with strong enough force."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 15.

"The labor haters and their investigators, as had been proven over time and again, are not interested in a clean labor movement. They want a divided labor movement--one they can defeat and smash.

"The union-busters have achieved substantial success already by knocking out such important prop from the AFL-CIO like the Teamsters. They are close to knocking out the Carpenters' prop as labor faces the task of mobilizing its forces for the followup of the election to get Congressional delivery on the election mandate.

"Instead of more division, we need restoration of unity--readmission of all unions outside AFL-CIO ranks. The AFL-CIO should be big enough to both tolerate differences in its ranks and find its own ways to deal with corruption."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 2.

5. Labor Leadership

"McDONALD, Reuther, and the leaders of the other unions suffering a tremendous job loss parallel with a rise in productivity, are loudly proclaiming their bewilderment by the 'paradox,' but they refuse to acknowledge, that the basic cause is the capitalist system of production and distribution for profit....

"I wouldn't expect McDonald, Reuther or any of their associates to concede that the capitalist profit system is at the bottom of the problem. But it is their failure to realize that basic fact that also prevents them from mobilizing the kind of a movement of the workers that could now wrest from capitalism some concessions and mitigation of the effects. They play with illusions that some capital-labor schemes could be discovered to eliminate growing unemployment.

"They ignore the historic and costly experience that it is the organized and militant mass activity of the workers that brought such concessions like unemployment insurance, social security, a minimum wage, shorter hours, supplementary unemployment benefits, and severance pay...."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 11.

"The economic crisis found the leaders of labor inadequately meeting the demands of the situation because of 1) their illusions in a crisis-free 'people's capitalism,' 2) their commitment to an armaments program as a main prop against unemployment, 3) their routine reliance on smart lawyers and clever negotiations, and 4) their failure to take steps to close the growing gap between themselves and the rank and file.

"Following a class-collaborationist line, most labor leaders have resisted mobilization of the rank and file and the launching of mass struggles. Hence the offensive has been surrendered to Big Business, which is using it to the full...

"What is vitally needed is to project a course of action that will meet the Big Business offensive with a militant counter-offensive by labor and its allies."

National Committee, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 3.

#### 6. Political Independence

"The Hoover-like line of the Eisenhower Administration, the do-nothing attitude of the Democrat-controlled Congress, and the growing menace of the Dixiecrat-Republican alliance--all these emphasize afresh the need for greater independent political action by labor...."

"...labor... must eventually break with its adherence to the present two-party system. Communists will strive for labor's complete\* political independence, 'for in the long run the working class and its allies will have their own anti-monopoly coalition party capable of bringing about the eventual election of a people's anti-monopoly government.' (Main political resolutions, 16th National Convention, CPUSA.)...

"An important step toward this goal would be the building by labor of its own independent political action machinery in the communities, much along the lines already advocated by the UAW. Through such machinery,

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



labor can work effectively for any\* candidates of its choice, independent as well as on the Democratic or Republican tickets."

National Committee, USA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 11.

"...It is becoming increasingly apparent that in America, while the labor movement is stressing political action in 'general' as never before, there is no recognized perspective for this political action beyond the old Gompers objective of 'rewarding friends and punishing enemies' within the two-party framework.

"Many in labor are beginning to feel that the limited Gompers objective, even with a more active participation by the members of unions, has pretty much reached a dead end. There is more interest in a course for greater independence."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 7.

## 7. Communists and Labor Movement

"The Communists strive to win the trade unions to a more consistent program of class struggle and militant action in defense of the immediate interests of the working class. To achieve these objectives, they join with other Left forces in the ranks of labor."

"Communists are called on to contribute to preparing the trade union movement for the battles ahead, to putting it into fighting trim, to reviving the crusading spirit of the thirties. Communists must help stimulate mass struggle and rank-and-file activity to impel the labor movement forward to fight the depression, to win the 30-hour week at the same pay, to organize the South, to oust racketeering and business unionism, to complete the unification of the labor movement. Communists must work to impel labor to

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

play its proper role in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and in the fight for Negro rights. And they must strive to bring about labor's fulfillment of its leading role in welding a broad people's anti-monopoly movement."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 14, 16.

"...The central function of our Party is that it is the only organization on the American scene which, on the basis of an advanced science, understands the totality of the workings of the capitalist system and of the relationship of classes within it. It is the only organization in a position to properly relate the present level and immediate demands of the working class and its allies with the historic and objectively determined goals of that class. It is the only organization because it is a party of its class\* which is in a position to give comprehensive direction and a broad orientation to the Left and progressive currents arising out of the immediate struggles of the period. Our Party is not a Party of one segment of the working class. It represents the interests of the whole class in its activities in all facets of national life, in its activities in relation to the trade-union movement, the Negro people's movement, the youth movement, the women's movement, in the electoral field. It brings into the working-class movement the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism, and imparts to the working class on the basis of its own experience and struggles a socialist consciousness."

Bob Thompson, "On the Work and Consolidation of the Party," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 48.

#### 8. Automation

"Automation cannot be permitted to be the private preserve of monopolists, under the cover of 'management rights' contract clauses which prohibit unions from 'interfering' in production. A struggle is required for retraining of workers at company expense, protection of seniority, safeguarding

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

of standards and wages in the skilled crafts, higher wages for workers operating automated equipment, guarantees against elimination of Negro workers, prevention of speed-up, and other measures to protect the interests of workers threatened by automation.

"Above all, labor should insist that automation should result in a shorter work week, not a shorter work force....

"The thirty-hour work week is not a mere anti-depression measure. Like the establishment of the eight-hour day, it is a step of historic significance for the entire working class. It is a major goal for organized labor in the coming period, a goal which will be won only over the all-out resistance of big business. Communists will do all they can to encourage and support this basic struggle.

"...Communists will seek to educate workers on the differences in the effects of automation under capitalism from those in a socialist society, where it does not deprive workers of their jobs but truly means more leisure and higher living standards for all."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 8.

#### 9. Labor-Negro Unity

"Were labor to see fully the mutuality of interests that it and the Negro people have in defense of constitutional rights; were labor, hard pressed by white supremacists' demagoguery in the Senate's Racket Committee hearings, to cement unity with the Negro through a joint struggle for human dignity and rights, the moderates would be marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in defense of the Constitution."

. . . . .

"In defiance of the Supreme Court and the human rights of Negro Americans, the white supremacists have mobilized every branch of the state government. They have strengthened the instruments of terror. To the Ku Klux Klan, already strengthened through Smith Act terror, has been added the 'respectable' White Citizens Councils, comprised of business and professional men and women. In Congress, racist reaction has its Senators Eastland and Talmadge and those who voted to curb the Supreme Court. Negroes have the advice of those who say 'depend upon the high court, even though it cannot enforce its decisions.' Militant democratic actions are taboo."

"But the fight can be won for liberty, justice, and peace. It is a major feature of the battle for constitutional liberties and rights in the U. S., an inseparable part of a world-wide struggle against colonialism."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, pp. 5, 14.

"Negro workers have been more than doubly hit by unemployment and discrimination. Long barred from white-collar, professional and skilled occupations which are less affected by the depression, they are now being displaced in large numbers from steel, auto and other basic industries. Even their tenure of those undesirable jobs usually 'reserved' for Negroes is being threatened...."

"With the proper initiative of labor, a powerful coalition with the Negro people can be built, directed against the mutual foes of both--the big trusts and their Dixiecrat allies. But without such unity, labor cannot win the big battles which lie ahead."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy  
for American Labor," Political Affairs,  
August, 1958, pp. 9, 10.

10. Visits to Soviet Union

"Does it make sense, Mr. Meany to stubbornly close our eyes to a trade union federation that now embraces more than 50 million Soviet workers as members? Can you imagine so great a mass of unionists held in 'bondage' as not having a life and function that should interest Americans?

"But the position of isolation from the American people the leadership of labor follows, is matched by the wide gap between the AFL-CIO and the rest of labor of Western countries. The British, French, Italian, Canadian, Latin American, Scandinavian, and almost all other unions, have not put a ban on delegations to the USSR...."

. . . . .

"Mr. Meany, I sincerely hope that this stubborn blindness and deafness to reality will end in our trade unions; that we too will get in stride with the rest of the world. The AFL-CIO's position in becoming increasingly untenable. It should face up to the situation and send a delegation itself to the USSR or lift its ban on affiliates from doing so."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 7.

"FOR FORTY years, first through Samuel Gompers, then William Green and finally through Meany, the AFL (and now the AFL-CIO) has been held to a policy of attacking the USSR as a land of 'slave labor' and 'government-operated' unions. Those slanders built up over the years, have become the basis of the reactionary officialdom's McCarthy-like weapon against trade union progressives.

"Meany's refusal to permit trade union delegations to the USSR is based primarily on the fear that, seeing the truth, even by his close friends, would crumble the base on which rest the internal witchhunt policy of many unions and their foreign policy outlook."

The Worker,  
July 13, 1958, p. 7.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. Political cooperation between farmers and workers is necessary to fight the monopolists.
2. A program for farmers should include, among other things, low-cost loans and crop insurance.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farmer-Labor Unity

"...what should be the attitude of workers in the United States toward the farmers?"

"Instead of inciting urban consumers against the farmers, as Benson urges, the workers would do better to try to make common cause with their should-be farm allies against the monopolies."

The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 15.

"Political cooperation based on mutual economic interests and interdependence between labor and farmers has helped to register big gains in the past, notably in states like Minnesota and Wisconsin. Recently, such coalitions have fought jointly against passage of 'right-to-work' laws and in support of farmers' demands for full parity. In such industries as farm equipment and meat packing, labor and the farmers have made common cause against the squeeze of the trusts."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 11.

"...While building our party, we also urge the great mass of workers and farmers, the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, who may not be ready to accept our program of socialism, to free themselves from the Democratic and Republican Parties, by forming their own political party, a farmer-labor party, an anti-monopoly people's party. We urge such a party and would vigorously support it."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

2. Program for Farmers

"WE ADVOCATE..."

. . . . .

"10. Help family type farmers keep their farms. Provide low-cost loans and universal crop insurance. Reduce taxes. Protect rights of agricultural workers to organize, to have decent working conditions, and wages."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The anti-imperialist revolution is advancing in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
2. Western imperialism is attempting to halt the trend towards Arab unity in the Near East and Asia.
3. American imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere is based on American oil interests and other investments.
4. Imperialism is losing out in Africa as Western colonial empires are pushed aside.
5. The future of France lies in solving the Algerian liberation question.
6. American imperialism has taken mineral and other resources in Chile.
7. The United States has backed Batista, Cuban dictator.
8. Dominican Republic dictator Trujillo has friends in Wall Street and the State Department.
9. Ireland has fought English colonial and capitalist domination for 700 years.
10. Israel must adopt a policy of Arab-Jewish friendship and equality to save itself from disaster.
11. The United States intervened in Lebanon to keep Moslems from gaining their independence.
12. Malaya is oppressed by Western imperialism.
13. Mexican Government attacks on communists in Mexico are reminiscent of McCarthyism.



14. Rockefeller money is invested in Puerto Rico for "super-profits."
15. Rockefeller interests in Venezuela backed the former dictatorship of Perez Jimenez.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Anti-imperialist Revolution

"Closely related to the Socialist revolution, is the anti-imperialist revolution which is roaring ahead in so many countries. This is outstanding in the political life of Asia and Africa, and is also beginning to be so in Latin-America. Developments in the middleEast in this respect are daily becoming more sensational. Today's press of the world is filled with big headlines, signalizing the rapid development of the colonial liberation movement in the middle-East, with Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon the latest to become involved in this great struggle."

. . . . .

"The imperialists may well be alarmed at the developing situation in all the countries which they only so recently held in their imperialist control as subject peoples.

"This swift advance of Socialism, and of the anti-imperialist revolution, is quickening the rot which was already far advanced in the capitalist system...."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 6.

## 2. Western Imperialism versus Arab Unity

"NEWS DISPATCHES pile up which reveal that all Western imperialism...is increasingly subsidizing pliant generals to try to subvert the swiftening trend toward Arab unity--and the people's movement in Moslem and Hindu Asia for sovereignty and independence.

"Outright military intervention, taking over governments, has taken place in the predominantly Moslem countries of the Sudan, and Pakistan... The British, through their kinglet, Hussein, are conniving to regain full power in Jordan...."

"ALL THESE REPORTS are glimpses into the intrigue of Western imperialism--British, French, and American--into the life of the Near East and Asia...."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, pp. 3, 14.

## 3. American Imperialism and Oil

"The practice in dominant American circles, assisted by the revolutionary and anti-colonial traditions of our country, has been to deny the existence of an American imperialism...."

"...certain it is that imperialism--and in the forefront American imperialism--has not yet been embalmed. It exists and has existed for over fifty years. It is today more virulent and active than ever before; an especially potent ingredient in it is petroleum. The imperialism of oil giants--their aggressive searching for resources, their efforts to dominate transportation, refining and marketing, their interconnections with government, and their insistence that government actively support and further their own private interests--has been a fact, especially in connection with Great Britain, France and the United States, since some years prior to World War I."

"...one cannot separate the oil of the Mid-East from the companies that own it, because that is the actual, real and living interest which exists right now. And the presence of instability in the world today, and in the Mid-East in the first place, is a characteristic of the situation as it now is, i. e., with the private, profit-making ownership of the oil. There is instability in the Mid-East and there is private, exploitative ownership of the basic resource of the Mid-East; these two facts are causally connected. To remove the instability now afflicting the area it is necessary, to begin with, to remove the private possession by alien, profit-making corporations of the basic wealth of the area."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 54, 55, 58.

"...Dulles, Eisenhower and their kind are not speaking the truth when they claim that it is for the purpose of saving this country from the 'reds' that they send American boys to Lebanon or to Venezuela, and today are actually inviting a war with China and the Soviet Union. They are sending American boys all over the world to safeguard the Rockefeller oil and other investments with which American imperialism has kept the colonial and semi-colonial world in poverty and misery."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 10.

"...Dulles' policy is ruining our nation's name everywhere--making it the equivalent of the worst of imperialism anywhere in the world."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Africa

" 'THE WEST'S colonial empires are going down faster than they went up. In Africa especially. It's just 60 years since Winston Churchill was riding Sudan warriors down as a young cavalry officer....

"That was in 1898. But the 'pro-West' Government of Sudan has been swept out of office in 1958. And where is Churchill's Nile Empire now?"

"IT'S TOO EARLY to tell what the new Sudan government will do about many things. But one thing seems sure. The sun of imperialism is setting in Africa today."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 7.

"...now the U.S.A. is a financial power in Africa too. The Rockefellers and Morgans are exploiting tens of thousands of the continent's workers. But the Morgan-Rockefeller power is due to pass too. For history shows that empires rise, and then fade away, while the people go on forever."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 10.

## 5. Algeria

"The Algerian liberation movement grows, and its increased strength is evidenced by the formation of a Government-in-Exile, situated in Cairo. The solution to this colonial question is a major key to the future of the nation whose imperialist governors have sunk billions of francs and stationed the bulk of its U.S. equipped army in Algeria to wage a bloody and unsuccessful war against the colony that wants its independence.

"The North African generals and their billionaire-backers precipitated the French constitutional crisis last May after years of conspiracy."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 3.

6. Chile

"If there is a country in Latin America where American imperialism has actually grabbed mineral and other natural resources, and has been barred from doing business with any nation except the U. S., that country is Chile.

"This has created one of the worst conditions of unemployment and low wages...."

The Worker,  
August 10, 1958, p. 10.

7. Cuba

"THE U. S. GOVERNMENT is continuing to provide military aid to the Batista dictatorship in its civil war against the Cuban people despite an official embargo on arms shipments to Cuba imposed by Washington last March 14."

"DETAILS of the Eisenhower Administration's military intervention in Cuba's civil war are contained in a remarkable document that recently arrived in this country...."

"THE PAMPHLET containing the message also publishes the text of Raul Castro's Military Order No. 30, issued June 22, calling for the detention of certain U. S. citizens in the territory under his command. This order also denounces Washington's role, declaring that 'so-called "mutual aid" and "continental defense" are criminal pretexts to cover up the immoral aid which (the U. S. government) has been giving the Latin American dictatorship in order to have them serve its economic interests.' "

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 7.

"...the imperialists and their agents among the opposition are stepping up their divisionist maneuvers. They are trying to save the Batista regime because, as is well known, the principal prop of that regime, backed by the government of the U.S. and the North American imperialist enterprises in Cuba with gas bombs, amunition, instructors, political help and financial resources, has been divisionism.' "

The Worker,  
December 28, 1958, p. 10.

8. Dominican Republic

"...Just as a Trujillo depends on his Wall Street and State Department friends -- (and don't be misled by their making faces at each other just now because of the antics of Trujillo, Jr., in this country -- the anti-Trujillo movement inside and outside of Santo Domingo need the understanding and assistance of the masses of the U.S. and other countries in the common cause against imperialism."

The Worker,  
August 31, 1958, p. 10.

9. Ireland

"IRELAND'S history is a 700-year record of English oppression from its earliest colonialist stages to modern capitalist imperialism...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
October, 1958, p. 59.

10. Israel

"Israel as an entity in the Middle East will live and can live in accordance with Bandung. It can and will live by action which rectifies the

unforgettable atrocity of tearing one million innocent Arabic men and women from their homes and hurling them into fearful suffering, and by action which bases itself upon Arab-Jewish friendship and equality at home and outside its own limits. Should Israel continue to pursue the policy of being a tail to the kite of France or England or Dulles, nothing will save it from the disaster that is manifestly imminent for the Dulles-Macmillan line.

"The line of reaction is the line of national catastrophe for Israel as for every other state in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1958, p. 55.

11. Lebanon

"The 2nd Battallion of the 2nd Regiment of the 2nd Marine Division stands, as we write, in Beirut, Lebanon's capital, ostensibly to protect American citizens and to 'defend' Lebanon--against its own rebelling populace...."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 1.

"...it is inevitable that the Arab world will regard us as the sharp spearhead of imperialist intervention. The delegate of the United Arab Republic made that abundantly clear in his UN speech when he pointed out that the United States had voted for the June 11 resolution on no-invasion, and then unilaterally violated its own vote.

"And why did we intervene? Because the Moslem world, like all colonial peoples, are finally determined to regain their independence--not to live miserably as pawns for monopoly profits. And we intervened against nations--like Iraq--that wish to abide by the principles of Bandung: for the right to live in their sovereign nations, for the right not to be browbeaten, starved, shot...."

"For what? Mothers and fathers of our sons may well be asking. For Standard Oil? For Socony Vacuum? For the British oil interests, the French? The stench of oil hangs over the entire proceedings and no human nostril can ignore it."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 2.

12. Malaya

"'Problems of the Malayan Economy' is a series of radio talks broadcast over Radio Malaya in 1956 as part of a course in economics for adults...."

"The radio talks do not go far in seeking a way out of the oppression that is Malaya's lot under imperialism. Some of the talks reflect the fact that the earth is quivering under colonialism. And Gamba points out that 'Malayan labor -- quite naturally -- compares its standards of living and wages no longer with surrounding under-developed areas, but with those obtainable, say, in British and elsewhere in the West.'

"Undoubtedly, it also contrasts the continued subjection of its nation by the West, with independence of China."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 10.

13. Mexico

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY called on President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines of Mexico last week to release 'all working class, anti--imperialist and political refugee prisoners.'



"In a telegram to the president, Eugene Dennis, national secretary, on behalf of the party's national executive committee, expressed shock at the 'attacks being carried out' by the Cortines government 'against workers' organizations trade unions and the Communist Party.'

" 'The breaking into office, the illegal detention of leaders of the workers' movement, the mass round-up of political refugees from such countries as Spain, Cuba, the United States and other countries remind us of the terror of Batista and Jiminez and the McCarthyite attacks against liberty in our own country,' Dennis said.

"He reminded the president that McCarthyism has been repudiated by millions of Americans.

" 'Terror cannot suppress the just demands of the people who fight to ease their conditions of daily life. Only Wall St. imperialism greets with sympathy these reactionary attacks as it wants to suppress the liberties and independence of countries and peoples.

" 'Our sympathies have always been with the working class and the common people of Mexico and against Wall Street imperialism and the reactionary collaborators.' "

The Worker;  
September 21, 1958, p. 3.

#### 14. Puerto Rico

"SOME PUERTO RICANS have grown enthusiastic over the candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller for governor...."

"Their number one argument is that the Rockefeller interests have invested money in a private housing development and a luxurious golf club in Puerto Rico.

"But the Rockefeller interests have invested in Puerto Rico for the same reason that they have invested in other colonial and semi-colonial countries: for the super-profits they get from their oil exploitation in Venezuela and Lebanon, or from their war industries."

"Many of Nelson's Puerto Ricans backers, who up to yesterday were opposed to American capital investments displacing Puerto Rican capital, are all of a sudden very much pleased that another American investor--Nelson Rockefeller and family--is coming to Puerto Rico to add a few millions to their billions."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 10.

15. Venezuela

"A naive person in Venezuela--and naive people are getting scarcer and scarcer in Venezuela--might be grateful to Nelson Rockefeller and his family for their investments in oil. But this naive person should realize that the Rockefeller interests were backing the Perez Jimenez dictatorship to the very end to protect their property in 67.8 per cent of all the oil produced in Venezuela."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 10.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Grass-roots pressure must be exerted on the new Congress to prevent failure to follow the election mandate.
2. Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court can be protected only by upholding the rights of labor, Negroes, and communists as a whole.
3. McCarthyism is still a threat to peace and civil liberties.
4. Labor leaders have failed to spearhead the attack on anticommunist political persecution.
5. Persons wishing to join the Communist Party, USA, should not be subject to persecution or threat.
6. Amnesty should be granted imprisoned Smith Act victims.
7. The right to travel abroad must not be restricted under the guise that communism is a menace.
8. The House Committee on Un-American Activities should be abolished.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Pressure on New Congress

"THE COMPOSITION of the new Congress reflects much of the voting. Most of the rabid enemies of labor, civil rights and civil liberties are out. New and younger people, committed to the program of the loose labor-Negro-farmer-liberal coalition or trend that swept them into office, make up a large part of the fresh composition."

. . . . .

"THE BIG QUESTION now for the organizations representing the populist sentiment that forced the big change on Nov. 4 is: where do we go from here? What can we do to force a realization of the mandate?"

"It is clear that unless the forces of the people continue the force and swing of the election in an organized way to press for their mandate, the next Congress, too, can prove a big let down."

"PRIMARY attention must be turned to joint conferences of labor, civic, church, farm and Negro organizations to mobilize grass-roots movement. Petitions, delegations to congressmen, and other organized expressions can be more effective now than during the closing 'last ditch' days of Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 2.

"CONSPIRACY to steal the Nov. 4 victory from the people is taking shape in Washington. The plotters are the 'moderates'--the Johnson-Rayburn-led Democrats and the Eisenhower Republicans. Those two groups, counting on the solid support of the racist anti-laborite Southerners and on the shrunken ultra-reactionary northern Republicans, are working to rally enough votes to block the program upon which most of the new top-heavy majority was elected to Congress."

"Faced with a mandate for expansion of housing, school construction, welfare and other domestic needs, the President hastily proclaimed his determination to keep down expenditures, and the Rayburn-Johnson group pledged him support."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 3.

## 2. Protection of Rights of Labor, Negroes, and Communists

"...the inescapable fact is that the constitutional rights and liberties of labor, the Negro people and the Communists will stand or fall together and must be fought for in unity as a single and inseparable whole. The new ground which has been won in the recent decisions of the Court can be held and further advances made only if this basic truth is recognized and acted upon. The elements of a program of action are clear:

"Invoke the full powers of the federal government to enforce the school decisions and punish violators.

"Defeat legislation to override the decisions of the Court.

"Abolish the Eastland and Walter Committees.

"Repeal the Smith, Internal Security, Communist Control and Walter - McCarran Acts.

"Defeat federal anti-labor legislation and state 'right-to-work' laws.

"Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and restore labor's right of peaceful picketing."

Arnold F. Robler, "The Supreme Court and Democracy," Political Affairs, November, 1958, pp. 13-14.

## 3. McCarthyism Threat Remains

"THE SURVIVAL of the world now depends on what is happening in the average American mind. If the average American can be terrorized into believing that Russians are devils with horns out to conquer America, then the world suicide will take place.

"There are mighty forces in America working for this suicidal war. And McCarthyism has muffled every voice of peace, made the idea of peace seem almost like a form of sedition."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 8.

"THE ACTION of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Richmond, Va., in upholding the second conviction and 6-year sentence of Junius Scales is a blunt reminder that we are not out of the McCarthyite woods."

"The Circuit Court's decision is the more outrageous since it follows a whole series of cases where the government has confessed that it could not comply with the Supreme Court's rules of evidence as set forth in the Yates case and decided not to re-try the cases.

"The Yates decision is as binding on the Scales case as it was in the Michigan Smith Act case where the six defendants were freed six years after their indictment.

"We hope that the high court will speedily compel the Department of Justice to discontinue its persecution of Scales."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 2.

#### 4. Anticommunism of Labor Leaders

"...while the past year has witnessed a significant reaffirmation of individual liberty by the federal courts and public opinion, the trade union leadership still persists in its denial of the right of legal existence to Communists and Left-wingers. Paradoxically, though the trade unions have

played an important part in rolling back the McCarthyite tide, they have in this respect succumbed to its vicious influence."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 15.

"...although the American people have unmistakeably demonstrated their revulsion against the extremes of McCarthyism, there has been nothing approaching a mass demand to end political persecution. Initially, the Communist Party stood almost alone in resisting repression, and its warning that defense of the rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the constitutional liberties of all Americans went unheeded. Even today, when McCarthyism has made this truth self-evident, the demand by non-Communists for such measures as an end to Smith Act prosecutions, abolition of the witch-hunting committees and the lifting of passport restrictions has, in the main, been confined to a limited group of clergymen, professors and other progressive intellectuals. Organized labor, the necessary spearhead of a broad popular movement, has stood on the sidelines, hog-tied by its leaders' support of the Dulles foreign policy and by the militant anti-Communism which they practice in their own unions."

Arnold F. Robler, "The Supreme Court  
and Democracy," Political Affairs,  
November, 1958, pp. 11-12.

5. End Persecution

"MANY ISSUES must be tackled in our state during this election."

. . . . .  
"DEMOCRACY MUST be strengthened..."

"This election should start a campaign to repeal all witch-hunting and thought-control laws affecting schools, civil service, summer camps, the jury system, and the right to a job.... Every person who desires to join the Communist Party must feel free to do so without fear of persecution, reprisal or threat."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

#### 6. Amnesty Campaign

"All convictions under the Smith Act should be expunged from the record under Supreme Court decisions, including those of persons who have already served their sentences...."

"...Green and Winston can and should be freed forthwith as a simple elementary act of justice...."

"...write a letter today to President Eisenhower, urging him to act at once on behalf of Green and Winston. This is the least the Government owes the Smith Act victims -- after 10 years of persecution."

The Worker,  
August 17, 1958, p. 9.

"HENRY WINSTON and Gilbert Green are today the only political prisoners still serving terms under the Smith Act."

"While many real criminals have been granted amnesty by Pres. Eisenhower he has not heeded the plea for Winston and Green voiced by many prominent Americans."



"Now there is a real possibility to win parole for them. They become eligible this October upon completion of one third of their 8-year prison term.

"Parole is normally granted in the federal prisons to the overwhelming majority of first offenders. In view of the circumstances in these cases, failure to grant parole would not only be the sheerest discrimination, it would be an act of vindictiveness on the part of the Government against these two loyal fighters for Peace."

"Help secure the support of prominent citizens and organizations in your community. Urge them to write to the Parole Board, and write yourself, requesting the granting of parole to Winston and Green...."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, pp. 8, 9.

"LESS THAN THREE weeks remain to Christmas--less than three weeks to make this Christmas a merry one for two men who have spent almost ten years as prisoners or political refugees.

"They are Henry Winston and Gil Green. On Thanksgiving eve a federal board turned down their plea for parole."

"...We urge all our readers to write or wire now, urging the President to amnesty two innocent Americans...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 2.

7. Right To Travel Abroad

"THE McCARTHYITE gang in the State Dept. has resumed the no-travel campaign where Rep. Francis Walter, House UnAmerican, left off when Congress adjourned.

"The sound-off came from Roderick L. O'Connor who operates as the Administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

"The equal rights of all to travel abroad would 'represent a real danger to the security of the U. S.,' said O'Connor...."

"In any event, it is no business of the State Dept. where these Americans go, whom they talk to, or what they say. The Supreme Court has made that abundantly clear five months ago. It should be made equally clear to the new Congress that the U. S. wants no return to the days when the McCarthyites could determine who could travel, and to where."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 2.

"REACTIONARIES in the several branches of government will leave no lie unused if they think a blow can be dealt the Communist even though it be at the expense of constitutional government."

"The right to travel is supported by the Charter of the United Nations as well as by our Constitution. That right must not be subject to the criminal whims of reaction under guise that such action protects the people from a Communist menace...."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 6.

8. Abolish House Un-American Activities Committee

"DURING the past two months, the Un-American committee stepped up its activities, centering the fight against the Supreme Court on a number of issues but highlighting the attack against the desegregation decision. This became the point at issues in the Atlanta hearings in July and by many devices in the Los Angeles and Newark hearings. These hearings also serve notice that the committee intends to spearhead legislation against the Supreme Court.

"...the growing opposition in all walks of life to this committee can also mean that a first point on the agenda of the next Congress should be to abolish this infamous committee...."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 15.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. American monopolists see armament production keeping business activity and profits at a high level.
2. Former military and governmental officials, including advocates of a large defense system, are now in top positions in defense industries.
3. Appropriations for school and housing construction are kept low while appropriations for arms production are increased.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Armament Production

"THE MODERN 'merchants of death', as they used to be called, have been disguising some of their superprofits under a slick Madison Avenue type of public relations. But the fact of their massive profits is clear to those who follow the business magazines.

"The extraordinary profits in war work were made clear, for example, by a recent compilation of Fortune magazine of the largest manufacturing companies in the U.S. in 1957.

"It pointed out that the two main munitions industries--aircraft and electronics--were the star performers in 1957. It reported that for the six big companies in the aircraft industry sales rose 32 percent and profits by 21 percent."

"With military spending increases, and with armaments already accounting for about 25 percent of the profits of the largest 100 industrial corporations in the country, they see a bright future in the bombs and missiles business."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 7.

"IT IS FALSE TO SAY the American monopolists--and these are the 'Americans' that determine the economy of the country--have abandoned their reliance on armaments and war to keep up high business activity and profits...In the past two years...the U.S. government has spent more than a hundred billions dollars for armaments and war preparedness."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 6.

## 2. Defense Industry Officials

"Of special interest is the advance of General Dynamics Corp. to first place in the order of defense contracts last year, with a total of \$1.1 billion. General Dynamics has a more prominent collection of top brass on its boards of directors than any other big armament firm. It includes five admirals, generals and atomic energy officials."

"TTS' PRESIDENT Frank Pace, Jr., was former Secretary of the Army and one of the most arrant propagandists for a bigger military establishment. His company makes the nuclear submarines and obviously has friends in the Pentagon and in Congress. For Congress was induced to appropriate funds for more nuclear subs than the Administration requested."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 7.

## 3. Money for Arms

"THE INVESTIGATIONS by officials into the tragedy at Our Lady of Angels school will not reveal the real cause."

"The real cause of this tragedy is to be found in the policy which places arms production above school and housing construction; which cuts appropriations for education and public housing to the bone while continually raising arms expenditures ever higher."

The Worker,  
December 14, 1958, p. 5.

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The Federal Government must end the condition of "second-class citizenship" of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Jewish people.
2. The Federal Government, by means of its troops and law enforcement agencies, should protect the rights of Negroes.
3. Negroes suffer most in the recession.
4. The appointment of Marian Anderson to the United Nations delegation of this country is an honor to a single Negro, not a recognition of Negro equality.
5. The Jim Crow system of persecution and terror can drive Negroes to tragic violence.
6. The reign of bombing terror in the South shows an American type of Nazism directed against Negroes, Jews, and others.
7. Administration committees in the civil rights field have failed to defend the rights of Negroes.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. End "Second-Class Citizenship"

"It is the responsibility of government to 'move speedily and effectively to get rid of conditions which keep colored people or any other people, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Jews or what have you 'in a status of second-class citizenship. '

"It's the duty and responsibility of government to prevent such conditions from arising. It is the responsibility of government to use all the power at its command to wipe out such conditions should they by some 'tour de force' arise.

"The government that fails in this becomes a party to 'racial discrimination and segregation' --and they become a policy of government. Such a government must undergo a fundamental change if it is to 'wipe out the last vestiges of discrimination and segregation', to say nothing of the first fruits of these evils.

"THE EXISTING 'conditions which keep colored people in a status of second-class citizenship' are political, economic and cultural. Their existence exposes the bankruptcy of capitalist democracy. It is a democracy that cheats millions of their heritage, a democracy of evil men seeking super-profits through the exploitation of millions, a democracy that sustains ghetto-life with the terrifying tensions and frustrations that crush the soul of youth. It is a democracy of racial hate and religious bigotry. These are in part the evils that make for war."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 10.

## 2. Federal Protection of Negro Rights

"The opposition of the White Citizens Council mobsters to integrated education for Negro children thus reveals itself to be, in its more fundamental aspects, 'war on the Constitution' and war on education. Both reek of the slave system, of the slaveholders' war against the Union, and of the slaveholders' belief that the slave should not be educated.

"It is high time that the flouting of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court decisions were brought to an emphatic halt. The Supreme Court made it plain: 'the constitutional rights' of the Negro children 'are not to be sacrificed or yielded to violence and disorder' of mobs, or governors, or state legislatures.

"The decisive move lies in the hands of the President. Let the Federal troops be used to restrain and repress the violence of the Faubuses and Almonds.



"Let every political leader be called on to join in the demand for federal action..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 2.

"THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE committee of the Communist Party last week issued an urgent 'call to action' for defense of the civil rights of the Negro people. In a statement issued over the signature of James E. Jackson, party secretary for Negro affairs, the CP urged: 'Stop segregationists' outrages against Negroes! Uphold constitutional rights!' "

. . . . .

"The Eisenhower administration, in an outrageous manifestation of racist bias, has left the Negro people and the Negro school children totally unprotected in the exercise of their lawful Constitutional rights...."

. . . . .

"The Eisenhower Administration is bent upon a continuing course of appeasing the Southern bloc of Dixiecrats, of preserving their unholy alliance with Wall Street Republicanism as the base for control of Congress in the interest of the monopolists at home and abroad."

. . . . .

"... We call upon our fellow citizens individually and through the Trade Unions, the Churches and all democratic organizations of the people to use all appropriate means to impose their demand upon President Eisenhower, the Department of Justice, the Congressmen and Senators.

"To intervene in defense of the rights of the Negro people in the struggle against the backward looking, reactionary forces of the southern segregationists.

"To support a full program of federal law enforcement in the Southern states to secure the rights of the Negro people.

"To demand the imprisonment of Faubus and his ilk, of the White Citizens Council leaders, and of the KKK chieftains.

"To manifest solidarity with the embattled school children and Negro freedom fighters in the Deep South by militant demonstrations directed at compelling Governmental action to protect the Negro people of the South in the exercise of their rights.

"To concert the full strength of the Negro people, with a maximum of Labor, Church and Student support in a nationwide 'No-Work Holiday for Freedom NOW.'

"To develop grass roots and community action of all kinds to raise this struggle to the level of a continuing countrywide crusade until complete victory is achieved."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 16.

### 3. Negroes in Recession

"Greatest sufferers in this recession situation here in Michigan are Negro families, victims of discrimination that fires them first, rehires them last and forces them to pay the highest slums....

"A program to meet this is needed. It could be building housing, highways, clearing away Detroit's horrible slums, granting unemployment compensation for the duration of a workers idleness; controls on prices; trade with Socialist nations to create jobs; and an end to expenditures for war."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 12.

### 4. Honor but Not Equality for Negroes

"MARIAN ANDERSON has been placed by the Eisenhower government and its monopoly directors upon its delegation to the United Nations. That is a

studied gesture calculated to deceive millions of Negroes who desperately want to believe that this government's attitude toward them and the millions of colored peoples of the world is undergoing a fundamental change.

"Denied equality of opportunity in every phase of national life, forced to live amidst the monstrous frustrations and tensions of the ghetto; outrageously discriminated against by private and government business agencies; restricted through illegal laws and terror from voting for other than those candidates who are handpicked by racist parties the Negro people naturally are proud if one of theirs is selected for what seems an honor.

"But a government guilty of such crimes against a people can confer no honor upon it short of freedom and equality.....

"THE 'HONORING' of a single Negro by this government generally hides an attempt to compromise a people...."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 3.

##### 5. Jim Crow System Brings Violence

"THE ATTACK upon Reverend Martin Luther King was a shocking outrage."

"The tragedy of this act was that it was committed by the hand of a Negro woman...."

"Naturally the Faubuses, White Citizens Council and Ku Kluxers will try to twist the fact that this occurred in Harlem to divert protests from the brutal anti-Negro terror in the South. But this attempt will fail. In fact, the Southern lynch system is the source of jim crow and segregation against Negroes all over the country, North, East and West."

"THE TRAGIC ROLE of this woman should serve as an example of what the atmosphere of red-baiting and FBI hounding of innocent people can drive people to do. The Negro people are a disciplined, staunch people. It is surprising that more of them are not driven to irrational behavior by virtue of the unceasing persecutions and psychological terror which the jim crow system imposes upon them.

"The Negro people in particular have to maintain a constant vigil in view of the fact that the white jim crow oppressors attempt to use Negroes to do their dirty work against the Negro people and their militant leaders."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 16.

#### 6. American Nazism in South

"Bombings in the South continue--and spread.... Terror against Jews inevitably goes hand-in-hand with terror against Negroes, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP head, could well say that the South's racial situation was similar to the rise of Hitler in Germany."

. . . . .

"YES, THE SOUTH is more than reminiscent of Hitler on the ascendant. Governmental compliance with terror is evident here, as it has been ever since it failed to act against those like Faubus, who flout the Supreme Court's desegregation decision."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 2.

"SINCE JAN. 1, 1957, there have been 47 bombings of churches, public schools, synagogues and other such places in the south.

"It was a wide-flung, skilfully organized terror campaign, that doubtlessly employed many skilled publicists, directors of timing, chemists, veteran goons and bombers, and the like. Hundreds were involved, and thousands must know their names...."

. . . . .

"Some wealthy leaders tried to evade the issue of integration; a few even joined the White Citizen Councils. But a number of Rabbis bravely spoke out in favor of integration. They taught their people that the defence of Jewish civil rights begins with the defence of all other minorities.

"Some of the White Council Jews tried to force the expulsion of these Rabbis. The congregations, to many of whom such a stand took on a personal and financial cost, rallied behind their courageous Rabbis and won the day.

"The salvation of the Jewish people, like that of the Negro people, lies only in the progressive camp. Fascism is their mortal enemy, and everything that leads to fascism is like a snake sliding through jungle grass with fangs aimed at the heart."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 8.

#### 7. Administration Hoax on Civil Rights

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS Commission has been a farce and a fiction so far as its protection of any right of any single Negro in the nation is concerned....

"No less a travesty has been the President's Committee on Government Contracts. In five years since 1955 this body has had before it 60 complaints of Negroes who charged discrimination in employment by monopoly firms batted by the people's tax monies. Of the 69 complaints not one has been processed or 'resolved' by the committee.

"Both these committees serve as gigantic hoaxes perpetrated by the Administration to give the appearance of defense of the rights of the Negro people while it does the bidding of their exploiters. They must be exposed as such. The popular wrath must blast them into the action they were set up to perform."

The Worker,  
July 6, 1958, p. 16.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. Soviet as well as Red Chinese educational accomplishments are a challenge to the failings of the United States educational system.
2. The aim of American higher education is to prepare students to "deal with" the growing military and economic might of the Soviet Union.
3. There is no organized "left" outlook among college students.
4. Parents should spur school officials in seeking Federal aid to education.
5. Southern States continue to defy the United States Supreme Court decision on integration of schools by legal schemes, mob action, and bombings.
6. School officials act against suspended teachers despite teacher shortage.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Soviet and Red Chinese Educational Progress

"AND IF THE EDUCATIONAL accomplishments of the USSR lay down the sharpest challenge to our own neglects and defaults, and call upon us to examine more deeply all the presuppositions on which our school systems rest--from size of classes and pay for teachers to the most fundamental questions of curriculum, and of extra-curricular activity--if this is so, then what shall we say of the dazzling boldness and freshness with which the Chinese are breaking ground for wholly new areas of educational progress?"

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.

## 2. Colleges Prepare Students To "Deal with" Russia

"...Two weeks ago, the American Council on Education held its 41st annual meeting....

"At this meeting, in Chicago, some 800 college presidents and administrators were present. In his keynote address, Dr. Virgil M. Hancher, president of the State University of Iowa, condemned 'the great American vice of water-bugging--the search for the quick and easy solution--the tendency to skip along the surface of things instead of breaking into the depths below.'

"...In the name of what did he call for change from the 'schools, colleges and universities of 25 year ago, ...the very institutions that did not prepare the present adult generation to deal with the problems of integration, the Middle East, of Quemoy and Matsu?' "

"Is it with MORE ignorance, MORE arrogance, MORE hostility that this educational policy-maker would have us replace the obvious weaknesses of our colleges, not only of 25 years ago, but of today as well? Apparently it is, since what he would now have the colleges prepare their students to 'deal with' is 'the rapidly expanding military and economic might of Russia, and the threat of the appalling weight of numbers in the People's Republic of China.' "

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.

## 3. No Organized "Left" Outlook among College Students

"...there is an appalling lack of effective avenues of expression for the demands and needs of college students--and an even more terrible absence of organized Left outlook among them..."

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.

4. Federal Aid to Education

"Federal aid to school construction, for instance, which made its biggest advance last year, only to die a-bornin', is this year seemingly not even a gleam in a Congressman's eye. And this in a recession year, with the needs of jobless workers added on to the long time needs of schoolless children...

"IT IS INTERESTING that at least two end-of-year teacher conferences have brought to light how feeble a role educators have been playing in this regard...."

.....

"Isn't it time that parents started putting forward those demands which up to now have mainly come from educators and those specially interested? Is there any other area so truly 'everybody's business'?"

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 10.

5. Southern States Defy Integration Order

"Four years after the Supreme Court's ruling as to the illegality of segregation in the schools, the eleven Southern states have admitted less than one hundred Negro children into schools from which they were barred by virtue of their color. Every one of these states is busily engaged in legal schemes, propaganda and mob incitations to circumvent and defy the federal law in this regard."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 16.

"New Yorkers join with all other democratic-minded Americans in condemning the continued obstructions put forward by Governors, Legislatures and school officials in some Southern states to defeat the law of the land on



school desegregation. They call upon the President of the United States to lend the full prestige and authority of his office to fulfilling the intent of the Supreme Court's decisions, and to making swift and complete desegregation of public schools in the South a matter not only of legality, but of the very moral foundations of our democracy."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 7.

"AS HE LOOKED at the ruins of Clinton High School, Principal W. D. Human said, 'I just don't understand it. Everything seemed to be going along so well.' Two years earlier nine Negro children had been admitted to the previously all-white school.

"The principal's confusion is understandable. What barbarism could give birth to such a crime? Where else in the world -- excepting South Africa--would a school of 850 pupils be destroyed to prevent ten colored children from receiving an education there?

"The source of the crime does not lie in Clinton, Tenn. It lies in Little Rock and in Virginia. It lies in the state houses of the seven Southern states which have refused, in defiance of the Constitution and the Supreme Court, to integrate a single Negro child into the all-white school system.

"To these enemies of the Constitution, to Governors Faubus and Almond, President Eisenhower has said 'Go slow,' muttering pious phrases about the laws of the land. But he has taken no step to quell the criminals.

"They have carried out the dictates of the White Citizens Councils, and the wishes of the Eastlands and the Faubuses, --with dynamite."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 2.

6. Teacher Shortage

"In New York City, it is teachers--experienced, capable, admired and cherished by students and colleagues alike--who are even now in the position of being available 'for anything but teaching.' It is more than three years since five were suspended from the public school system, because they refused to inform on others as the price of keeping their jobs.

"In the face of a clear-cut crisis in the quantity and quality of New York City's teaching personnel, our school officials not only make no move to correct this, but even prepare new and more shameful legal moves to ensure that the suspended five will not be able to return to the schools. What is the measure of 'defense of our school building program' in a case like this?"

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 10.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. The Nobel Prize winning novel, Doctor Zhivago, by the Soviet writer, Boris Pasternak, is not only an attack on socialism but is a "poorly written" book.
2. The exchange agreement for United States and Soviet films extends the scope of cultural relations between the two countries.
3. Writers in the Soviet Union have freedom in their efforts and are not forced to conform to commercialism as writers in the United States.
4. The Marxist writer must show the workers their power.
5. Socialism creates the material conditions for realization of the Christian social creed.
6. Jesus, who was a people's leader, would probably be arrested as an atheist agitator if he preached his socialism today.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Doctor Zhivago Attacks Socialism

"EVERY REACTIONARY force, every enemy not only of socialism but social progress in general, in this country and the rest of the world, has joined in the attempt to use the Boris Pasternak award to heat up the cold war. Not only the so-called literary experts but gentlemen of the press and other apologists of imperialism who never heard of Boris Pasternak before and have not read a single line he has written, including Doctor Zhivago, are busy telling the world that he is the greatest writer Russia ever produced and that the criticism levelled against him by the writers in the Soviet Union justifies their hate campaign against the land of socialism."

. . . . .

"As to the attitude of the Soviet people to 'Doctor Zhivago.' They see a book, which, irrespective of its literary aspect, is an open attack not only on socialism but on the very foundations of science and a scientific view of history. Is not their attitude quite understandable, now over forty years after the great liberating revolution? Especially when they still find themselves surrounded not only by ideological enemies but by bases from which atomic missiles can be launched against them by those who have never given up the goal of destroying the socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 11.

"THE NOBEL PRIZE for Literature was not awarded this year! Instead, the conservative critics of the Swedish Academy have awarded their laurels to Cold War propaganda and have forsaken literature.

"Were it for the pure and fragile poetry of Boris Pasternak alone, or his translations of the classics, the old, musty academicians would never have given the Soviet author the prize; for no Soviet author has ever been given a Nobel Prize! Were Pasternak's 'Doctor Zhivago' read as a literary work the Swedish Academy would have yawned it away...."

" 'DOCTOR ZHIVAGO' is an incredibly poorly written book.

"It is written in an archaic style. Not, by the author's choice. Rather by his inability to master his own theme. The story is incoherent. Characters wander in and out with neither rhyme nor reason and even Pasternak often is confused and loses them... The philosophy of Zhivago is forced on the book, artificially and falsely. Never does it naturally flow from the story. Awkward with letters and 'diaries,' that presumably explain the story to the reader, where the story does not, 'Doctor Zhivago' is an inept, bad book."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 11.

## 2. U.S. — Soviet Film Exchange Agreement

"All advocates of peaceful co-existence were happy to read that 'Marty' and 'The Old Man of the Sea', and other films are going to Moscow; and that 'Swan Lake' and 'The Captain's Daughter' are coming here, according to an exchange agreement between the U.S. and Soviet film industries."

. . . . .

"IMPORTANT as is this development to movie-lovers, it has even greater connotations. It extends the scope of the cultural relations that have been developed by visits of such artists as the 'Porgy and Bess' troupe, or the Moiseyev dancers, or musicians like Gilels and Oistrakh and Stokowski and Van Cliburn. There have also been exchanges in the medical, scientific, architectural and other fields."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 2.

## 3. Soviet Writers Free of Commercialism

"FREE OF THE MOSQUITOES of the publishing houses, the businessmen of the literary marketplace, the agents, the advertising agency 'critics,' the fad lovers of the cocktail party set, writers in the Soviet Union stand like poets of ancient Greece in the center of the social and political arena.

"In the Soviet Union the writer is free as one whose art creates history. This 'freedom is the recognition of necessity.' This is Socialism's freedom."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 10.

"IS THE 'Profit Motive Alone Dictating Policies and Behavior Patterns' on television, asks 'VARIETY'; '...is profit and loss the sole motivation in burying 'See It Now?', for example? Yet, 'VARIETY' dare not answer it's own question for it knows the answer is -- yes!

"Creative television writing or acting or directing would by definition have to examine, satirize, and challenge the fables and fakes of our way of life. That's what would make it creative. This is obviously impossible on a show sponsored by say, General Motors, on which no one dare criticize an auto fin, much less mention automation or speed-up in the motor plants..."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 10.

"There has been a Bohemia since capitalism began. It is caused by the ignoble status of the artist in a society that lives only by money making. The honest artist who refuses to conform to commercialism must become a pariah. Their rebellion comes out of physical hunger and spiritual humiliation, the same causes that create revolutions of oppressed workers and peasants, Negroes, Arabs, and other oppressed minorities. The honest artist and writer under capitalism form an oppressed minority."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 8.

#### 4. Duty of Marxist Writer

"...It is the highest duty of the Marxist writer, in this age of international gangsters, to remind the workers of their Bunyanesque stature; to give them back the image of themselves, recall to them their power...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
August, 1958, p. 55.

#### 5. Christian Social Creed

"...Claude Lightfoot, Illinois chairman of the Communist Party, addressed a meeting of 60 persons of different religious faiths..."

"Lightfoot explained that only Socialism can create the material conditions in which the ideals and aspirations of the Christian social creed can be realized. He urged unity in the fight for peaceful co-existence and desegregation and to combat the effects of the depression."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 14.

6. Jesus Preached Socialism

"JESUS was perhaps a myth. But he was the people's myth--a carpenter and son of the Jewish folk. Some historians believe he was one of the leaders of an underground trade union movement. The Jews had formed it as means of resistance to the Roman imperialists who occupied their country. A great deal of church politics has been written into the New Testament. Yet the fundamental story remains, the passion and death of a people's leader. The poetry is marvellous, a culmination of that ethical nobility which is the chief contribution of the Jews to man's history. Jesus would probably be arrested as an atheist agitator today if he preached his socialism."

The Worker,  
December 28, 1958, p. 8.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women workers face a loss of jobs and a cut in pay with rising unemployment.
2. Day care centers should be provided for the benefit of working mothers.
3. The insults to women in the "womanpower" campaign may ironically end in women demanding more and better schools and peaceful coexistence.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Loss of Jobs

"... With rising unemployment, there are growing efforts to eliminate women workers regardless of seniority provisions, to disregard special safety and health standards, and to cut wages. The many women in the poorly paid service occupations are subjected to especially severe exploitation. This is especially true of large numbers of Negro women workers. A vigorous fight must be waged against all these evils."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 5.

#### 2. Benefits for Working Women

"... Provide job training program and opportunities for the youth, the unemployed and women workers with special attention to the full rights of Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Provide day care centers for children of working women."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.



### 3. Insult to Women

"...The Ladies' Home Journal\*...is making a fortune...By insulting their entire female audience, circulation has grown and grown...Apparently nothing succeeds like an excess of insults...We are a nation not of Moms but of masochists....

"...It all revolves around this key word womanpower\*..."

"...Do you suppose the campaign has a Machiavellian long-range plan in mind? To insult us all to the point where we'll get mad enough to stand up and use our human power to demand a few long overdue family rights--like more and better schools for our children, day care centers, recreation programs for teen-agers, horrorless TV shows and foreign policy, and wages, hours and peaceful co-existence suitable for both sexes?"

Eve Merriam, "Womanpowership,"  
Mainstream, December, 1958, pp. 1, 2.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. Marxists should renew contacts with youth.
2. Teenagers in summer farm work face exploitation in this country.
3. Young people are hard hit by the recession and need special Federal aid.
4. The real cause of juvenile delinquency is the capitalist "dog eat dog" way of life.
5. The "beatniks" represent nonconformity which is a first step to a world of socialism.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Marxist Contacts with Youth**

"It is time for the radical movement to renew its contact with the youth. Try to understand their problems, their manner of thinking. Every generation is different from the one that went before it. They cannot be the same, because the conditions they must face are not the same.

"This generation has grown up under the shadow of the H-Bomb, and of McCarthyism and of the terrible sabotage of Marxism that has split the radical movement and scared off the youth. They can find no alternatives today to cynical acceptance of the Cold War profiteering system. They are 'rebels without a cause.' Their one law of existence has been: Distrust everything.

"Learn to speak to them. Above all, learn to listen. Our press should encourage them to express their feelings and needs, however foolish we may think the philosophy. Youth forums -- youth discussion everywhere. Thousands of young bewildered Americans wait for some clear and understanding word from their elders. The ground is ready for the seed.

"The great torch of socialism must not be allowed to fall in America...."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 8.

"...a Marxist youth group is the 'Order of the Day.' "

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 11.

## 2. Exploitation of Teenagers

"IT IS REGRETTABLE that the opportunities for summer farm work for the young teenager is not organized and supervised as they are for example, in the Soviet Union where a whole school class, with teachers, goes to a collective farm to work, and their social life and leisure fun is organized, supervised, and integrated into the life of the village collective.

"The farm cadet program in our country (although jobs are secured through the schools) is a private employer-employee relationship, and parents would do well to check thoroughly both on the conditions of work (the exploitation is reported to be quite fierce in some cases), and on available forms and facilities for social life."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 7.

## 3. Recession Affects Youth

"...Young people are especially hard hit by depression....Special measures in behalf of youth are needed, such as federally-financed training programs, without discrimination and under trade union supervision and

control, as well as extension of unemployment compensation to those entering the labor market and unable to find work."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 5.

"YOUTH is dismayed. The absence of any program adequate to its economic and cultural needs and remedial of crime and juvenile delinquency confounds it...."

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 15.

4. Capitalism Is Cause of Juvenile Delinquency

"HOLLYWOOD films, TV crime newspaper headlines, adult society, and horseracing--which is the cause? Ironically, none...All are symptoms of the cause of delinquency, not the sickness. The sickness is our dog eat dog 'way of life', alias, Capitalism."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 6.

"...Our economic, political, and cultural crises have vulgarized and brutalized large sections of youth and adults alike."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 11.

5. "Beatniks" Represent Nonconformity

"BOHEMIA has a long history. It appeared with the bourgeois revolution, when art, like every other human activity, was turned into a

commodity and the artists deprived of the status they had under feudalism. Bohemia is the spontaneous, unorganized, chaotic revolt of yong artists against commercialism. . . . Bohemia is a secession from capitalism.

"It is the search of the young, the poor and the utopian for a friendly place that will let them grow. In practical, dollar-obsessed America, young people who want to be artists are made to feel like freaks. So they become defiant to the point of eccentricity.

"The beard and the sandals are their symbolic sneers at the well-barbered flunkies of the big corporations. But non-conformity is never enough. It is a negation, only a first step to a better world.

"We have reached the turning point of all human history. World suicide hangs over us all, but there is an alternative. It leads to a world of socialism, peace and intellectual glory. The 'beatniks' are unfortunate. They can believe only in the darkness, not in the light.

"... The 'beatniks' have no racist prejudice, and they despise war and its profiteers. They are partisans of the intellect, and the life of the spirit. Let us try to understand this youth in all its troubles."

The Worker,  
July 6, 1958, p. 8.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

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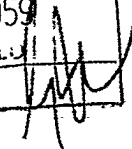
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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continues to condemn the foreign policy of the United States as being representative of the dying era of imperialism. Following current propaganda of the Soviet Union, the Party stresses the urgent need of a summit meeting to resolve world tensions. The United States is denounced for its interference in the economic and military affairs of Cuba and Communist China. It is charged that the American ruling class, by supporting dictators and tyrants, opposes national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

West Germany, according to the Party, is the trouble spot of Europe and is maintained by the United States as the center for atomic war against the USSR.\* Communists consider that the demilitarization of Berlin is the first step in the settlement of the cold war. This is necessary because American "Big Business" has increased the war threat by its actions in rearming West Germany, permitting the return to power of many men who aided Nazism in its rise to power and allowing anti-Semitism to assert itself.

\* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Communist Party continues its insistent demands for an end to nuclear weapons tests, recognition of Communist China, and trade with the socialist countries.

In domestic affairs, the Party has vigorously opposed the "reactionary advance" which, it claims, is undermining the Bill of Rights. J. Edgar Hoover is portrayed as having ignored the racist violence against Negroes and as having made the FBI a weapon of terror against "progressive" forces. Communists claim that while there is no true freedom of the press in America, The Worker has continually fought for the exploited masses until its influence is now feared by the "Wall Street Administration." They stress the need for Federal assistance to meet the housing crisis, tax relief for low-income groups, and the establishment of a national health insurance program.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist science, the Party continues to fight the anticommunist propaganda put forth by "monopoly capitalism." While striving to increase their influence in the two major political parties, communists are continuing their attempts to build an independent labor party.

Labor violence in the South, the strike of hospital workers in New York City, the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities relative to the Packinghouse Workers union in Chicago, the mass layoffs in

Detroit, and the steel industry negotiations have all received much attention by the Party to depict the problems of labor-management encountered under the capitalist system. Communists claim that America's unemployed face a grim future because unemployment and economic crises are inevitable under capitalism. They charge that automation, speed-up, and decentralization have made it imperative that the Party crusade for a six-hour day with eight hours' pay. The Party also stresses the weaknesses in trade-union leadership which it plans to exploit to bring the workers closer to socialist consciousness.

The economies of Latin-American countries, according to communists, are kept in a critical state because of the heavy hand of United States imperialism. The Communist Party pledges its support to Fidel Castro's reform programs while condemning the "monopolies of Wall Street" for interference and intrigues in Cuba's internal affairs.

Communists charge that "reactionary Republicans" and "white-supremacist Dixiecrats" have united to impose a new era of McCarthyism upon America. The Party demands Federal legislation to halt the violence against Negroes and to guarantee full integration. It calls for continued protests and action to defeat proposed "anti-labor" legislation. The amnesty

campaign for Party officials still in prison and freedom for Morton Sobell continue to be important Party issues.

In the field of civil rights, communists are vociferous and persistent in their demands for Federal intervention to end the intimidation and violence against Negroes in the South. They assert that the Federal Government protects the lynchers of Negroes while failing to furnish adequate protection to Negroes' citizenship rights. The Party urges united action on the part of labor, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and whites to fight for the educational, social, political, and economic equality of Negroes and other oppressed minorities.

The Party continues to extol the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their educational, scientific, and cultural advances in order to highlight shortcomings of the United States.

Communists recognize the importance of youth, and they are endeavoring to launch a nationwide socialist youth organization.



## B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, will undoubtedly continue its unqualified support of the Soviet Union's foreign policies while constantly vilifying those of the United States and its Western allies. Party publications are expected to continue to echo Soviet demands for the demilitarization of Berlin, a ban on nuclear tests, and an early summit meeting.
2. Party propaganda acclaims the economic, social, and technological advances of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries while exploiting recent problems involving racial matters, unemployment, and housing in the United States. This propaganda campaign can be expected to be intensified by the Party to further its claims of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.
3. Present leadership in the labor unions, the Party maintains, has failed the workers. Therefore, communists are expected to concentrate more militantly on the difficulties caused by automation, decentralization, and speed-up in an attempt to arouse the socialist consciousness of the workers.
4. Communists consistently support any revolutionary action in the Latin-American countries, which they allege are dominated by American imperialism. It is anticipated that the Party will continue to condemn or disrupt any cooperation and assistance that the United States might furnish the present governments of the various Latin-American countries.
5. The Party has closely followed and vehemently denounced recent acts of violence against Negroes in the South. It is virtually certain that the Party will continue to give exaggerated attention to these and any similar future events.
6. The Party feels it has overcome its revisionist, factional squabbles and is now more united in furthering the struggles of the people. Youth work, including the groundwork for the establishment of a nationwide socialist youth organization, and a concerted effort to increase Party influence within the two major political parties will doubtless be emphasized by the Party in the coming period.

## **I. FOREIGN POLICY**

1. The foreign policies of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles were failures because they were the class policies of the era of imperialism--an era nearing its end.
2. Dissension among "Free World" powers has forced President Eisenhower to accept a summit meeting, but constant pressure is needed to assure that he will not "beg off."
3. Disruptive American imperialist forces are trying to use "anti-communism" to spread distrust of Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution.
4. The policy of the United States Government toward China endangers world peace.
5. The aim of the reactionary foreign policy of Wall Street is to win world domination for the United States by supporting dictators and tyrants.
6. The intended use of West Germany as a center for atomic war against the USSR makes necessary immediate demands for the ban of all nuclear weapons.
7. Washington and the neofascist government in Bonn have allowed anti-Semitism to rise unhindered in West Germany.
8. The demilitarization of Berlin is the first step in the peaceful settlement of the cold war.
9. Imperialist adventurers must be prevented from pushing our country into war.
10. Americans who remember Nazism must demand an end to the rearming of Germany by United States "Big Business."

11. A bolder and more consistent struggle must be waged for an affirmative peace program.
12. Organized workers must fight for increased trade with socialist countries.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Failure of U. S. Foreign Policy

"JOHN FOSTER DULLES died a failure. The Socialist lands, that he hoped to destroy, are stronger than ever. The world's fascist leaders, whom he aided so much, are weakened or dead. And the tributes paid him as the 'greatest Secretary of State', as he was buried in Arlington Cemetery, cannot hide these historical facts...."

. . . . .

"Tke's Secretary of State had many... defeats after taking office in Washington. His policy of 'liberation' of the 'satellites,' that is counter revolution in the smaller Socialist lands, collapsed. The strength of Socialism abroad, and the strength of the Peace sentiment at home, were too much for Dulles.

"DULLES'S POLICY of 'massive retaliation' with H-Bomb against the Socialist lands has also flopped to date. The strength of Socialism abroad, and the peace sentiment at home stopped him again."

. . . . .

"He was terribly defeated in Venezuela, where Dictator Perez Jimenez used to drive him around in a bullet proof car. For Perez Jimenez went out, with a kick in his pants, and democracy came in.

"A BIGGER DEFEAT came in Cuba, where Dulles's ambassador had been presenting Dictator Batista with American tanks in public ceremonies. For Fidel Castro's bearded heroes drove the stooges of imperialism out...."

"The defeat in the Middle East was also upsetting. For Eisenhower and Dulles had to pull their Marines out of Lebanon a few months after they went in. And the Iraq revolution they were intended to crush, went on to new strength.

"It's useless to blame Dulles as an individual, however. He was the representative of a class. And the defeats he suffered were defeats for imperialism. For the era of imperialism, which Dulles represented, is nearing its end."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 7.

## 2. Summit Meeting

"THE BALANCE SHEET on the Geneva talks has not been drawn up as yet, but when it is, the likelihood is that things will be to the good, rather than vice versa. The world has had an opportunity to hear the arguments--to see the wares--of the juxtaposed powers, and get some of the facts of life. And certainly, as the old, or rather, modern saying has it, it is better to be talking things out than shooting things out.

"Despite the fact that the powers have not, as yet, come to agreement on such urgent matters as neutralizing West Berlin, making it a free city, on questions of peace treaties with the two Germanies, and on issues of unification, they are nearer a summit conference than they were before. Of course, there were thunderbolts President Eisenhower cast, that he would go to no summit meeting unless certain agreements were reached at Geneva, but most observers feel that the West cannot afford to ignore the vast, and still growing, sentiment for top-flight conferrings."

"...indisputable is the central fact that the more peace-lovers speak out, the more certain it is that mankind will progress to end--forever--the dangers of a world holocaust."

The Worker,  
June 21, 1959, p. 2.

"The present problem is to force a liquidation of the Cold War. It is to reverse the U.S. policy, of 'liberation' and massive coercion, whose bankruptcy is convulsing the 'Free World.' That U.S. policy, upon which Adenauer has staked his political life, cannot work, for its implementation has resulted not in the relative weakening of the USSR but its strengthening; not in the unifying of the Western Alliance, but in its near shattering.

"For the immediate future, a detente is needed in Central Europe, and this still can be achieved without the United States Government appearing to suffer a shattering blow to its prestige. The longer that Government resists, the more devastating to itself will be the accommodation that must in any case come. The accommodation must come because of the growing splits among the Allies: France insists that West Germany be content with the present borders of Germany, but Adenauer refuses; West Germany and France unite economically to oust Great Britain from important European markets and to compete more effectively in Africa, and Great Britain seeks means of effective retaliation, especially together with the Scandinavian countries. West German coal barons cut off imports of U.S. coal, and U.S. coal-mining and railroad corporations howl in rage; U.S. investors buy out whole English industries--as aluminium and others--and the British bourgeoisie seek to retaliate with Commonwealth restrictions.

"And within each of the major 'Free World' powers, dissension grows...."

"All these forces, pressures and changes together have compelled Eisenhower to accept the Summit Meeting. True, his belated acceptance is still hedged on the outcome of the May Foreign Ministers' Conference; and the Administration will seek to have that Conference fail and then to beg off going to the Summit. But the odds are against Eisenhower's making it this time. The General has been dragged almost to the top; with enough pressure he can be forced to go over."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 54, 56.

"THE FIRST STEP toward a peaceful solution of the explosive German question and halting this drive to nuclear war is the neutralization and demilitarization of West Berlin. President Eisenhower's tentative agreement for a meeting with the Soviet Union on the foreign ministers' level can be a start in the right direction--but only if it is used as a stepping stone to an early summit conference...."

"At this critical juncture, the American people can make a major contribution to lessening world tensions, to safeguarding world peace. Just as their public pressure helped compel the Eisenhower Administration to step back from the brink of war in Lebanon and Quemoy--where the Secretary of State had pushed our country with his 'brinkmanship'--so, through popular demand, they can now help make our government negotiate at the Summit to peacefully resolve the Berlin and German crises, to ban nuclear tests and weapons, and to take serious steps toward world disarmament."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1959, p. 15.

"... 'Diplomacy with muscle', as some commentators describe the attitude of Washington today is nothing but the discredited and fatal tactic of 'bargaining from strength'--Dulles' dead-end policy of brinkmanship that has brought us discredit and distrust throughout all the peoples of the world.

"Unquestionably a summit meeting to resolve tensions is No. 1 on the world agenda."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 14.

### 3. Cuba

"...We, the Communists, are the first to agree that the Cuban Revolution, in its present stage, is not Communist; it is not a proletarian revolution which would establish Socialism tomorrow. Those who scare easy, and those who want to scare everybody else with the ghost of Communism can rest assured and reassure their excited friends. Nobody in Cuba--not even the Communists--pretend to establish any kind of Communism of Socialism at this time."

"...the Cuban revolution is an advanced popular revolution, a patriotic and democratic, national-liberatin and agrarian revolution."

"Yes, we can simply say, this is the Cuban revolution, the revolution that will not halt, that must not halt, that must maintain its rhythm and, at the right time, must pass to its next stage, in search of greater social and national progress."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, pp. 7, 11.

"SLOWLY but surely American imperialism, through news, radio and TV channels, is preparing U. S. public opinion for an open and shameless military intervention in Cuba.

"Every major financial interest that feels it might lose something if the ideas and ideals of Castro and the Cuban people are really implemented in law and given actual life in the everyday deeds of the Cuban government, is back of this well paid and organized campaign to show Castro as a Communist."

Since Castro has acted in the spirit of his humanistic New Dealist political philosophy, as F.D.R. did before him, he is a communist, says Wall Street, and must be eliminated from the Latin American political map."

. . . . .

"...as Cuba builds and prospers, as it eliminates the stranglehold of American imperialisms, this propaganda will be a boomerang against colonialism and imperialism all over the world. Anti-communism against Castro and Cuba will be shown up for what it is, the last breath of imperialism in Cuba and the beginning of its systematic and disciplined elimination from Latin America."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 10.

"DR. FIDEL CASTRO, premier of new Cuba, landed in the U.S. with the wellwishes of millions in our nation. But the official welcoming committee in Washington rolled out no red carpet..."

"For days before Castro's arrival...virtually every newspaper in the land headlined some slanderous comment on the man who holds the highest office in the nation which recently ousted the Caribbean Hitler-- Fulgencio Batista. Batista, the renegade sergeant who tortured thousands to death, enjoyed the benediction of our State Department throughout his gory stay in office."

. . . . .

"... The unforgetting Bourbons who can't forgive FDR for his New Deal policies are the self-same corporation men who hold higher per capital investments in sugar-and-mineral-rich Cuba than they own in any other land on the globe. And they have held the people of the neighboring land to a living standard below one-fifth of ours."



"And so Castro, like FDR in our land, has in this past week been depicted as 'a stooge of the Kremlin', or 'a Peron of Argentina all over again', or 'a young, naive revolutionary' under the influence of 'infantile radicalism'..."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, pp. 1, 14.

"THE NATIONAL executive committee of the Communist Party last week called on the American people to declare their support of a 'good neighbor policy of friendship to the Cuban people and their government of national liberation and democratic reform.'..."

"... 'Increasingly, it is recognized by Americans that the horrors of the Batista regime could not have been possible without the machinations, guidance and support of American imperialism and its political representatives. By the same token, it should be evident that the fresh horrors which Batista plots in his efforts to overturn the revolution could only be effectively perpetrated with the open or hidden support of the State Department and the FBI.' "

The Worker,  
February 8, 1959, p. 3.

#### 4. Communist China

"The policy of the United States Government, based on a complete distortion of reality, is devoted to the destruction of socialism in the world and, specifically as concerns China, is based on its destruction by boycott and blockade and via the 'liberating' potential of the armies of Chiang backed up by the naval and air force of the United States. Such a policy induces the hatred of the peoples of the world, endangers world peace, and puts the people of the United States in jeopardy of fighting a new war in the worst possible place, and against that power which, probably better than any other, would be able to sustain even nuclear assault. Hence, from every point of view--military, diplomatic, commercial, not to speak of moral--the present policy of our government vis-a-vis China is wrong and catastrophic.

"It is a policy which must be changed and which can be changed. There are considerable economic and commercial pressures building up among elements of the bourgeoisie in our own country for a change in this aspect, at least, of our foreign policy; and public opinion generally, is demanding more and more--as witness recent policy declarations by powerful church organizations--the recognition by the U.S. of China, its seating in the United Nations, and the termination of the economically absurd blockade of the 660 million people in China.

"We, who value the good name of our country and seek the welfare of our compatriots, must redouble our efforts to alarm the country as to the disaster implicit in the present State Department line towards China. Millions of our fellow citizens are ready for this message; they will join with us to bring about this needed change in governmental policy."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 44-45.

##### 5. Support of Dictators

"The foreign policy of the United States Government, especially since 1945, has been geared towards establishing hegemony over the world by the American ruling class. Therefore, the policy has been thoroughly reactionary, militaristic, and aggressive; it is a policy which pauperizes the impoverished and chains the enslaved; it is a policy which has bulwarked monstrous tyrants--defunct and de facto--from Bao Dai to Batista, from Franco to Rhee, from Jimenez to Nuri Said, from Trujillo to Chiang. It is a policy that opposes democracy, national liberation, and Socialism..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1959, p. 11.

"...DULLES...is pictured as the greatest Secretary of State ever. In reality, Dulles, (and his 'boss' Eisenhower)...kept the world teetering on the verge of the most terrible war imaginable, and they have been defeated in their efforts only by the peace pressure of the peoples here and abroad...."

"DULLES TRIED HARD to make his super-imperialism succeed...."

"...Since he took office he has made alliances with the world's reactionaries, including such elements as Adenauer, who has the solid backing of the German fascists; De Gaulle, the French pro-fascist dictator; Franco, the Spanish fascist; ultra-reactionaries such as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee; the dictators and kings of Latin America and the Middle East; and... the Dalai Lama, the god-king of Tibet. Such nondescripts are all part of the 'free world.' "

"...the foreign policy of Wall Street, is the heart of reaction. Its main aim is the impossible one of turning society backwards and undoing the growth of world socialism. Equally unrealizable is its purpose of winning world domination for the United States. Boundless, too, in disaster is its aim of 'liberating' the socialist countries; that is, of abolishing their socialism through a great war."

"IN THE 1960 national elections in this country, if not sooner, the workers must deal a smashing blow to the sabre-rattlers, of whom Dulles has been the chief symbol. In the meantime, every effort must be put forth by the workers to protect themselves from the insatiable demands of the warmakers. This is what the world socialist forces, led ably by the

Soviet Union, are now doing with spectacular success. On the one hand they are preventing a reactionary world war; and on the other hand, they are developing socialism. This is the broad route of society's basic progress, against all the Dulleses and the like."

The Worker,  
April 26, 1959, pp. 2, 14.

"...though the United States government allegedly favors democratic government and freedom generally, yet in order to assure the military capacities of states neighboring on the Socialist world and in order to maintain internal order within those states we pour enormous quantities of arms into their hands, build up their armies, and thus lay the groundwork for the seizure of power therein by naked and brutal military dictatorships...."

"...monopoly capitalism always has in the past chosen the path of naked dictatorship--that is, of fascism--and this again is a fundamental explanation of the developments of the past fifteen years in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 38, 39.

6. Nuclear Weapons Ban

"The Eisenhower administration does not want agreement with the Soviet Union on Germany, Berlin, nuclear ban or anything else. It is still aiming at using West Germany as the center for atomic war against the USSR."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 2.

"...how can we enjoy the flowers that bloom in the spring, when our government menaces our security with threats of war; when nuclear blasts loose the buzzards of strontium-90 to peck at our bones and blood; when a hydrogen bomb can sear the grass, stifle the bud and level us to dust?

"Spring is the time of birth and of the struggle for life.

"We'll have to get together with our neighbors and friends to write President Eisenhower to instruct our agents now in Geneva to agree at once with the Soviet Union on an immediate and complete end to nuclear tests and a ban on all atomic weapons."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 2.

#### 7. Anti-Semitism in West Germany

"...in West Germany...anti-semitism is spurting up like a geyser, unhindered, apparently even smiled upon by the government..."

"...In West Germany, despite repeated urging from Jews and progressive groups, no law against racist propaganda has ever been passed..."

"...about East Germany--the German Democratic Republic.... There is a law in the German Democratic Republic against racist propaganda, and the sentences are unpleasantly long. The fact is, there are not more anti-semites (in relation to population) in Germany as a whole than there are in the United States. On the contrary, anti-semitic prejudice in the United States is far more common than it ever was in Germany before Hitler. \* Anti-semitism had to be worked up artificially by the Nazis. And it would have simmered down to practically nothing in West Germany after the war,

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

as it has in East Germany, if the West German government had cared to pass a law against it. But our illustrious protege and NATO\*ally, West Germany, did not care to pass such a law.

"The facts merit international attention, particularly in view of the Berlin crisis and the cooperation of Washington with the neo-fascist government in Bonn."

Edith Anderson, "They Are Beating the Jews Again," Mainstream, May, 1959, pp. 7, 8, 13.

#### 8. Berlin Situation

"Germany is the trouble spot of Europe and the most immediate cause of a third world war. It is an everincreasing source of danger. Until the question is settled none of us, either in the U. S. A. or in the Soviet Union or in Britain, can feel safe. The settlement of the German question by means of a peace treaty would provide a basis for a general settlement, an end to the cold war, and disarmament.

"Berlin is the first step.

"After Berlin can come a German peace treaty and an atom-free zone in Europe. These are huge steps toward permanent peace. They would reverse the trend of the past ten years which has been towards war. The American people must know that their survival, and not only their prosperity, depends on peace.

"The Labor movement should throw in its full weight behind the struggle to bring about a peaceful settlement now, this year, when the opportunity presents itself."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 9.

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization

"THE CRUX of the Berlin question is not that of our 'deserting a free people,' as the President wants the American people to believe. If that were so, American imperialism and its bipartisan political representatives would not be rehabilitating the Krupps and Thyssens war criminals and rebuilding the aggressive German Wehrmacht.

"The core of the current Berlin crisis lies in the insistence of the Western powers to continue West Berlin as a center of military occupation, espionage and war provocation...."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1959, p. 15.

#### 9. War Threat

"IT LOOKS at though we had better have that summit meeting with the Soviet Union fast--before our trigger-crazy generals and admirals push us into a suicidal world-destroying war with their reckless bragging about being able to beat the Soviet Union this year with an overwhelming supply of nuclear weapons."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 2.

"...we shall not spare ourselves in the struggle to prevent imperialist adventurers and a handful of monopolists--the merchants of death, from pushing our country into such a war whose outcome could only result in our national oblivion.

"Certain imperialist circles have brought great shame upon our country--in Latin America, the Middle East, Hungary, etc. Millions of our people are increasingly struggling to remove these stains from our national honor, to establish a new course in foreign affairs--to replace brinkmanship with peace, economic blackmail with fair trade practices, enmity against the countries of socialism with relations of friendship and coexistence!"

The Worker,  
March 1, 1959, p. 4.

"The developing world crisis leads also to a sharpening of imperialist antagonisms as each imperialist power strives to protect its own monopolist interests at the expense of others, and to grab for itself a greater share of shrinking export markets for both goods and capital. American imperialism, in particular, seeks to use its dominant position and the dependence of other countries on its foreign 'aid' to strengthen itself at the expense of rivals. Encouragement is lent to aggressive, warmongering policies and to adventurist gambles, such as the sending of American troops into Lebanon or the more recent Quemoy incidents, which create an increased threat of war...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Outlook Today," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 26.

#### 10. German Rearmament

"...World War II, was precipitated by the biggest monopolies of Germany who built Hitler up as their spokesman. Krupp, I. G. Farben, the Deutsche Bank, etc., all put money in the coffers of the Nazis and enabled them to come to power."

"The tragedy of today's politics is this: many of the men, and certainly the ideas, of those who aided Nazism in its rise to power are back again, in West Germany and here."

"...The Cold War has seen the restoration of Bonn Germany as a colossal force for destruction. The Big Business authority of the U.S. is rearming it, supplying the Hitler generals with hell-bombs."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 2.



"In the main, the Cadillac Cabinet still runs the country: how objective can these capitalists be when they see that the socialist countries, paced by the Soviet Union, are storming ahead to new peaceful triumphs in industry, in agriculture, in social well-being?

"The archangels of capitalism would have us forget why the world was plunged into war in Hitler's day; would alter the reading of history so that we forget who Krupp is, (slave-trader for whom hundreds of thousands of captives from the East labored); and who his accomplices are."

"But those of us who remember--and who over 35 can forget--dare not remain silent while Hitler's ghost grins over Bonn today.

"Upon such Americans rests the responsibility of speaking out--demanding that the issues be settled by peaceful negotiation, not by war or the rattling of swords which leads to war...."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 14.

#### 11. Peace Program

"...it is necessary for us Communists and other advocates of peace to wage a bolder and more consistent struggle within the labor movement for an affirmative peace program--such as for outlawing nuclear weapons and ensuring a constructive and fruitful policy of peaceful negotiations between the East and West, particularly between the U. S. A. and the USSR. And here the question of reaching agreement on establishing Berlin as a 'free city' and of bringing about negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Government of Bonn for the reunification of Germany as a neutral and demilitarized nation and confederated state has become a most pressing problem. This is so because the rearming of West Germany with atomic weapons is creating new tensions and a serious war danger in the heart of Europe."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 9.

"...End the cold war! Establish guarantees for peaceful competition, trade and exchange in all fields by agreements and treaties. End nuclear weapons tests by treaty as an immediate step leading to general disarmament. Recognize and establish normal peace relations with the People's Republic of China.' "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"...the fate of America's working class--of the nation itself--is closely tied to that of the workers in all nations. It is intertwined with the struggles of other peoples for the right to determine their own destinies, for an end to colonial oppression everywhere. May Day is a day of interational brotherhood, a day for the expression of solidarity with the oppressed peoples of other lands of Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, Africa--for world peace, freedom and human welfare.

"For the American workers, May Day symolizes particularly the striving for peaceful coexictence and friendship of the United States and the Soviet Union."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

## 12. Trade with Socialist Countries

"History has played a huge joke on the big-wigs of American capitalism. The only peaceful means of easing their economic problems open to them is that of trading with the Socialist world--one-third of mankind--which is growing tempestuously and can absorb tremendous quantities of consumer, industrial and agricultural commodities.

"... Millions of workers, now unemployed, would be put to work. It is the answer to a policy of prosperity by producing guns and not butter. But unless the people themselves, and first of all the organized workers, militantly fight for such a change in national policy, it is unlikely that it will come about spontaneously."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
April, 1959, p. 59.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The united action of all the people is needed to defeat the "reactionaries' " attacks on the Bill of Rights.
2. Government censorship of and influence over the content of American films is becoming apparent.
3. J. Edgar Hoover has ignored racist violence against the Negroes and has made the FBI the instrument of those who want to reduce the United States to a police state.
4. The "Wall Street Government Administration" fears the influence of The Worker, which has consistently supported the struggles of labor and the "exploited masses."
5. The Communist Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist science and united against revisionists, holds forth the reality of a socialist tomorrow.
6. The workers and their allies must build the foundation of a labor party from within the Democratic Party.
7. Federal assistance is needed if the United States housing crisis is to be met as that of the Soviet Union is being met.
8. A vital need exists for the establishment of a national health insurance program.
9. The danger of anticommunist propaganda cannot be underestimated, for it constitutes a major obstacle to the Communist Party.
10. Tax relief is necessary for low-income families.
11. Pressing social problems make more decisive the struggle of the Communist Party against monopoly capitalism.

12. The anti-Semitism charge against the Soviet Government is a vicious falsehood.
13. The Seven Year Plan of the Soviets is a tremendous challenge to the United States.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Bill of Rights Threatened

"LAST MONDAY the new five-judge majority of the U. S. Supreme Court, yielding to the pressures and threats of Congressional reactionaries and their Wall Street bosses, went a long way toward undermining the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, whose guarantees the people of the various states demanded before they would ratify our U. S. Constitution in 1789.

"In upholding the Federal conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt for contempt of the House Un-Americans and the New Hampshire state contempt conviction of Dr. Willard Uphaus, the four rightwing Supreme Court justices, who had been made a majority by President Eisenhower's appointment of Potter Stewart of Ohio, ignored the demands of the American people in last November's elections for a broad liberal, democratic and progressive program for the nation.

"For those in the unions and other peoples' organizations who have up to now dismissed these actions as applying only to the Communist Party and individual Communists, last Monday's rulings should be a warning. Because under the guise of defense against 'communism', these decisions are direct assaults on the rights of free speech, free press and right to assemble peacefully guaranteed by the First Amendment and menace the liberties of labor, the Negro people and the vast majority of our nation."

. . . . .

"The Eisenhower Supreme Court majority now has opened the flood gates for the reactionaries...."

. . . . .

"Yet the reactionary advance can be stemmed. This is not 1951, when the McCarthyites held sway. The people have found that it is possible to defeat the witchhunters, the redbaiters, the union-haters, the anti-Semites.

"But this latest onslaught will not be pushed back by reliance on the promises of politicians in Washington or any state capital who, in the last analysis, will always heed Wall Street. It will be won only by united independent action of organized labor, the Negro people and all other democratic forces. And it will not be defeated only by politicking in legislative halls. The rank and file will have to be alerted and mobilized.

"Last November showed how it can be done. Up to then Big Business had been having its way in every state where it proposed its union-shackling 'right-to-work' laws. The state legislatures had run roughshod over the representatives of labor who had appeared to protest. But in 1958, the unions mobilized the rank and file, who forged a united front with all their neighbors to defeat the 'right-to-work' laws at the polls in five states.

"It is this type of united people's action that will be needed if the present attacks on the Bill of Rights by the Supreme Court majority, the Eisenhower administration and Congress are to be beaten. And they can be beaten."

Editorial, The Worker  
June 14, 1959, p. 2.

## 2. Government Censorship

"...the U. S. Information Agency banned 82 Hollywood films from overseas showings from April 1957 to April 1958 alone, George Allen, USIA director, reluctantly revealed to the House Appropriations Subcommittee. He tried to keep the bannings secret. For after all the USIA's job is to propagandize American 'freedom' to the world."

"THE SERIOUSNESS of the State Department's 'silent censorship' is seen by the fact that almost 50 percent of the box office receipts of Hollywood films nowadays come from overseas. If a film is banned by USIA the aesthetics of its profits is drastically limited. And bankers who financed it and Hollywood companies who made it will think twice before making another like it.

"Not even during the McCarthy heyday, therefore, has there been such comprehensive government influence over the content of films.

"IT IS NOT SEX, but politics and social significance to which the censors object. Hollywood films thus get sexier and sexier and less and less significant. Not that sex is insignificant. But sex does not 'embarrass' Eisenhower's foreign policy of rearming Germany, as USIA film chief, Turner Sheldon, said, in the way that 'All Quiet On The Western Front' does."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, p. 10.

## 3. J. Edgar Hoover and FBI

"THE ATTITUDE of J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, toward the lynching of Negroes 'has filled the racists with a feeling that they have immunity from the federal government, William Patterson, Worker general manager said last week.

"Hoover 'should be summarily removed'...

" 'Hoover has ignored the racist violence against American Negroes no less than Himmler ignored and furthered the persecution of Jews in Hitler's Germany,' Patterson said.

" 'Never before in the history of our country has the police power of the Federal Government been used as today under Hoover's direction as a weapon of terror against the truly progressive and democratic force.

" 'J. Edgar Hoover has made of the FBI the instrument of those who like the late Joseph McCarthy would reduce the United States to a police state.

" 'From the days when J. Mitchell Palmer was attorney general and no man who respected Constitutional liberty was safe from illegal arrest through the wild anti-Communist hysteria loosed by McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover has been America's number one gendarme.' "

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 16.

4. Influence of The Worker

"Friday, June 5, Harry Schwartz of the N. Y. Times called the Worker twice. The Times management had read our appeal for funds. Harry Schwartz was assigned to investigate...."

. . . . .

"Yes, it is true, the multimillion dollar Times is concerned about the continued appearance of the financially distressed weekly Worker. What news!"

. . . . .



"THE TIMES, its advertisers and the Wall Street Government Administration fear the Worker's influence. How otherwise would you account for the constant harassment by the Internal Revenue Department? How account for the frequent metropolitan press attacks? How explain the chronic badgering, the subpoenas to appear before Congressional Committees which snap at us while smiling at the terrorist White Citizens Councils.

"Those social forces appreciate the weight of our arguments. They know that the Worker is the free press. Edited by understaffed, underpaid, dedicated men and women, these forces know that if the Worker reaches the people its logic must make thought-stirring and action-stirring impacts.

"Compare the Worker's coverage of Cuba, the Accra All African People Conference, the N. Y. hospital strike, congressional attacks upon labor, the terror of the White Supremacists and the government policy that sustains it with the reports of Times correspondents, whose interpretations reflect the interests of big business."

"Over the years, contrast the Times and the Worker's approach to social security, the organization of the CIO and the unemployed, and the struggles of Negroes against the murderous consequences of the myths of white superiority. Compare the approach of the two toward the workers and peasants, who having won power under Socialism, are solving the problems of housing, education, employment, production.

"The Worker points the way for you to vistas which the Times knows are ahead but fears and seeks to hide."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, p. 15.

"OUR FOREIGN EDITOR, Joseph North, was invited to attend the international conference of foreign editors in Prague held under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists..."

"North, who could not attend... did however send his speech to the conference. Excerpts from his speech and message appear below:"

"...WHAT DO WE find in this country whose governors point to the existence of my newspaper as proof that we here exercise freedom of press. I contend that it is virtually impossible at this moment to get my newspaper before the widest reaches of the public. For example: only one percent of the news-dealers in New York carry the Worker-- only some 100 among ten thousand. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been to see them, and warned them they may lose their franchise to sell newspapers altogether if they sell mine..."

The Worker,  
June 21, 1959, p. 6.

"The Worker has been in the forefront of struggle since its creation. It has always sided with labor, the Negro people, the exploited farmers, the mortgaged interests.

"The Worker was founded as an ideological and political weapon of the working class. A young but growing Communist Party saw the need of the American people for such a press. The militant vanguard of labor needed a voice that would interpret news that is news--the struggle of the people against unemployment, the mounting costs of living, wars and for social security--in terms of labor's interests."

"Thirty-five years of age. The road ahead will be easier than the road we look back on. The world for which the Worker speaks--that of labor and the exploited masses--will grow easier, for the imperialist bloc of states is steadily losing the confidence of thinking mankind."

The Worker,  
February 22, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

## 5. Challenges Facing Communist Party

"...our Party--guided by Marxist-Leninist science applied to our native land--holds forth the invincible reality of Socialism tomorrow, in a world already astounded by the miracles of human betterment achieved in the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist lands."

"The renewal of political persecution against our Party and the left, the threatened imprisonment of Bob Thompson, the refusal to free Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, the re-opening of Smith Act trials against Communist leaders--all of these attest the failure of the monopoly-controlled Eisenhower Administration to subvert our Party from within primarily through the revisionist capitulators as well as through the ultra-left phrasemongers. Vainly they will try to accomplish from without what they could not from within. In building its ties with the masses, and in fighting for democracy, for Negro and Puerto Rican equality, for labor and for peace, our Party is forging an unbreakable internal unity, and a higher fighting morale."

"The circulation of our press must be built; mass literature and leaflets must be published and distributed; meetings must be held; schools and education in scientific socialism need to be expanded; new and creative initiatives to contribute to the vital interests and struggles of labor and the masses have to be mounted. These are some of the challenging tasks which our party must be equipped to meet, tasks which can be solved only as we participate self-sacrificingly in the struggles for the most elementary needs of labor and the people--Negro and white."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 15.

"We are beginning to climb out of the slump of the recent period but we have much to do before we shake off the full effects of revisionism and reach the high road of mass work and party building, and restore fully the militancy, self-sacrifice Marxist-Leninist consciousness and methods of work so essential for our success. This will take the greatest exertion of all party members and particularly of the active rank and file and leadership forces of the party. But it will be done."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 6.

#### 6. Building a Labor Party

"Monopoly capital rules the United States politically through the so-called two-party system. This system is made up of the Republican and Democratic parties, typical capitalist parties, both of which, although in somewhat different ways, are controlled by big capital. Their policies are very much alike...."

. . . . .

"For many years, the monopolists have kept much of the political discontent and strength of the American working class locked within the two-party system. This condition is now evidently drawing to a close, although there are no prospects now for a third party in 1960. There is a gradual ripening of the workers for sharp political struggles, which could eventually break the two-party system...."

"The deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, is presenting many problems to the workers, which they cannot possibly find answers for under the traditional two-party system. They will be compelled to move towards more militant forms of economic and political action. This will enable them to throw their real mass strength into the struggle, which they cannot do as long as they are tied politically under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Besides the rising militancy of

the workers, another factor of great importance is the increased interest and activity of the Left wing in doing political work inside of the two capitalist parties. From time immemorial, the bulk of the Left forces have demurred at working inside these parties...

"Now, however, adopting protective measures against these deadly dangers, the workers are fast becoming convinced that they must put up a real fight in the old parties as the first step to more extensive independent political action.... The Communist Party, however, is now greatly widening its activities in this general direction, upon a much broader scale than ever. The Party must be prepared to work resolutely within the old parties, and to avoid needless and premature splits.

"At the present stage, the work in the old parties consists of the systematic organization of the program and organic strength of labor in the Democratic (and Republican) Party. There must be a clear mass presentation of labor's demands to the American people... Organizing themselves far better than ever before, the workers need to mobilize their forces to support labor and progressive candidates, and defeat reactionaries. The workers must everywhere take a leading part in organizing this political work.... The workers and their allies must, in short, build the skeleton of the labor party primarily within the ranks of the Democratic Party...."

William Z. Foster, "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the U.S.," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 1, 11, 12-13.

"THE OUTSTANDING feature of the California elections was the role and unity of the labor movement, which resulted in the overwhelming defeat of Knowland and 'right-to-work' Proposition 18...."

"The elections show that labor and its allies still operate through the Democratic Party, and there are no important signs of breakaways from these ties. Some in the Left and the Party tend to ignore this, and have advocated abortive third-party moves or, in some cases the limiting of activities to Proposition 18 and certain other propositions on the ballot.

"We must hold firmly to a policy of working within the main channels through which labor and the Negro people operate in these elections. At the same time, it is important that labor and the Mexican-American people continue to strengthen the important developments toward independent political action which developed during this election struggle."

Albert J. Lima, "The California Elections," Political Affairs, February, 1959, pp. 36, 39.

## 7. Housing Crisis

"...both the U. S. and the USSR are confronted with serious housing problems. To a certain extent, these problems have been caused by similar development in both countries. The war and postwar years witnessed tremendous population shifts both here and in the Soviet Union. One important shift--the movement of the rural population to the city--was due to the rapid industrial advances made by both countries. These large scale movements of population put a strain on the existing housing supply in the cities. This situation causes severe overcrowding in both Soviet and American city housing.

"But at this point the similarity ends...."

"HOUSING construction in the U. S. has been on the downgrade since 1950, its peak year. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, it has, with the exception of 1952, improved every year. In relation to the number of city dwellers, Soviet housing has increased markedly between 1950 and 1957 while U. S. housing fell precipitously. The number of Soviet dwelling units built per 1,000 city dwellers rose by 50 per cent; the number of U. S. dwellings dropped by 37 percent."

"There is little doubt that the Soviet people will succeed in ending their housing shortage. Living in a society where housing is build to satisfy human needs rather than profits, they will not encounter the obstacles the people in a capitalist society have to face. No landlords, no real estate interests, no mortgage bankers will stand in their way."

The Worker,  
May 10, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

"... it becomes increasingly obvious that no housing program for Chicago on the scale necessary to meet the urgent needs is possible without vast federal assistance....

"But it is becoming increasingly clear that Congress has no ear for such pleas....

"There are those in Congress who say that this is the price which must be paid for being a first-class world power in the space age.

"The Soviet Union, which even Dulles admits is a first class world power of the space age, has shown that such a price need not be exacted from the people. It has just announced a program to build 15 million new dwelling units in seven years.

"If the Soviet Union's plans for raising the living standards of its people are the challenge to the United States that the State Department claims them to be, then billions for armaments and a pittance for housing is no way to meet that challenge. To the millions who are the victims of the growing housing crisis, a challenge to peaceful competition with the USSR in home-building would be welcome, indeed."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1959, p. 13.

## 8. National Health Insurance

"...the national government continues to shift the responsibility of health care to the state and local governments, while it continues its mountainous spending for armaments..."

"Yet the crisis in medical care proves that the 'free enterprise principle of the market place' applied to health, brings results even more inhumane than the other well-known ravages of the economic system.

"That is why the fight for... a National Health Insurance Program, is so vitally important. The fight for life and health in mid-century U. S. A. necessitates a fight to drastically reduce the highly excessive arms spending, a fight to increase federal aid to medical care. The fight for health and medical care is an integral part of the fight to end the cold war."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 13.

## 9. Anticommunist Propaganda

"...imperialism fears Marxism-Leninism, especially since World War II in which the Soviet Union made the major contribution in defeating fascist Germany, after which came the birth of People's China and a series of colonial revolutions. Now imperialism has embarked on a frenzied effort to reach the minds of the people. 'In these conditions,' says the 12-Party Declaration, \* 'the imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological molding of the masses; it misrepresents and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses.'

"It is in this light, surely, that we must understand the tremendous flood of writings about Communism by the enemies\* of Communism...."

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



"... The resources that can blow up millions of dollars weekly in atomic experiments and throw away more millions of military aid to Chiang need have no difficulty in paying for anti-Communist propaganda.

"The danger of this propaganda must not be underestimated. It constitutes major obstacle to the party of Ruthenberg and Foster, and must be met by comprehending and disseminating the truth to the best of our ability. That truth points to the indispensable and noble contributions made by the Communist Party to the struggle here for equality, well-being, democracy, labor organization, peace, and Socialism."

Oakley C. Johnson, "Ruthenberg and the Party's Founding," Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 12-13.

#### 10. Tax Relief

"WE WORKING people were softened up for this tax squeeze during World War II, when the withholding tax was instituted as a so-called emergency measure, which would be only temporary, and the exemptions were cut to \$600.

"Once Wall Street's Washington tax collector got his grip on our wages before we even got a chance to see them, we were really in his power. It was like a bill collector getting a judge to garnishee your pay. You end up by not seeing much of your pay from then on."

"We believe that the only equality of taxation is that which is based on the ability to pay...."

"We think such a program would call for, first of all, the raising of exemptions of lower-income families so they couldn't be hit by the income tax; stopping up all the tax loopholes benefiting the rich, increasing the tax rate of the wealthy, and abolishing all sales taxes."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 15, 1959, pp. 2, 16.

#### 11. Communist Party versus Monopoly Capitalism

"...the structure of the economy of the United States is that of monopoly capitalism.

"...this classical foe of U.S. radicalism is very much in existence; and its impact on expropriating the farmers; bankrupting the smaller businessmen; concentrating in greater and greater numbers the employment of workers; controlling, corrupting, and determining governmental policies--on all levels--continues with ever-increasing force. Given such conditions, latest developments and innovations--including automation and atomic energy--will tend to aggravate, not resolve already pressing social problems and inequities. Hence, from this point of view the perspective for an American Left should be that of greater and greater usefulness and more and more decisive struggles."

Herbert Aptheker, "Perspectives for the American Left." Mainstream,  
April, 1959, pp. 7-8.

"...it is essential that we understand that the strategic objective of the struggle for democracy at this juncture in our country is to curb monopoly power--an objective that can lead toward the establishment of a people's antimonopoly government, led by labor, and open the way for the working class and its allies to move forward to socialism.

"The deepening constitutional crisis in the South, the profound crisis in U. S. foreign policy, the acute crisis in education and the insecurity of the young generation, and the aggravated crisis of unemployment and automation--all point up the fact that our people and country urgently need a people's democratic coalition, under sound working-class leadership, to curb the monopolies, to muster the broadest political alliance and mass movements to defeat the atom-maniacs, the racists and open-shoppers.

"We Communists must be second to none in facilitating and promoting all such trends and developments--no matter how crude and rudimentary these may be in their initial stages...."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 14.

## 12. Anti-Semitism

"...the State Department as part of their cold war, aided by Jewish bourgeois, Zionist and Social-Democratic leaders, have carried on a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union, slandering and distorting the situation of Jews in this great land of Socialism.

"Seizing on the errors and crimes committed in shutting down Jewish cultural organizations and executing a number of prominent and creative Jewish intellectuals in the period 1948-1952, they have been carrying on a crusade to the effect that anti-Semitism exists in government policy and that Jewish culture is being deliberately restricted and destroyed.

"The Communist Party has fought against this slanderous drive as being part of the cold war. While condemning the errors and crimes, it rejected the hysterical attempts to condemn the Soviet Union as anti-Semitic."

. . . . .

"THE CHARGE of anti-Semitism as a policy of the Soviet government and party is a monstrous lie. While there are small remnants of anti-Semitism among some backward elements of the Soviet people the government and the party are free of this accursed heritage of capitalism and Czarism."

. . . . .

"It is urgent that all democratic-minded Jewish people direct their concerted attack against their real enemy--imperialist, anti-Semitic and racist monopoly capital."

The Worker,  
January 18, 1959, p. 14.

13. Challenge of the Soviet Seven Year Plan

"...Soviet citizens voted with unanimity and great enthusiasm to adopt the Seven Year Plan of the central committee of the CPSU, which had been presented by Khrushchev in a seven hour report after a week of debate and discussion.

"This act was the most striking affirmation of the unity of will of the Soviet people, party, and government in their confident expectation of and resolute dedication to the cause of peace. For above all else, the Seven Year Plan is a peace plan. It casts no covetous eye on the territory or treasure of other peoples or countries. It is wholly concerned with the improvement of the material and cultural well-being of Soviet life."

. . . . .

"The challenge of the 21st Congress and the Seven Year Plan to the United States is just this: Stop all war threats, the Soviet people cannot be frightened. See, they are busy with peaceful labors for the next fifteen years. Be friends with them. Settle all disputed questions peacefully at the Summit conference tables. Friendship can mean trade and jobs for our workers too out of this vast development program. War threats and brinkmanship can only lead us to ruin and a great disaster to all mankind."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, p. 16.

"...Nikita Khrushchev's speech, delivered at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of his country...has reverberated throughout the world.

"Dedicated to the peaceful growth of the economy, the well-being of the USSR, and to world peace, it lays down the target points for the Seven Year Plan. Five years after these goals are reached the socialist system expects to surpass the total production annually, the rate of productivity per worker, of the United States. And simultaneously to provide its people with the highest wage and living standard of the world, as well as the shortest work-day."

"...we suggest everybody read the Khrushchev speech: truly, it embodies the supreme challenge of our time. How can man best safeguard his existence, the world's security, his happiness and his peace? Yes, there is much in Khrushchev's speech for every non-socialist, as well as socialist, to ponder, both from the viewpoint of preserving peace and improving their well-being NOW, as well as considerations of the future."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 1, 1959, p. 2.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Progress in organizing labor in the South is hindered by the same type of violence and intimidation that is practiced against the Negroes.
2. The New York hospital workers' strike is the first great battle to improve conditions of the unorganized, underpaid Negro and Puerto Rican workers.
3. Jobs and job security are the workers' main issues in the steel negotiations, which the steel companies are opposing by playing on the public's fear of inflation.
4. Automation has made an immediate issue of the fight for the six-hour day at eight hours' pay.
5. The outlook for the jobless is grim because unemployment and economic crises are inherent in and inevitable under capitalism.
6. Automation, decentralization, and speed-up are the causes of unemployment.
7. Unity of action is imperative to achieve labor's demands.
8. Manifest weaknesses of leadership in the trade-union movement can be exploited by the Communist Party to bring the workers closer to socialist consciousness.
9. The House Committee on Un-American Activities again has been shown as an enemy of organized labor and all "democratic minded" people.
10. The jobless and those employed workers facing mass layoffs are taking steps against unemployment.
11. Left labor forces must push their program within the framework of the two major political parties.
12. The American ruling class is extracting maximum profits from "their own" working class.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Labor Violence in the South

"WHILE THE SPOTLIGHT is on the terror against the Negro people in the southern states, the labor movement is again learning the lesson that this terror doesn't stop at a color line. There is a parallel drive of violence--essentially by the very forces who carry out a lynch policy--directed at the trade unions."

. . . . .

"... The object of the terrorists is clearly to discourage even the start of that long awaited organizing drive to change the South from a base of reaction to a base of progress.

"The southern lynchers know that one of the first results of labor organizing progress in the south would be the protection of equal rights for ALL. It should also be clear to the unions that the South will not be open to organization until the Southern air and life is made free for ALL."

. . . . .

"It is the south that sends to Congress the reactionaries and allies of the northern Wall Street monopolists, the combination most responsible for anti-labor legislation. There will be no real change in the political situation in the country and the defensive position labor now holds, until there is a change in our southland."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

### 2. Hospital Workers' Strike

"As the month-long strike of N. Y. hospital workeres continued, with the big majority of the affected Negro and Puerto Rican workers

determined and militant, the union-haters invoked the 'red scare.' The N. Y. Times on the front page of its May 31 issue printed as part of its headline over the hospital story, 'Distribution of Red Paper Reported.'

"The Times reference was to the special four-page flyer issued by the Worker on the strike and distributed to thousands of New Yorkers, including strikers. It contained material on the strike and editorials published earlier in these columns, stressing the stake in the strike for labor and especially for the Negro and Puerto Rican people of the city, and called for unstinted support of that struggle. We are happy to note that many of our supporters are actively engaged in the struggle."

"We will certainly continue to support every struggle that lifts the welfare of the people...."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, pp. 3, 14.

"THE STRIKE of N. Y. hospital workers under the leadership of the Hospital Division of Local 1199, adds another glorious page to the history of the workers of America."

"This struggle is the most important step yet taken to bring union conditions to the tens of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in the city who are among the lowest paid and most abused. Ninety percent of the affected workers are of those two groups."

"...nothing should be spared in effort or material resources, to strengthen the strike. This must be regarded as the first great battle for hundreds of thousands of still unorganized workers in New York City, especially Negro and Puerto Rican workers. If it is won, the job will be all the easier for organizing the rest, and wage levels ranging from as low as \$21 weekly will go out of the window."



"The N. Y. labor movement took on the hospitals and must follow through with the challenge. It dare not lose this fight!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 2.

### 3. Steel Negotiations

"IT HAS BECOME apparent that the tactic of the employers is to emphasize the relatively higher steel wages in order to play on public fear of inflation and to heighten the old boss-line propaganda that wage raises boost the cost of living.

"It has become evident also that the employers seek to divert the negotiations from the No. 1 issue among the workers--jobs and job security...."

"...despite the record rate of operations, 50,000 are unemployed in basic steel, with as many more fabricating workers jobless....

"ALL THE FACTS pouring out of the steel negotiations to the public spell just one big fact: the main issue is jobs--how to preserve them for the 510,00 now working and restore them to the tens of thousands no longer wanted and doomed to stay out of steel forever."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 14.

"The steel workers have given a fighting answer to the steel monopolists now riding high on a skyrocket of profits powered by labor's increased productivity and an artificially inspired sales 'boom.'..."

"The steel unionists have not only declared they will not permit Wall Street to saddle them with the costs of the economic recession and with the burden of increased productivity to create super-profits; they have also declared they will not be frightened by the Steel Trust, which is trying to provoke a strike while it digests the profits it grabbed in panic orders induced with propaganda about a strike in July."

"Undoubtedly, every other union will rally to the steel workers' support.

"But it will not be enough for the national leaderships of unions to act. The Steel Trust and the rest of Wall Street have mobilized a tremendous force. Eisenhower parrots their phony propaganda about 'inflation' if the workers win a pay hike. Practically every newspaper is supporting the bosses' refusal to consider wage increases. Every local chamber and business organization is being pressed into service against the steel workers' just demands.

"To counteract this poisonous attack, working people and friends of labor in every locality will have to mobilize backing for the steel union through their locals, community organizations, letters to the newspapers and every other form of publicity."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 10, 1959, p. 2.

#### 4. Six-Hour Day

"...Modern industrial technology has brought the world automation, and millions of flesh-and-blood American workers have become displaced persons in this, the richest country in the world, because labor-saving machinery means greater dividends for Wall Streets."

"Under capitalism, what should be a blessing becomes a curse, to alleviate which the workers are compelled to battle for a thirty-hour week at forty hours' pay."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

"... Establish the 30-hour week with no cut in weekly pay. Such an immediate measure is necessary to give some of the benefits of automation to the working people, and to help put America back to work. National legislation and enforcement can make it a reality."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"YOUNGSTOWN, O...."

"THIS IS AMERICA'S most depressed steel town. Its production rate is more than 10 percent below the industry's average. And most of the 20,000 jobless appear to be out of the mills until the SIX HOUR DAY, at 8-hours' pay, is won.

"Most of Youngstown's steel locals have endorsed Six Hours already. But workers know it will only be won by a fight. For the shorter work day is bitterly opposed by the steel companies, who have been making big profits throughout the depression."

"MEANWHILE speed-up methods and automatic machinery and out and out automation are cutting job opportunities day by day.

"The job squeeze-out goes on in every department of every Youngstown plant from blast furnaces to finishing mills."

The Worker,  
February 15, 1959, p. 3.

"Employers have always answered demands for shorter hours with a Big Lie. 'We haven't got the money,' they say.

"Steel bosses play that record today, while Automation lengthens the jobless lines.

"We can't afford shorter hours, the Steel spokesmen are saying on the eve of union-management negotiations.

"The same tune was played 40 years ago.

" 'We can't afford the Eight-Hour Day,' the Steel Trust said in the Great Steel Strike of 1919, when workers rebelled against the Twelve-Hour Day."

"AUTOMATION, however, has made the Eight-Hour slogan obsolete in 1959....

"Six Hours cannot be dismissed as a will of the wisp any more. The mighty Soviet Union is installing the Six Hour shift in heavy industry and in other jobs, where labor is especially hard. And the long-hour propagandists won't be very convincing when they tell American workers not to follow the 'Red' example.

"So on with the Six Hour crusade!..."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 10.

## 5. Unemployment under Capitalism

"...as of 1959...we see that more than five million are jobless. Unemployment remains a stubborn illness, tantamount to a cancer, in our industrial society. How come? Unemployment is built in quality of capitalism where economic crises are inevitable.

"The outlook for the jobless today is grim. Eisenhower scoffingly proposes to cut off federal outlays for supplementary unemployment insurance at the very moment when Labor proposes a march to Washington to emphasize the harrowing plight of the nation's unemployed.

"The jobless, and those who fear unemployment, and the many other millions who suffer the enormous tensions of making ends meet even while

employed, what does it profit them that we have the 'strongest horse' today? i. e. the biggest annual output, the highest rate of productivity. It guarantees neither employment, nor the constant expansion of our economy. In fact, the monopolists increasingly curtail production, and strive for maximum profits with an increased reserve army of the unemployed. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 1, 1959, p. 2.

"OUR BOSSES' GREED has certainly gotten us working people into one terrible mess. First their hungry grab for profits brings on the economic recession and they lay off millions of us, because it becomes unprofitable for them to produce at a high rate. Then they use the recession period to increase production of the workers still on the job with the threat of layoffs, speedup and new machinery."

"Of course, we workers will never find a final and complete solution to unemployment as long as we have bosses and their capitalist economy. Because the system is wearing out and its machinery is breaking down and grinding to a halt all too often, when production becomes too great for the bosses to make a profit. And even worse, the monopolists are now not even thinking of running their factories at full capacity at any time. They're figuring out how to make and increase their profits with less production and increased productivity."

"Maybe, we ought to begin studying why we have so many economic crises, depressions and recessions with recurring unemployment and all the suffering it brings to practically every working class family. And this doesn't happen only in our country, but in every country where capitalism still exists.

"And maybe we ought to start trying to figure out why in the Soviet Union and People's China and the other countries that have gone socialist not

only don't they have unemployment, but there is no perspective of layoffs in the future and everything keeps getting better for the working people. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 8.

"In the Soviet Union there has been no unemployment since 1930 and there are jobs waiting for all as soon as they are ready. In People's China there still aren't enough people for all the jobs available.

"In our own country, capitalism brought permanent unemployment to millions last year, while in the Soviet Union, workers got a shorter work day in coal, steel and other industries, while increasing output seven percent.

"This indicates the difference between capitalism and socialism, the difference between despair and hope, between insecurity and security. There is nothing wrong in our country that socialism can't cure. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 26, 1959, p. 2.

## 6. Causes of Unemployment

"The Chicago Stockyards, once the meat supplier for a large part of the nation, has been beset by a triple scourge that has brought unemployment and misery in its wake--automation, decentralization and just plain unvarnished speedup. "

"A recent showdown meeting between representatives of 19 packing local and company spokesmen was described by the Packinghouse Worker, organ of the United Packinghouse Workers, as follows:

" 'Like a volcano simmering with pent up pressures, deep felt resentment against job losses, speed-up, and the general chiselling-on-the-contract attitude of company supervisors sent more than one shock wave across the long conference table where a four man company team faced some 40 outspoken UPWAers. '

"In 1956, when the UPWA signed its master agreement with the company there were 22,000 workers on the payroll. By the end of 1958 the number had been reduced to 15,150, a loss of more than 25 percent.

"While this decline would be tragic for the workers in any industry, it is especially so in Packing, where so many are Negroes and old timers. Those forced out of work are often thrown on relief, and in almost all instances are unable to get comparable employment."

The Worker,  
March, 15, 1959, p. 10.

"DETROIT.--Effect of speedup, automation and decentralization are shown in the first quarterly reports of 1959 car output, which show increase of more than 29 percent over the same period last year.

"Half a million auto workers are out of jobs in the U. S. and Canada with the greater proportion never having been called back to work on the 1959 model."

The Worker,  
April 12, 1959, p. 12.

"The principal forms through which the U. S. ruling class is moving to secure maximum profits at home are automation, speed-up, and militarization. The ability of the American worker to produce is at a new high level. Man hours needed to produce a ton of steel in the first quarter of 1958 were 10.3 hours. In the third quarter of the same year only 9.1 hours were required. The October 1958 issue of Fortune Magazine\* stated: 'The big news of the past quarter was not the recovery in output; that was assured. What was really sensational was the sudden spurt of productivity output per man hour.'..."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 17.

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

7. Labor Unity Necessary

"What is required... is the unity of action and the maximum unfoldment of the independent political organization and activity of labor, the Negro people and all other democratic forces at all levels. What is required is sustained and expanding intervention by labor and its allies in public affairs--locally, statewide and nationally--along the lines of the positive experiences of labor's recent crusade against 'right to work' legislation."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 7.

"ALL COMMUNIST PARTY clubs were called on early in March by the party's national executive committee to make the week of March 14 to 21 a 'period of concentrated national effort on behalf of the unemployed and their families.' "

"... 'Every party club... should undertake specific responsibilities in a renewed national endeavor to stimulate and participate on a united front basis in mass people's activities and above all union activities in support of effective programs on behalf of the unemployed and their families.

"The party executive said that 'central among the issues is... the mounting mass movement for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay, throughout the labor and people's movement.

" 'Along with the 30-hour movement the letter said, 'are such issues around which large sections of workers are already in motion, as:

" 'Enactment of stronger FEP legislation at all levels of local, state and Federal government.

" 'Extention and increase of unemployment insurance benefits.

" 'Extended supplementary unemployment benefits.



" 'Higher relief standards and free food distribution.

" 'Moratoriums on all debt installment plan collections. ' "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 9.

"THE AFL-CIO's MASS unemployment conference in Washington was the opening gun in labor's nationwide campaign 'to put America back to work. ' "

"THE JOBLESS PARLEY was not only a warning to the White House and Congress. It also served notice on Meany and all labor leaders now dragging their feet that the workers want action. . . . "

"... the bosses' offensive against our jobs has to be beaten back now. It can be done. The working people showed how in the Thirties, when the rank-and-file, under the leadership of the Communists and other progressives, organized in the Unemployed Councils and Workers Alliance for relief, public works jobs, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance--and won! And because the employed workers at that time united with the jobless they won wage hikes and shorter work-week during an economic crisis--for the first time in U. S. history.

"Unity was the key to success then--militant rank-and-file solidarity without red-baiting or any other divisive activity. And unity can win now. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, p. 2.

"Six months have passed since the cheers went up for the antireactionary sweep in last November's elections. Labor leaders then

boasted that 70 percent of the labor-endorsed candidates were elected. Many predictions were made then that the long-blocked people's program would be enacted for a drastic 'liberalization' of the Taft-Hartley Law; civil rights legislation with teeth; improvements in minimum wage, social security and unemployment compensation; expansion in housing, school, hospital construction; comprehensive 'anti-depression' measures, and similar steps.

"But as Congressmen's thoughts turn to adjournment, there is hardly a sign of enactment of any significant part of labor's legislative program. And the wheels are turning definitely and swiftly for legislation that could make this congress as bad as if not worse than, the infamous 1947 Taft-Hartley Congress."

"... The Kennedy-Ervin bill should and still can be defeated, if labor, in mass action, shows a united, determined and militant front against it.

"Labor should do more. Representatives of all labor organizations need to come together without delay to seriously and frankly ponder the question: 'Where is labor going?'..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 2.

## 8. Socialism in Trade-Union Movement

"...the class struggle in our country is growing sharper. American workers will not be patsies, will not roll over and play dead for their masters, and will not wait endlessly for leadership from their trade-union officials.

"There is a tremendous vacuum developing in the trade-union movement today...."

"Our Party has to begin to fill this vacuum in the trade-union movement. But it is not sufficient for us merely to echo the demands of the trade-

union leaders, or just to fight for the positive proposals that emanate from the labor hierarchy....

"Our program must deal with many questions in addition to the shorter work-week. Even on the question of the shorter work-week, we have to see that unless a militant struggle develops in the shops around speedup, the ability to win the shorter work-week will be hamstrung. So long as the trade-union leadership subscribes to armaments as a cure for unemployment, the movement for a short work-week will be limited...."

"In addition to the failures of the leadership, the working class itself is today saddled with a series of concepts in regard to collective bargaining which limits its ability to win decisive changes. What is necessary now is a new concept.."

"The workers must demand the right to negotiate their rate of production:"\* In auto, so many men at so many hours to make a certain number of motors; in steel, so many man-hours to make a ton of steel. This concept of workers' determining their own production rate is now on the order of the day. This slogan will help to raise the class consciousness of the workers. It will open their eyes to the possibilities of economic planning. It will further expose the true class role of the bosses. It will sharpen the struggle between worker and boss. The concept of planning and fighting for the right to determine their own rate of production will bring the workers another step closer to Socialist consciousness...."

"We have to raise the whole concept of national planning that will come with Socialism and end unemployment forever. Meanwhile we should raise now the whole question of nationalization of basic industries. We must raise the concept of limiting profits.... We should develop these more advanced questions into a legislative program as a counter-offensive to the legislative attacks being leveled against the working class.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"The absence of Socialist consciousness and of the concept of Socialism is one of the biggest weaknesses in the labor movement today. More and more we must bring the whole question of Socialism into the trade-union movement. This is going to be our most potent weapon in the coming years...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 18, 19, 21-22, 25.

9. House Committee on Un-American Activities an Enemy of Labor

"THE HOUSE Un-American 'hearings' in Chicago had three objective before it. The committee, smarting under the criticism of the Supreme Court and many prominent people as well, was anxious to turn the clock back and create an atmosphere in this country reminiscent of the days of McCarthyism. This committee, which has a long anti-labor record, is also intent on swelling the McClellan Committee anti-labor chorus.

"Dissatisfied with the militant stirrings in many sections of labor, and especially labor's alliance with the Negro people in many instances, the committee sought to attack a union that has played a prominent role in the midwest in his respect.

"The attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Packing Union and the International Association of Machinists is a flagrant example of Congressional 'interference' into the affairs of labor."

"... The labor movement, which has felt the bitter sting of attack from the McClellan Committee and the employers would do well to fight for the rights of all, including the rights of Communists in the labor movement. This would help achieve a unity that would beat back the anti-labor forces and win some much needed gains.

"The House Un-American committee is as much an enemy of organized labor as of all democratic minded people. This the hearings in Chicago once again underscored."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 12.

10. Jobless Workers on Move against Unemployment

"WORKING PEOPLE all over the country are getting fighting mad about the affects of unemployment and are beginning to do something about it. The four to five million workers already unemployed are not the only one who are fed up with phony promises of jobs to some, while their unemployment compensation runs out. The employed workers, faced with threats of mass layoffs due to mechanization and speedup, are also on the move."

The Worker,  
January 25, 1959, p. 3.

"WASHINGTON is beginning to sound too much like when Herbie Hoover was singing his song of 'prosperity just around the corner.' While Eisenhower tells us sweetly that our economy is on the road to recovery, the working people of our country have just gone through the worst January of unemployment since 1941, and it looks even gloomier for the next months.

"Eisenhower's promise of pie in the sky has been a coverup, while the monopolies have been cutting our throats with their labor-saving devices, automation and speedup."

"The truth is, however, that most of the workers now without jobs are never going to get them back, if the bosses have their way."

"But the workers aren't just going to take this situation lying down. They remember too well what happened in the Thirties."

"... Everybody knows that nothing is going to happen to help the unemployed unless we put the heat under President Eisenhower and Congress...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 22, 1959, p. 2.

"...after all of Eisenhower's honeyed talk about jobs just around the corner, our cocky bosses are telling us loud and bold that not only aren't they going to rehire many of the 5 million workers who haven't got a job now, but they are going to speed up production so much this year that many of us still working will be fired in 1959.

"That's what the Wall Street crowd would like to do in 1959, But we don't think any self-respecting worker is going to let them get away with it. Why should we have to pay in hunger, suffering and insecurity for the bosses' failure to keep the capitalist economic system operating so we can all have jobs at a decent wage level? We don't notice any of our bosses waiting at the unemployment insurance offices, or being interviewed for relief, or standing in line at a surplus food distribution center. They are still grabbing big salaries and fat dividends for which we pay in speedup and layoffs.

"If we are to get any of this burden of unemployment off our backs, we'll have to dump it ourselves. That means we will all have to get busy in our unions, in our communities, at the state and national capitals for such aims as unemployment insurance coverage for all workers as long as they are jobless; to halt all payments on debts and taxes until workers get their jobs back. and adequate relief for those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 8.

"DETROIT. --Over 300,000 are officially unemployed in Michigan, with only 90,000 drawing unemployment compensation, the rest having exhausted their 39 weeks. This is as of April 15.

"Meanwhile reports last week showed auto output slated to start falling with General Motors cutting back for one week recently all lines except Cadillac.

"The usual alibi of 'inventory' is to be used to close the plants down for one week in some plants."

"The pressure for a huge Detroit Cadillac Square rally to intensify the drive for aid to the unemployed is mounting here."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 13.

11. Labor Influence in Politics

"IT IS A PECULIARITY of the American labor movement that the trade unions have no mass Labor Party, or other mass party. For many years past--for well over half a century, in fact--they have concentrated their political work heavily upon voting for the policies and candidates of the two old bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, with the emphasis on the former...."

"In the work of the progressives, functioning in the unions and mass organizations, within the two old parties, consideration should be given to the following:

"The Left forces should propagate their progressive program and line in the old parties, with the stress upon the one which currently contains the mass of the workers, and undertake to mobilize the workers and their allies in these parties for the eventual formation of the Labor Party at an appropriate political time."

"The CP works upon the theory that it is impossible for the workers to win complete control of either the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party, they being too closely controlled by the monopolists, and that eventually the workers and their allies will have to form an independent Labor Party. It is possible for labor, however, to win control of many key sections of the organization, to win some significant political concessions, and to raise important class issues, as was done in the recent election within the Democratic Party on the question of anti-right-to-work laws...."

"It is important for progressives to work definitely at building strong worker organization and program inside the Democratic (and where possible, the Republican) Party. This they should do in such a way as not to play into the hands of the reactionaries, who are quick to use the demagoguery that the workers are out to 'capture' the organization, and to carry through various political 'plots.'

"The workers in these parties should work firmly and persistently, and not rush hastily and without proper consideration, into splitting movements."

William Z. Foster, "Work in  
the Two-Party System,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1959,  
pp. 28, 30-31.

## 12. Ruling Class versus Working Class

"In order to maintain its rate of maximum profits--absolutely necessary in a developed capitalist system such as in the U. S.--the American ruling class is forced more and more to extract these profits from 'their own' working class. The millions of unemployed, the millions of Negro people living under fearful conditions, the millions on the relief rolls, the millions on the short work-week, the millions of farmers being driven from their land, are the living proof that American capitalism has not solved its contradictions...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the  
Labor Movement," Political Affairs,  
May, 1959, p. 17.



#### IV: AGRICULTURE

1. The harsh outlook for the farmer can be solved only by the elimination of capitalism.
2. A temporary halt to the downward trend of agricultural conditions has aided some farmers, but small farmers continue to feel the cost-price squeeze.
3. Farmers need assistance in order to survive the farm crisis.
4. Soviet farms have no migratory labor problem such as exists in the United States.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. American Farmers' Outlook

"THE OUTLOOK for the American farmer is grim...."

"Even the expansion of domestic food consumption, to meet the existing diet shortage of the 15 million people (with incomes of less than \$1,000) living in or near poverty in 1955, will not meet the problem...."

"...our technology has now reached such a level, that we can eliminate poverty completely, raise diets for everyone to an adequate level--and still overproduce.

"The plight of the 15 million poverty-stricken persons is not alleviated, one whit, of course, by the fact that our productive facilities are sufficient to wipe out their poverty. That will not be achieved by formulas, but by struggle.

"But it would be wrong to suppose that the elimination of diet deficiency would eliminate the farm problem.

"The core of the problem lies elsewhere--in the basic nature of economy, as a capitalist economy."

"...A basic solution, lies only in the substitution, for capitalism, of a society where technological progress is a goal, not a threat, and where increased production is welcomed, not feared as the plague...."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 11.

## 2. Farmers Feel Cost-Price Squeeze

"For several years prior to 1957, the condition of the farmers had been steadily going downhill. But during the past year, in contrast to the downward trend in industry, it has shown some improvement."

"The improvement, however, was due largely to special factors of a temporary nature....

"But now the temporary advantage enjoyed by some sections of the farmers is receding....

"Moreover, small farmers have benefitted relatively little from the improved situation. The cost-price squeeze has continued to force them out. And the drop in industrial employment has had its effects on them, since fully one-third of the income of farm people--and among small farmers a much higher proportion--today comes from non-farm jobs."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Outlook Today," Political Affairs, January, 1959, pp. 18, 19.

3. Assistance for Farmers

"...Protect the family-size farms and farm workers from the insecurity and poverty caused by the farm crisis. Provide increased price supports, and the credit, services, and tax relief needed by small farmers in order to survive."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

4. Migratory Agricultural Labor

"The Soviet farm population, still a majority, are coming closer to the level of the country's urban life, with the gap narrowing continually...."

"THE 'RED GARDEN' government farm of 4,500 acres, stretching for almost six miles in length, is shipping all its apples, cherries and plums to canning and conservation plants in Rostov...."

"A FRUIT FARM of this size in California or the southwestern states would be almost entirely dependent on migratory labor--probably on Mexican contract workers who are usually hired for the lowest conceivable wages and are put up in tent colonies. Or they'd depend on Negro and Puerto Rican workers who'd come in with their entire families to work and live under indescribable misery.

"There is no migratory labor problem in the USSR. There are no migratory agricultural laborers...."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 7.

## **V. COLONIALISM**

1. The "Wall Street-dictated policies" of the Eisenhower Administration keep the economies of the Latin-American countries in a critical state.
2. The reform programs of Fidel Castro's new government are under increasing fire from the big United States corporations with financial interests in Cuba.
3. Colonial liberation movements, competition among imperialist nations, and socialist exports have restricted United States development on a world scale.
4. Exiles from Nicaragua have formed a revolutionary movement to oust Dictator Luis Somoza, "American imperialism's mouthpiece and representative."
5. While proclaiming itself "anti-imperialist," the United States dominates the economic and political life of the Philippines.
6. Iraqi youth has denounced imperialism in the continuing drive to rid the world of colonialism.
7. The United States Government's policy of intimidation of China is similar to the imperialism which until recently was enforced all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
8. "Imperialists and reactionary forces" in the United States are interfering with the rights of the Argentine people.
9. American imperialism makes certain that its clique remains in power in Panama.
10. The participants of the recent All-African People's Conference agreed to fight for their freedom if colonial and imperialist powers make it necessary.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. American Imperialism in Latin America

"PART OF THE LEGACY left by John Foster Dulles is the malignant U.S. policy in Latin America. That policy ravages the economies of the Latin American countries, keeps them politically feeble and dependent, and binds their peoples in agonizing poverty.

"Some Latin American governments offer their peoples as relief from this torment remedies more dubious than the cupping and leeching of our great-grand-fathers' day. A favorite of political quacks is anti-Communism. The people demand bread--it's a 'Communist conspiracy'; the people protest the surrender of natural resources to U.S. monopolies--it's the work of 'Soviet agents.'

"The recent action of the Mexican and Argentine governments in expelling several staff members of the Soviet embassies in those countries on the ground that they were stirring up strikes is one of those tissue-paper frauds that cannot cover up the ugly reality: brutal suppression of legitimate workers' struggles and appeasement of, if not abject surrender to the Mr. Charlie in Washington."

"But there is a new tide running below the Rio Grande--the tide that overwhelmed Peron in Argentina, Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, Batista in Cuba, that will sweep away the remaining tinfoil tyrannies of Trujillo, Somoza, Ydigoras and Strooesner. Turncoat liberals like Frondizi and Siles Zuazo can divert that freedom tide only temporarily."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

"THE ECONOMIC CRISIS in the United States, which began in 1957, affected other sectors of the capitalist world in varying degrees. Especially pronounced was its impact on the raw materials-producing

countries, and among them the most severely affected of these were the Latin-American nations. Their economies, closely tied to that of the United States and heavily dominated by American imperialism, are today in a critical state."

"Confronted with insistent demands for help from the Latin-American countries, the Eisenhower Administration has followed a policy of taking advantage of their plight to advance the interests of American monopoly capital, at the same time offering a profusion of platitudes and fatherly advice.

"As a condition for loans, it has forced devaluation and convertibility of Latin-American currencies, which facilitates the withdrawal of profits by American firms but increases the drain on the foreign exchange reserves of these countries all the more. It has insisted on the adoption of 'austerity' programs supposedly designed to control inflation by holding down the wages and living standards of the working people. And it has demanded that plans for development of oil and other industries be abandoned and turned over to foreign capital."

"Vital to the success of the Latin-American peoples in their struggles to free themselves from imperialist domination is the support of the working people of this country. It is essential that American labor oppose the present Wall Street-dictated policies of the Eisenhower Administration, and fight for a policy based on genuine economic assistance to the Latin-American countries and non-interference in their internal affairs...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Crisis in Latin America," Political Affairs, April, 1959, pp. 1, 5-6, 10.

"Unity is the biggest issue in Latin America. Unity against Wall Street imperialism! Unity for full independence from the monopolies, which are the common enemy of the people in the U. S. A. as well.

"This struggle for full independence comes at a time of mass suffering. For hunger is spreading over Dulles' 'free world' in the Spanish, Portuguese and French-speaking lands. Hungry people are desperately seizing food by mass action in parts of Brazil, Bolivia and elsewhere. This hunger increases as the trusts buy less and pay less for Latin American raw materials during the present depression."

The Worker,  
January 4, 1959, p. 7.

## 2. Cuba

"Two million Cuban peasants are eagerly awaiting their allotment of free land--67 acres to each family of five--which the Law of Agrarian Reform promises them. That law went into effect last month under the signature of President Manuel Urrutia Lleo.

"This is perhaps the major historic item in Latin America this moment when big things are exploding up and down the hemisphere: uprising and tensions are reported in Dictator Somoza's Nicaragua, in Dictator Stroessner's Paraguay, in Peru, and elsewhere.

"The burning need for land--denied to generations of hungry peasants--is common to all Latin American countries. Hence, they eye developments in Cuba, identifying themselves with all that happens there. Needless to say, others, too, eye Cuba where 6,600,000 acres are to be distributed; the fact is that some 4,432 latifundios (big plantations) are being dissolved; the fact is that United Fruit and Cuban-American Sugar are the chief holders of more than 2,125,000 acres of the richest sugar cane lands in the world.

"And so the land reform stage of the Cuban revolution is under increasing fire, mainly from the big U. S. corporations, and from those forces within Cuba that they can influence."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

"...Castro, as premier, represents the national unity which overthrew Batista.

"The new Cuban power which brought political liberty to a tortured nation includes every patriotic and nationalistic force that risked life--and torture--to rid the nation of the ferocious dictatorship. These include the Partido Socialista Popular--the Communist party of the land--whose members unstintingly shed their blood in the Sierra Maestras and in the city underground to defeat the tyrant."

"...Cuba's noble people count on the understanding and support of the plain folk of the U.S.A....they distinguish between the people of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, FDR--and the profit-mad corporations."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, p. 14.

"...the monopolies of Wall Street, in their striving to wring limitless profits from the sweat and blood of the Cuban people, constitute the greatest peril to Cuba's freedom and social progress. These monopolies are the enemies of the people of the United States, as well as of those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. And their oppressive role, their intrigues and interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and the other Latin American countries has intensified the exploitation and tax burdens of the American people and retarded democratic advance in the United States no less than elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

" 'We American Communists pledge our utmost to defend Cuba's right to full and untrammelled sovereignty, its independence, its social and economic welfare. 'Hands off Cuba'...' "

The Worker,  
February 8, 1959, p. 14.



### 3. World Imperialism

"In the past few years we have seen many areas of the world break away from world imperialism, and particularly U. S. imperialism. The colonial liberation movements are continuing at a fever pitch, as are various national liberation movements. To make matters worse for the American imperialists, West Germany, Japan, Great Britain, etc., are competing at an intense pitch with their American 'friends.' These factors, plus the increased Socialist exports to every corner of the world, have restricted U.S. economic development on a world scale."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 17.

### 4. Nicaragua

"IN A WEEK which saw Latin America politics seethe like lava in a crater, Nicaragua, the homeland of the martyred Sandino, took foremost attention: a revolution against Dictator Somoza was under way."

"Armed groups organized by Nicaraguan political exiles in Costa Rica entered Nicaragua in two groups some 10 days ago.

"The Somoza regime clamped martial law on the land, and the dictator--son of the late previous dictator--(father and son backed by the State Department) began issuing statements saying it was all over for the rebels, there was nothing to it, etc., all reminiscent of Batista's statements last year in Cuba."

"SOMOZA, despite his boastful statements, called 10,000 reserves to add to his National Guard of 4,000.

"Support for the rebels came swiftly from all parts of Latin America. In Venezuela, the Chamber of Deputies approved a resolution expressing 'solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and their struggle for liberty.' Similar expressions came from Honduras and throughout the hemisphere.

"The Somoza government's first action doubtless in collaboration with the State Department, was to call for a meeting of the Organization of American States, creature of Washington's imperialism."

"The political pot bubbled and stewed throughout the hemisphere: The press of U.S. imperialism, the dictatorial and native reactionary forces, screamed 'Communism'; but knowing observers realized that the tide of revolution was rising in Latin America--for national sovereignty, and for social betterment.

"Naturally, in most countries, the Communists--foremost of the national political forces for freedom, political and economic--worked for the harmony, the unity of all who wanted freedom...."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, pp. 3, 16.

"EXILES from Nicaragua, at a recent meeting in New York, organized themselves into a revolutionary movement to oust Luis Somoza, the Nicaraguan dictator. The organization took the name of Movimiento General Augusto C. Sandino."

"...Luis Somoza, the son of previous dictator Anastasio Somoza rules as American imperialism's mouthpiece and representative, as his father did before him."

"NICARAGUA'S economy today is tied to U. S. imperialist economy, which keeps Nicaragua undeveloped and poor, with thousands of permanently unemployed or seasonal workers.

"A good first step would be to trade with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries.

"We are sure that a progressive Nicaragua, will wipe out the fat subsidies now given to the cotton and coffee producers to encourage them in exporting to their sole important market, the U. S. These fat subsidies could very well be used for schools, hospitals and other necessary services, of which the people of Nicaragua are so much in need.

"A drastic agrarian program and distribution of land among the peasants-bringing in modern methods of agriculture, is needed.

"OUR GREETINGS to the new organization of the exiles of Nicaragua in the U. S.

"Be on the alert for imperialism's deadly weapon of anti-communism."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 10.

##### 5. The Philippines

"There exists among large numbers of Americans a carefully nurtured illusion concerning the U. S. government's attitude toward the independence of colonial peoples. The 'care and feeding' of this illusion is an ancient national art fostered by tons of newsprint and all the mass media....

"... Who has not heard of America's 'showcase of democracy' in the Far East--the Philippines!"

"...there is the cumulative and stunning impact of organized, contemporary, factual data which show the new and current forms of United States domination of the economic and political life of the Philippines within the framework of formal independence. Methods change but not the basic policies, sometimes the means vary but never the ends....

"...what remains fundamental and unchanging in U.S. relations with the Philippines...is the exploitation of the Philippines as a source of maximum colonial profits....

"Equally fundamental and unchanging is U.S. obstruction of basic industrialization, reliance on compradore strata in the Philippines with its consequent preservation of the semi-feudal land system intact, and the ruthless repression of genuine national independence forces....

"As for what is changing, new and different in U.S. - Philippine relations...U.S. imperialism must and does proclaim itself 'anti-imperialist.' It operates in more subtle and concealed forms to preserve its privileges, protect its comprador allies and divide the nationalist movement. It is forced into minor concessions which in no way change the nature of its basic intervention in the Philippine economic structure and political life."

Susan Warren, "Imperialism's Showcase,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 62, 63.

## 6. Iraq

"CURRENT ACTIVITIES in which have thrown much fear and trembling into Western and colonial powers are evidenced by the resounding proposals of the second Congress of Iraqi Students..."

"The Congress denounced the Baghdad pact in no uncertain terms, saying that the pact was 'an imperialist, military bloc threatening peace and plotting to undermine the Republic....' It urged that the Iraqi government withdraw from the pact, and withdraw as well from bilateral agreements with Britain.

"What has probably unnerved colonial powers the most, aside from the Iraqi revolution's threat to oil interests, is the continuing drive and support by Iraqi youth to rid the world of colonialism...."

"It would be well to keep these points of view in mind as American press and mass media grow frantic about the direction in which Iraqi, and its young people, are going."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 6.

7. China

"...the outrageous policy of intimidation, employed by the great monopolies which control the imperialistic government of the United States, (is)\* to try to strangle the Chinese Revolution, and to prevent the Chinese people from carrying forward their heroic achievements in the building of Socialism and Communism. In the domineering relationship that the United States is trying to force upon China in the Taiwan Straits, and in its general support of the Chiang Kai-shek bandits, is to be found a true reflection of a brutal imperialism which until recently was enforced all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but which is now rapidly being ended by the rise of the Chinese, Indian, African and Latin-American peoples of those areas."

William Z. Foster, "A Letter to Mao Tse-tung," Political Affairs, March, 1959, p. 23.

8. Argentina

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY here sent a wire to President Arturo Frondizi, at Buenos Aires, charging that his government's actions serve 'the dictates of Yankee imperialists and reactionary forces' in the U.S."

\* Inserted for clarity.

"Eugene Dennis, national secretary, and Robert Thompson, executive secretary, said they were also protesting to the White House, 'its interference against the rights of the Argentine people.' "

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 3.

9. Panama

"THE MOST SHAMELESS racial, economic and national discrimination against the citizens of Panama is the rule within the Canal Zone.

"Every four years the bourgeois 'democratic' process sees to it that a set of the same class representing the same imperialist interests reelects itself to office.

"But the real power in Panama is in the hands of American imperialism. It rules through the National Guard, a militarized police force of some 2,000 men, trained and indoctrinated by U. S. military experts.

"The National Patriotic Coalition, (Coalicion Patriotica Nacional), is the political party front of the National Guard. This set-up does away with the 'inconvenience' of having to declare an open dictatorship under the indirect guidance of American imperialism.

"The people hate the National Guard and its political counterpart, the National Patriotic Coalition. They have seen that these organs only serve as instruments of U. S. imperialism and the most reactionary native elements."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 10.

"PANAMA has been in the headlines lately. A group of 87 persons, mostly Cuban -- many with adventurist tendencies -- among whom were also four Panama citizens, including one woman, and four Puerto Ricans, invaded Panama during the last days of April."

"The United States military, aerial and naval power were in Panama's water carefully watching and checking on developments.

"It is clear that American imperialism does not want any more revolutions, especially in the Caribbean area, that might dethrone their faithful servants and representatives, dictator Somoza in Nicaragua, Dubalier in Haiti, and the 'Honorable,' 'Doctor,' 'generalissimo,' etc., etc., Rafael Leonidas Trujillo y Molina, in the Dominican Republic.

"ALL these late happening did not deliver this central American republic from the hunger and exploitation suffered by its people and imposed on them by American imperialism and the Panama clique in control."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 10.

#### 10. Africa

"THE ALL-AFRICAN People's Conference, which convened in Accra, capital of Ghana, December 5-13, with over 300 delegates from all parts of Africa, closed on a note of grim, but united determination:

"Despite different languages, different cultural backgrounds, different colonial systems which have separated and oppressed us, the Conference speaks with the united voice of over two hundred million Africans. We have here decided to be free today, not tomorrow!"

"The All-African People's Conference was called by a Preparatory Committee from the eight independent African states: the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia with Guinea added later. These independent states accepted the responsibility and assumed the important function of performing at the international level the stabilization of African and Afro-Asian solidarity. They announced that in their foreign dealings they would follow policies which would expedite the emergence of the independence of all presently-dependent and colonial African territories. It was this group which invited all Africa to send delegates to an All-African Conference with Ghana playing host.

"Twenty-eight countries participated in the Conference..."

"Africa will fight for its freedom if colonial and imperialist powers make that necessary. But the countries of Africa want peace. These two facts were repeated over and over again. Africa has suffered not only from her own wars, but Africans have died in all world wars. They want no more of war."

"Some Liberian delegates joined with other conservatives in trying to get through a Resolution setting forth the policy of the Convention as being strictly non-violent, no matter what provocations Africans might have for retaliating against violence. They also tried to get through an anti-Communist Resolution. In both efforts they failed overwhelmingly."

Shirley Graham, "Africa Lifts Its Voice,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1959,  
pp. 1, 2-3, 5, 7-8.



## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. "Reactionary Republicans" and "white-supremacist Dixiecrats" have united to impose a new era of McCarthyism on the American people.
2. Amnesty for Communist Party leaders must be a key objective of the whole Party.
3. Federal legislation and support are necessary to halt the growing violence against Negroes in the South and to achieve full integration.
4. The Smith Act indictment against William Z. Foster is brutal political persecution.
5. Proposed legislative bills challenging the civil liberty and desegregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court must be defeated.
6. Protests and action by unions and all working people must expose and defeat the "anti-labor" Kennedy-Ervin bill.
7. Vigorous, militant struggle is needed to crystallize a new political majority capable of carrying out the Communist Party's legislative aims.
8. Freeing Morton Sobell would help to vindicate the political martyrs and heroes of the past.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. New Era of McCarthyism**

"THE U.S. SUPREME COURT 5 to 4 decisions against the teacher, Prof Lloyd Barenblatt, and the peace advocate, Rev. Willard Uphaus, are dangerous blows against the liberties of all Americans...."

"The High Court took the occasion to give a blank check to the Un-American Activities Committee and state witchhunters to pillory, to expose for exposure's sake, to instigate state sedition trials, and to jail advocates of peace and democratic liberty.

"The court majority 'joined the pack' of those very forces who have been doing the smear job against the recent Supreme Court civil liberty decisions. It was a happy days for Eastland, Goldwater, Walter and Howard Smith."

"THESE DECISIONS defy the popular mandate of the last November elections. The American Bar Association and the Un-American Activities Committee with a false patriotism and anti-Communist slanders made their way into the majority decision.

"The decision proves the point---an attack against the right of Communists, and the spreading of lies and slanders against Communists is destructive of the rights of all."

"EVERY ADVOCATE of democratic liberties and peace has a responsibility to stimulate and organize united mass action--of labor, the Negro people, all who work to ban atomic tests and outlaw nuclear war and those who cherish democracy--to voice their protest against the court decisions, to act now to defeat the McCarthyite legislation now pending in Congress--and for a halt to any revival of McCarthyism through Congressional and state investigations in America. Conferences, meetings of unions, churches and mass organizations can help change the scene. Delegations to Congress and elected officials are urgent. The press, radio and TV must voice the will of the people for the Bill of Rights.

"We Communists reject and repudiate the effort of the majority decision to pin a series of false labels upon us, to cloak the canards of the Eastlands and the Walters with judicial opinion...."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, p. 16.

"The hard-core reactionary mouthpieces for Big Business who run the American Bar Association and the Congressional jackals who do Wall Street's bidding are on the prowl again against the Bill of Rights they have sworn to uphold as a part of the Constitution. Already the House, following the call of the lawyers' dictators, has passed an amendment to the Smith Act to nullify the Supreme Court's decisions and catch practically anybody who belongs to a party the bosses don't like.

"In the works in Congress are other proposals by the tiny group who control the attorneys' organization to trample on the people's liberties. Among these is one to legalize the various state laws the Supreme Court declared no longer operative because the Federal Smith Act took precedence."

"These are the first new steps in a so-called anti-Communist drive that will provide the weapons for a get-tough campaign against labor in these critical times. The Eisenhower administration, through its Justice Department, is doing its share by retrying the Denver Seven, whose case had already once been thrown out, and by keeping in jail two great-hearted workingclass leaders, Henry Winston and Gil Green.

"The reactionary Republicans and the white-supremacist Dixiecrats have forged a new united front to impose a new era of McCarthyism on the American people. And they stand a chance of succeeding because the 'liberal' Democrats elected in November are weaseling on their election promises."

"The labor movement, by taking the initiative as it did in November and uniting with the other people's organizations, can put some gumption in the backsliding Congressmen whom they elected and put the fear of God in the shilly-shallying legislators who are now on the side of reaction because it looks like a winner."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 2.

## 2. Amnesty Campaign

"THERE ARE three Smith Act prisoners in U.S. Federal prisons today--Gil Green, who has two and a half years to serve; Henry Winston, who has nearly three years, and Robert Thompson, who has eighteen months more.

"The campaign for their release now hinges around two actions on their part, (1) Continuing application for parole; (2) their applications to President Eisenhower for commutation of sentence to time already served, which is formally called 'Executive Clemency.'

"They are not contradictory; one supplements the other. An application for Presidential action cannot be made unless an application for parole has been denied. This has already happened with Green and Winston. Their next parole request comes up in October. Thompson will make his application for parole as soon as his quarantine period is over. In his case, due to his precarious health condition, the greatest possible effort should be made to support it, by letters to the Parole Board urging his immediate release on parole.

"THESE TWO applications--for parole and Executive Clemency--are the only legal channels still open to them, since the Supreme Court upheld their second sentences, closing the door on future court actions, and sending Thompson back to Atlanta prison. So far parole has been denied to all Smith Act prisoners who applied for it. These are the first such appeals for Executive Clemency...."

"Join with others in urging (1) the Parole Board to release Robert Thompson immediately. (2) the president to commute the sentences of all three remaining Smith Act prisoners."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1959, p. 9.

"...Robert Thompson, surrendered to serve the balance of his sentence, which will be 18 more months behind the grim walls of a Federal Penitentiary, at Atlanta, where he will join another political prisoner, --Morton Sobell. Three of the original group are still in general prisons--Gil Green at Leavenworth, Kansas, for two and a half years more, Henry Winston at Terre Haute, Ind., for nearly three years more, and now Thompson."

"LEGAL PROCEEDINGS are finished in these cases. Further court action is out. Only around parole and Executive Clemency can a campaign for the release now be pivoted. Such a campaign will keep their fate before the public. We can do no less. Their sentences are unjust. Their punishment cruel and unusual... Let us build for Amnesty this year."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 9.

"THE ANNOUNCEMENT last week that the U.S. Supreme Court would not review the case of Robert Thompson, executive secretary of the Communist Party, was a blow against the working class, elementary justice, and human decency... During the past few years, the Supreme Court has issued a number of progressive decisions, but this one was more fitting to the worst period of McCarthyism."

"...The day is past when worker militants may be freely railroaded to jail and abused in prison by reactionary governments. Strong pressure can prevent the re-imprisonment of Comrade Thompson, and can free Winston and Green from their equally unjust sentences."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 4.

"Winston and Gilbert Green, fellow-Communist serving the same sentence in Leavenworth penitentiary, have been denied parole, though entitled to it.

"Their continued imprisonment continues to weaken the struggle of the whole American people.

"President Eisenhower can amnesty them. He should amnesty them. He will amnesty them if enough Americans make it plain they want it."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 2.

### 3. Violence in the South

"Attorney General William Rogers' statement--for the Eisenhower administration--that no Federal laws were violated in the murder of the 23-year old Negro lumber worker is a shameless deceit.

"Rogers ruling that the jurisdiction in the Parker case lies in the State of Mississippi and not in the federal government is a swindle designed to justify the failure of the Federal government to prosecute in this case, as in every other lynching of modern times."

"If Rogers' decision is permitted to stand it is an open invitation to the next lynching; just as the refusal of the Eisenhower administration to act in the Emmet Till murder, encouraged the lynchers of Parker.

"The horror of the Poplarville murder, and the do-nothing policy of the Administration have found a bitter response from the ranks of the people....

"But, it must be said frankly, the organized action of the people is inadequate. The storm that must surge around the ears of congressmen and Senators, the fury that will make the White House reverse its steps have not yet been aroused.

"Far more is at stake than even forestalling the next lynching to which Rogers' action has given encouragement. At stake is the job of wiping the South clean of the racist oppression that denies democracy to the Negroes and whites, and poisons the political atmosphere of the entire nation."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

"VIOLENCE grows in the South -- against the Negro people. The 5 year old Supreme Court decisions for desegregation are flouted by Governors and school boards and by-passed by Federal judges. 26,000 young people demonstrated in our national Capitol to demand school desegregations. They were given the run-around at the White House, as usual.

"In the South the answer of the hate-crazed Dixiecrats and KKK barbarians, is two lynchings in Mississippi, the horrible rape of a Negro woman student in Florida, beatings and kidnappings in Alabama, shootings of Negroes from passing cars in Richmond, Va., which sent six youths to the hospital. These are but a few of hundreds of unreported violent action throughout the South against Negroes -- workers, farmers, ministers, women."

"BLOODSHED, kidnappings, beatings, lynchings, rape of Negro people -- challenge the Federal Government to act. Flouting of laws, defying of court decisions, denial of suffrage to millions -- challenge the Federal Government to act. It will be a day of grave crisis when the Negro people lose all faith in the courage and sincerity of their government to defend their lives and their rights. It is not far off...."

"...It would be well for Washington to heed their voices, for the peace and honor of our country."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 9.

"...Outlaw all jimcrow practices and policies. Make enforcement of civil rights a Federal responsibility and all violations subject to Federal criminal penalties. Work for all other legislation necessary to achieve full integration of the Negro people on a free and equal basis into all phases of society." "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"STRUGGLES SUCH as the Pilgrimage, the Youth March and the March-on-Richmond must be organized on an ever larger scale if victory in the fight for school integration is to be achieved. It requires a manysided struggle, on a state and national level, pressure on the President and the Department of Justice, Congressional action for a broad civil rights bill with teeth in it, and further action by the Supreme Court erasing such concessions to the segregationist as the failure to declare the Alabama placement law unconstitutional." "

The Worker,  
February 8, 1959, p. 11.

#### 4. Persecution of William Z. Foster

"The Department of Justice has denied the request of Mrs. Mary Kaufman, attorney for William Z. Foster, Communist Party leader, to dismiss the Smith Act indictments which have been held over him for more than ten years, and has threatened to renew the prosecution whenever it can." "

"...Foster is convinced that medical care in a sanitarium in the Soviet Union would aid restoration of the use of his hand and leg and add years to his life. One of the reasons for asking dismissal is so that Foster could obtain a passport." "



" 'The use of the Smith Act indictments to cut the life of a Communist leader becomes a brutal act of political persecution,' declared Robert Thompson, executive secretary of the Communist Party, in condemning the D. of J.'s action. Thompson urged that letters be sent to President Eisenhower and to Attorney General William Rogers urging dismissal of the July 1948 indictments against Foster. "

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 3.

5. Proposed Legislation Challenging Supreme Court

"SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND, the Dixiecrats, the bitter-end followers of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the most brazen anti-labor Senators are now pushing the Eastland bills and similar bills aimed at the civil liberty and desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court. "

"Most threatening are those bills (HR 3, S 3, S 294, S 1299 and HR 492) which are aimed to restore state sedition laws. These are aimed against the Supreme Court decision in the Nelson case.

"HR 3 and S 3 would also be used to challenge all desegregation decisions as well as decisions and laws affecting the trade unions and conditions of labor....

"The fate of those bills rests with the actions of local unions, of neighborhood and community organizations, of the rank and file at the crossroads of American life. Now is the time to let Congressmen and Senators know that these bills and the whole Eastland witch-hunt program must be defeated. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 2.

6. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"ON APRIL 25, the U. S. Senate by a vote of 90 to one passed the Kennedy-Evrin labor regulation bill which includes McClellan's so-called 'Labor's Bill of Rights' amendments...."

"IN THE GUISE of safeguarding the rights of labor and in the spirit of the 'right-to-work' laws this bill...weaves a web to ensnare and strangle the unions."

"Under this bill any anti-union Secretary of Labor or judge can tie any union into knots no matter how democratic such a union may be. Unions may be harassed before or during a strike, dragged into courts on any pretext, forced to spend their funds on lawyers and court fines, have their conventions and elections invalidated and the union disrupted to a point where it could no longer serve the interests of its members."

"It is not too late to expose and defeat this evil bill. It is not too late to arouse the working people and all democratic people to bring their powerful influence to bear upon the majority of Congress elected with the decisive help of labor and progressive people. It is not too late to save American unions from crippling governmental control."

"The protests and actions of such unions as the printers, teamsters, textile, and the progressive independent unions, if duplicated by many other unions can stop the anti-labor legislation now before congress."

The Worker,  
May 10, 1959, p. 14.

7. A New Political Majority

"The main strategic and tactical line we Communists should pursue..."

"To crystallize a new political majority capable of effecting these objectives in 1960 necessitates a further unfoldment of broad popular movements and coalitions on the most vital issues of economic and union security, civil rights and liberties, and peace. It requires a vigorous, united front defense of the unions and all working class and people's organizations, and a broad and militant struggle for their shop and union demands on wages, speedup, FEP and the shorter work week, as well as a successful coordination of economic, legislative and other political struggles, such as around the burning issue of the 30-hour week without wage reductions which now looms as a major issue in the trade-union movement."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 11.

8. Free Morton Sobell

"MORTON SOBELL, though he has suffered nine years of hell, is fortunately still alive. All that Sacco and Vanzetti asked was a new trial. What Sobell is asking today is a new trial, in a less hysterical and more favorable atmosphere. As in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, all evidence points to a frame-up and the innocence of Morton Sobell. . . . 'A final push may re-open the case of Morton Sobell.'"

"We cannot save Sacco and Vanzetti from their deaths. Nor can we save the Rosenbergs from their deaths. But we can save Morton Sobell from a living death in Atlanta Penitentiary, to restore him to his loved ones. Reliving the struggles of the past is useful only if it strengthens our determination that such tragedies must never happen again, and in fighting to free the political prisoners of today.

"In freeing Morton Sobell we are helping to vindicate the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, and all who are martyrs and heroes of the past."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 11.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The Party must expose and denounce the false concept that armament production is the cure for unemployment.
2. The gravest consequences could result from the United States arms policy concerning "preventive" war and the use of nuclear weapons.
3. Reduction of the military budget might be achieved through a mass agitational campaign for "taking the profits out of war."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Armament Production

"...how can one argue that we must work to arm ourselves for the Cold War and at the same time fight militantly for a short work week?..."

"As long as the trade-union leadership views military spending as the main cure for unemployment, the struggle for the shorter work-week and the fight for peace will be seriously limited."

"...We must advance the slogan: 'Take the profits out of armaments.'"\* This may be a negative slogan, but it is one which can be used to expose the bosses. People will respond to the concept that if big business is so patriotic, why must it make huge profits on armaments? We must continually expose and denounce the false concept that armaments make jobs. The fact is that civilian production creates many more secondary jobs than do armaments...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 19, 20, 25.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

## 2. "Preventive" War and the Use of Nuclear Weapons

"Two notes have crept into the reports from Washington concerning arms policy that are of the gravest consequence. One indicates that serious thought again is being given at the highest level to 'preventive' war; the other is the calm assumption that atomic and nuclear weapons now constitute conventional weapons so far as the U. S. government is concerned...."

"...the renewed 'preventive' war talk; the press conference of the President where support was offered to such talk; and the remark by the President at that same press conference that he did not 'think' the use of atomic weapons had to wait on the personal authorization of the President but that theatre commanders were now empowered to use such weapons if they felt their command was in danger--if all this is added together, one has a development in State Department and Defense Department policy of the most dire portent for humanity."

"The power of the advocates of such a fate for mankind happily is far from unlimited; which is why such a fate has not yet befallen mankind, and may be averted altogether. Yet their power continues immense and their tempting of the fates goes on. Enough of this is made public--tardily, of course--to prove the critical need for the sharpest reversal of U. S. foreign policy."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 34, 35, 36.

## 3. Military Budget

"...The question of reducing the military budget...In this connection, the old popular slogan for 'taking the profits out of war' might strike a

popular response, especially if it were coupled with concrete proposals for enacting the steepest and most stringent income, capital gains and excess profits tax on all armament profits and industries, and with a mass agitational campaign to take General Motors out of the Defense Department and Standard Oil out of the State Department."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 9.

## **VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS**

1. It is the duty and responsibility of the President and the Federal Government to end violence against the Negro people in the South.
2. Puerto Ricans are the latest of many immigrants who have been exploited and persecuted in America.
3. Although Negroes make up a large part of the jobless, no Negro labor leader was allowed to speak on the platform at the recent AFL-CIO\*unemployment conference at Washington.
4. Administration and legislative leaders are continuing their attempts to "scuttle" civil rights legislation in Congress.
5. The continuation of the fear and repression which are responsible for the Jim Crow system demands that society do something about it.
6. Communist Party participation in state and municipal elections is necessary to aid the Negro cause.
7. The Communist Party must be the champion of the demands of the Negro people.
8. The communist press can help to smash the power of those who use terror and deception to destroy Negro-white unity.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Federal Government's Duty To End Racial Violence**

"The FBI has been withdrawn from investigation of the murder of Mack Charles Parker, Negro victim of the April 25 Poplarville lynching.

\*American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

"By this amazing step, the executive branch of the federal government became an accessory to the murder after the fact.

"Regardless of the virtuous statement of William Rogers, attorney general, that no law exists authorizing the Federal government to act in this and similar cases, the government cannot so lightly waive its responsibility to protect the lives and property of American citizens, particularly Negroes, under the 14th Amendment."

"The desertion of the Parker case is singularly significant. It literally represents the conscious, cynical and cruel repudiation of the constitutional and human rights of Negroes...."

"THE GOVERNMENT is in this position because it is a government by those who fear to fight racism for those who profit by it."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1959, p. 15.

"Other oppressed peoples are getting their freedom NOW but the Negro people see no end to centuries of abuse through Eisenhower-Johnson-Rayburn inch-by-inchism.

"Free elections are denied them in the South. They can't use the ballot to defend their rights. There is no use for them to go to the state government for relief. The state governments and their defacto conspirators are the offenders."

"Only bold, deliberate intervention by the Federal Government in the South can put an end to this dangerous political situation."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 4.



"THE EISENHOWER GOVERNMENT protected Southern lynchers again last week when it dropped its probe of kidnaping and lynching of Mack C. Parker in Poplarville, Miss. The FBI grand stand play has ended. All J. Edgar Hoover's agents have been pulled out. And the hooded cowards, who dragged the young lumber worker from his cell and dumped his mangled body in Pearl River, will face no Federal prosecution.

"Ike's surrender follows an 82-year pattern. No Southern lynchers have been punished by the Federal Government since President Hayes removed his troops from Dixie in 1877.

"IKE'S ATTORNEY GENERAL, William P. Rogers, has a worn out alibi. Prosecution is up to the Mississippi authorities, he says. And the FBI is turning a 'summary' of its 'evidence' and 'information' over to Mississippi officials. Rogers knows, of course that the Pearl River County all-white grand jury is not sitting in Poplarville until next November. This means that Mississippi's 578th recorded lynching will go unpunished, like the 577 before."

"ACT NOW!

"Demand federal prosecution of those who lynched Mack Charles Parker.

"Wire or write President Eisenhower demanding that the federal government act, and that he go to Mississippi to take personal command.

"Demand that your governor, your mayor, your city council: urge the President to act, and memorialize Congress to pass the Hart anti-lynching bill.

"Wire or write your Senators and Representative to pass the anti-lynching bill."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 1.

"THE KIDNAP-LYNCHING of Mr. Mack C. Parker, 23-year-old lumber worker, in Poplarville, Miss., and the near lynchings in Quitman, Ga., and Alexandria, La., are a warning to all Americans of the beginnings of a general revival of lynch-mob terror in the South."

. . . . .

"It is the duty and responsibility of Congress and of the Eisenhower administration to bring the full power of the Federal government to put an end to the terror against the Negro people in the South, to protect the lives and property of Negro citizens, and to uphold their constitutionally guaranteed citizenship rights. Without all three branches of the Federal Government acting as one in this situation, no progress is possible.

"Only an aroused public opinion demanding such action will move these branches of the Federal government to fulfill their oath of office. The deep indignation of the American people against this crime of lynching must find expression from every corner of our country."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 3.

"The spectacle of Asbury Howard, heroic and outstanding Negro trade union leader, being framed, brutally beaten and rushed to the Alabama chain gang simply because he fights for the right of the Negro people to vote is a disgrace to America."

. . . . .

"Full responsibility must be placed upon the President and the entire federal government for protecting the right of the Negro people to vote in Bessemer, Alabama, and elsewhere in the South."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

## 2. Puerto Rican Immigrants

"NOTHING has been so dramatic as the tremendous influx of Puerto Ricans into New York City since the war. Inevitably, as with the Negroes before them, their appearance in such large numbers, with their accompanying demand for housing, jobs, and all the other necessities of living, has set all kinds of alarms and even panic going among certain sections of the press and population. And though they came to escape island poverty imposed on them by American economic interests, and though they are considered not colonials but fellow Americans, still, in both the serious and gutter press, they constitute a Problem. In fact, they are considered the most acute 'problem' New York City faces today..."

"...If ever a people had the right to complain to the world about a long train of abuses visited upon them by an unfeeling exploiting class, it is the Puerto Ricans...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
June, 1959, p. 56.

"...the immigrants of the past 100 years have been exploited and persecuted in America. The shame of it is well illustrated by the treatment now given to that latest immigrant--the Puerto Rican. Against him are arrayed the same cruel slanders and robberies that befell the Irish, the Italians, the Slavs, Jews and other immigrants of the past.

"And that 'native son,' the Negro, has been even more cruelly treated than the immigrant by white, know-nothing 'native sons.' It is one of the miracles of history how despite everything, both Negro and immigrant have persisted in their faith that they, too, were Americans. They have not allowed the barbarians bred by capitalism to hide from them the true, secret heart of American democracy. The fight for integration is a fight for us all."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 8.

"THE STRIKE of the hospital workers, under the leadership of Local 1199, is the cause of all humane and fair-minded people, irrespective of race, creed, color or station in life.

"The sweatshop pittance imposed upon these workers -- 80 to 90 percent of whom are Negro and Puerto Rican -- is a disgrace to New York City and a national shame upon civilized America, the richest country in the world...."

"Not only is this a struggle for union recognition and decent wages. It is a struggle for the liberation of the Puerto Rican and Negro workers--a large percentage of whom are women -- from the economic caste of slave wages, which is at the heart of the jimcrow, segregation and discrimination imposed upon them in the life of the city.

"Once more the so-called democracy and dignity of the individual, of which the State Department prates so loudly, is put to the test before the colored and colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America--and found wanting."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1959, p. 3.

### 3. Prejudice against Negroes in Unions

"WASHINGTON -- American labor and the nation's unemployed closed ranks at the historic AFL-CIO sponsored conference on unemployment. With one voice they called for aid to the unemployed and for support to struggles in the union shops, mills, mines."

"DESPITE THE LONG list of speakers, not one Negro labor leader was called to speak from the podium.... 'it's the same old business, for whites only when it comes to the platform.'"

"The Negro jobless have been unemployed the longest; relatively more Negroes have exhausted their unemployment compensation; and are being evicted or foreclosed on to a much greater degree than white workers.

"The only Negro on the platform was A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. But he was not invited to speak."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, pp. 1, 3.

#### 4. Civil Rights Are Being Restricted

"...Arnold Johnson, the legislative director of the Communist Party...in opposition to a series of McCarthyite American Bar Association bills introduced by Eastland, S. 1299-1305, and similar bills.

"Johnson declared that the Eastland bills are aimed 'to curb, restrict, and destroy basic Constitutional rights included in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution itself, in utter disregard of the liberties of the American people.'

" 'Sen. Eastland and the Dixiecrats call for legislation against Communists as a springboard to reverse the Supreme Court decision against segregation,' he said.

"... 'Under this set of bills, the Dixiecrats hope to keep Negroes in the bondage of second-class citizens, without any rights that an Eastland must respect,' he said. 'What they seek through this legislation is a device to impose the Dixiecrat jimcrow policies of Mississippi with its brutal lynching of Mack Parker as a policy upon the whole country. Under cover of making an attack upon the Communists through their bills, the whole fabric of American democracy is being shattered.' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 16.

"A FIRST BLOW against the First Amendment and the right of assembly and association, as a result of the recent meeting of the American Bar Association, came last week when Rep. Francis Walter's bill to strengthen the 'organizing' section of the Smith Act, was passed by the House without debate."

"The bill was rushed through in the same way as the original Smith Act was put through in 1940. With the support of the Department of Justice, it became apparent that the Administration had worked behind the scenes in Chicago to foster the Bar Association attack on the High Court...."

"...the Bar Association report is calculated to undercut the Supreme Court and pave the way to nullify the school integration decision of 1954 and all subsequent civil rights decisions. That is the major goal of the Dixiecrats and Congressmen in the service of northern industrialists who seek a cheap labor market by their jimcrow system.

"That big industrialists should use the Bar Association as a legislative agency against civil liberty and civil rights is also fair warning that the other prize which they seek is further restriction against the rights of labor."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 2.

"SEN. LYNDON JOHNSON'S self-styled 'Civil Rights Act of 1959' threatens to scuttle all civil rights legislation this session by trickery. It encourages Dixiecrat defiance of the Supreme Court.

"The Texas Senator has promised that his bill could go through the Senate without a filibuster. He has mobilized support from some Northern Democrats, including Sen. Mike Mansfield, Montana, and is obviously courting the support of the Republicans."

"Johnson is seeking the same line-up for his bill as in the fight on Rule 22. However, the wording of the bill is such that it can be defeated and thus clear the way for serious legislation. But this calls for a campaign by the mass organizations of the Negro people, by all liberal forces, and especially by the labor movement."

The Worker,  
February 1, 1959, p. 16.

"ASBURY HOWARD, international vice-president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and president of the Bessemer Voters' League, was arrested without a warrant, convicted in a kangaroo court, beaten by 40 white hoodlums in the courthouse while 15 white policemen looked on, and then thrown onto the chain-gang."

"What was his real 'crime'?"

"It was that he had succeeded in raising the voting registration of Bessemer's Negroes from 75 to 2000."

"The violence against Asbury Howard and the chain-gang sentence were encouraged by the activities of Gov. John Patterson. It was Patterson who instructed Alabama officials to defy the recent Federal Civil Rights Commission investigations into the denial of voting rights to Negroes...."

"Support the fight for civil rights...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 2.

5. Jim Crow System Continues

"A 19-year old Negro American citizen, Asbury Howard Jr., is now serving one year on an Alabama chaing gang. The youth was arrested while defending his father from a white mob which attacked him as he descended the steps of Bessemers City Hall...."

"...An act of bravery in defense of human life is punished as criminal, while those who threaten life in defiance of the law are protected by it. This is neither rational nor just.

"The Asbury Howards are examples of the bravery of southern Negroes in defending America's principles. Their persecution demonstrates the jeopardy in which the lives and freedom of white and Negro are placed if they attempt to struggle for their needs, and thus the fear in which they must live. For they know that if they speak out, the law will censor them and protect the mob which threatens their lives.

"This fear and repression is part of what enables jimcrow to remain in power--and send its representatives to Congress to enact laws for the nation, and keep schools segregated, and enact right-to-work laws and keep southern workers unorganized.

"As participants in our society, we are all responsible for this jimcrow system which permits such injustice. We each share this shame of our nation and can all do something about it....

"Let us live up to the high standards set for us by the Howards, demanded by necessity and our nation's principles. Let's VOTE FOR A BETTER TOMORROW."

The Worker,  
May 10, 1959, p. 6.



"MACK CHARLES PARKER was lynched because the perpetrators of the dastardly deed felt they could get away with it.

"And why shouldn't they?

"Neither President Eisenhower nor the Congress has acted to protect the citizenship rights of the Negro people."

"This is why the fight for strong civil rights legislation and for enforcement of full citizenship rights of the Negro people must be seen as a fight against entrenched monopoly and its Dixiecrat allies. It is a fight to put into Congress and into the Government direct representatives of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and other non-monopoly sectors of the people.

"The decisive thing here is the immense power of the people. This power can compel the Executive and the Congress to act now.

"Punish the murderers of Mack Charles Parker and their fellow conspirators.

"Disband and prosecute the White Citizen's Councils, the KKK, and other terrorist gangs.

"Pass the Javits-Celler Civil rights bill and the Hart anti-lynch bill.

"Empower the Federal government to protect the lives and rights of the Negro people."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 10, 1959, p. 2.

## 6. Participation in Elections

"The center of labor's political activities today should be around key issues, especially on the necessity of ousting the Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party, and of taking up the struggle for a real Civil Rights program for full and immediate integration of the Negro people into every phase of American life; for a mass campaign to register 5 million Negro voters before 1960 in the South, for their right to vote, to hold office and participate fully in the 1960 campaign....Attention to political programs in the old parties, to platform and to candidates, is fundamental."

William Z. Foster, "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the U.S.," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 14.

"...The municipal and state elections of 1959 will offer opportunity for the Negro people to advance the fight for Negro representation as well as to further the local and state legislative measures necessary to secure freedom and equal rights. Our Party plans to participate in one or more Southern cities in the 1959 municipal and state elections. Certainly, elsewhere in the country, our comrades will not be amiss in doing all they can to aid the cause of Negro representation both in a supporting role and, like Ben Davis in Harlem, in putting forward where possible and proper our own candidates for public office."

James E. Jackson, "The Negro Freedom Fight: Current Developments," Political Affairs, January, 1959, pp. 37-38.

## 7. Communist Party and the Negroes

"The Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the labor movement, as its central task seeks to cultivate the militant leadership of the proletariat (contrary to the reformists) in all mass struggles against big capital. In this respect the Negro masses are a great force. The Negro people are at once

the most working-class, impoverished, and militant element in the ranks of the opponents of big capital. The broad proletariat, as the basic leader of the general struggle against capitalist oppression, should and must make itself the champion of all the demands, both class and national, of the Negro people...."

William Z. Foster and Benjamin J. Davis, "Notes On The Negro Question," Political Affairs, April 1959, p. 37.

"...Establish Federal programs and appropriate the necessary funds to meet all educational, social, political, and economic needs of the South, and to overcome the results of more than three hundred years of oppression of Negro people."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

#### 8. Influence of Communist Press

"...The Worker is a powerful democratic weapon for peace, relief for the abandoned unemployed, in the fight to smash the political power of racists. Racism is destroying national morality. It is obscuring the basis for Negro-white unity in struggle without which constitutional government cannot be saved."

"THOSE WHO cannot find an answer to unemployment, against racist terror, to the question of peace are bold in the practices of deception and terror. These are their only weapons.

"Is it not obvious why racists make the Congress corridors ring with threats against labor and the Negro people? They seek to make logic out of terror. It won't work if we use the logic of reason that emerges out of the clarity of facts."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 15.

## **IX. EDUCATION**

1. Cold war military expenditures must be cut to make funds available for education.
2. Marxist education is vital to prevent the recurrence of revisionism in the Communist Party.
3. A national system of education must not be hindered by the backwardness and social prejudices of local bodies.
4. Federal aid to education legislation is necessary to alleviate shortages of classrooms and teachers in the United States.
5. The "great leap forward" in education being made in the socialist world is a challenge to the United States.
6. Protests from youth can be an important part of the drive for school integration.
7. The problem of American educators is "how good an education for how many?"

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Military versus Education Expenditures**

"...the federal government pays only 4 percent of the cost of public schools, even though it collects almost 3 out of every 4 tax dollars. Cutting the massive military expenditures which now constitute the biggest part of our national budget, would serve our youth best by reducing the danger of war and making these funds available for useful education."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 12.

"... In the peaceful competition on education for the people, the United States is being left far behind. This is revealed by the percentage of gross national income spent on education. For the Soviet Union the figure is 10 percent; for Great Britain, eight percent; for the United States, three percent.

"Education is on a hunger-diet in the richest nation of the world....

"... The insatiable munitions - missiles monster which flattens off 75 percent of the national budget does so at the expense of public education, housing, health and employment of the people."

"... it is all too obvious from the record of even the best states that the growth of education in our country depends in very large measure on a steep increase in federal aid to education.

"... the fantastic demands of the Cold War economy are eating away at the vitals of American life. Who would halt this disastrous corrosion must face the facts and work to eliminate the worst and costliest expression of its cause: the Cold War."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 13.

## 2. Marxist Education To Prevent Party Revisionism

"One of the main reasons why modern day revisionism got such a strong grip on the Left and Communist forces was the low educational level of many militant workers and progressives. Attendance at the Faculty of Social Science, along with self-study, reading, and mastery of theory, is vital to preventing a recurrence of this debilitating sickness.

"At the same time, it equips advanced workers to more clearly identify and speedily root out all ideologies of capitulation to monopoly reaction and racism. Schooling stimulates the rich creativeness that Marxism alone can give our country.

"We Communists, in particular, have to elevate working class theory to its rightful and preferred place in the labor and progressive movement, in the liberation struggles of the Negro people, among the Puerto Rican and other democratic militants."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 3.

### 3. National System of Education

"A NEW AND IMPORTANT area of struggle has begun to emerge in the field of education. More than one question of educational theory and practice in the U.S. will be reflecting its impact during the next years.

"Already the first ventures into 'federal aid to education'... have brought forth some pretty sharp statements on the question of a national system of education, as contrasted with the present 'local control' set-up."

"THE FACT is that the question of a national system of education is not so much emerging as re-emerging in our day. It was an issue almost with the very birth of the nation, at a time when plans for a national system were being put forth, although with significant differences among them, by men of the caliber of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, and others.

"...The plans failed because powerful social forces opposed them, and no significant forces then existed which could break down the opposition.... The defeat of these plans for a national system of education left a permanent mark on the form of public education in the United States."

"TODAY THAT MARK can be seen not only in the form of public education, but increasingly in the content, and even in the mere extent to which educational facilities exist in various sections of the country."

"AMONG THE ENEMIES of a national system, and their spokesmen, there is a high sensitivity to anything that smacks of efforts to 'impose conformity.' They will not be defeated in their renewed efforts to leave education solely to state and local authorities, on every front, except by a correspondingly high sensitivity to the desperately growing needs for federal aid, and for a national system, on the part of those who are unwilling to maintain the terrible burden placed on all of us by the backwardness, lack of resources, or sheer social prejudices of the local bodies."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 10.

#### 4. Federal Aid to Education

"...the deepening crisis in education...what is particularly noteworthy about the crisis today is its growth during a period of relative prosperity. In this respect, it offers a striking testimonial to the inability of modern American capitalism, which can 'afford' not only some 40-odd billions for armaments but clamors for still more, to provide an educational system at all adequate for the needs of our youth.

"...a shortage of 140,000 classrooms and 135,000 teachers...is growing, not shrinking, while federal aid to education kicks around in Congress year after year and gets nowhere. And in our colleges and universities, tuition fees, already at astronomical levels, continue to go up amid anguished complaints of college administrators that even such fees fall far short of meeting their financial needs."

Hyman Lumer, "On Party Youth Work," Political Affairs, June, 1959, p. 3.

"SO THE EISENHOWER Administration has finally decided to launch a bill of its own for Federal aid to school construction! What welcome news this would be -- IF it were a good bill; and IF it were not mainly designed to take the play away from a more desirable bill, introduced by two Montana Democrats and already enjoying the co-sponsorship of 30 other senators."

"News reports have already characterized the new bill as 'the Administration's counter-attack on pending school construction bills'..."

"Only significant Federal aid within the next immediate period will, in fact, permit them to carry through a classroom-building program of any significant dimensions."

The Worker,  
February 22, 1959, p. 10.

"THIS IS budget time. Once again the ugly economic facts that lie beneath all the different phases of our 'crisis in education' come up to the surface. It is not a pleasant or a hopeful picture, and on two major questions, the shortage of classrooms and the shortage of teachers, the situation remains unbelievably bad. In the very same year in which the two giants of Socialism--the USSR and People's China--are moving forward with stupendous boldness in education, we in the U.S. are still wrestling with the most elementary problems--space for our children to learn in, and teachers to learn from.

"We are somewhere in the neighborhood of 150,000 classrooms short for the nation as a whole. There has not been a single post-war year in which classroom shortages have not been of significant proportions; and the figure for this current school year is apparently just what it was a year ago. Yet for three years a Federal aid-to-education bill has been scrapped by Congress. It was well known that the 1957 bill had only the most modest backing from the White House, and this, among other things, contributed to its demise. There does not appear to be any evidence for believing that in 1959 the White House's concern with educational needs will be any deeper. All the State of the Union message asks for is 'study' of the problem...."

The Worker,  
February 1, 1959, p. 10.



## 5. Socialist Educational Progress

'IN CHINA'S educational system today, the 'middle schools' take in the elementary school graduates, between the ages of 13 and 16....

"Like almost everything else they're doing in China these days, recent developments in these 'middle schools' show the tempo and boldness of a really 'new world.' Here is no 'final formula' for the education of teenagers, either in China itself or elsewhere; but it certainly commands our attention. Not only for the solutions, but for the approach, the basic outlook with which they set out to tackle the problems. It's a real challenge to even the best and most 'advanced' of our educational thinking (or prejudices) here."

"One thing is clear: a basic combination of education with productive labor, in China today, is basically transforming the educational process -- and the students, as well. It's the sort of transformation of which we here need to know more -- and prepare to do more about."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 10.

"THERE ARE great educational changes afoot in the Socialist world, these days, especially in the USSR and China. They have not taken final shape yet, and they may not for some time to come; but they have been, and are, being debated widely in those countries--and not in the courts, or only among the administrators and legislators, but throughout the whole population.

"They are being debated around the fundamental issues actually involved in these changes in practice; and those issues are plainly set forth in documents which our readers can easily lay their hands on...

"One of these documents is the report by Lu Ting-yi, of the Chinese Communist Party, prepared at the close of a broad conference on educational work called by the Central Committee of that Party. It is titled 'Education Must Be Combined With Productive Labor'; and in it are to be found not only certain concrete proposals, of which the bourgeois press here has already begun to feed us their distorted versions, but the principles in the light of which these proposals are to be judged, of which this same bourgeois press tells us next to nothing."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 10.

"...China today 'combines education with productive labor'...we get some new and exciting evidence of this 'great leap forward' in education.

"TAKE...the school-run factories. There are now, no more than seven months after this development got under way, some 150,000 such enterprises, set up by about 20,000 different universities, colleges and secondary schools, in 20 provinces and cities. In scope, these range 'from large machine works, which can turn out 2,000 machine-tools a year, to small processing units.' Some are extensions of existing factories or laboratories; most of them 'started from scratch--set up with funds earned by students in the "work-while-you-study" program...' "

"...Close to 300,000 spare-time schools are run by factories, with 13 million students in them, and close to 10,000 part-work, part-study schools, with a million and a quarter students in them. There are even factories apparently, which have combined both types of study into a 'comprehensive educational system, ranging from literacy classes and primary schools to university education...' And throughout the set-up the substance of the curriculum is a 'combination of culture, politics and technical science.' "

"Has human history ever seen such human goals for education or such giant human steps to achieve them?"

The Worker,  
January 4, 1959, p. 10.

6. School Integration Drive

"...A Board of Education that operates a segregated school system clearly will not want petitions for national integration to be circulated within its schools."

"If students protest in letters to the Board of Education and the newspapers every time they are prevented from circulating petitions, and if PTA's Teen-age clubs, neighborhood and teachers groups join the protest, the Youth March for Integrated Schools can become an important part of the drive for school integration in New York as well as in Little Rock."

The Worker,  
March 1, 1959, p. 6.

7. Educational "Quantity-Quality" Problem

"THE 'QUANTITY-QUALITY' problem continues to haunt American educators, as well as friends and observers of our educational practice and products. What the problem boils down to is this: how good an education for how many? and are the 'how good' and the 'how many' in this case locked in such mortal combat that either one of them can only triumph at the expense of the other? That is, is the 'way out of our educational crisis' to be that of making public education broader but thinner, or is it to be that of making it, in effect, deeper but narrower?"

"There is, of course, a third way -- a way on which the educational systems of the Socialist world, and especially of the Soviet Union and China, have already embarked, each along its own lines, and in response to its own concrete needs.

"That is the way of broadening and deepening simultaneously, the way of moving towards higher and higher levels on an ever-widening scale, the way which sees the problems of quantity and of quality, not as in contradiction, but as effective stimulants and guarantees of solution, one to the other."

The Worker,  
March 1, 1959, p. 10.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Art is a weapon in the workers' struggle to free themselves from capitalist exploitation.
2. The visit of the Bolshoi Ballet to the United States has enriched our culture by giving us a new concept and meaning of the dance.
3. The theater is an integral part of the struggle for Negro rights.
4. The wealth of Negro history and culture now buried in libraries is a fertile source of material for use in the battle for the mind of America.
5. Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago is just another of the "hymns of blind hatred" against the Soviet Union which has received the "Madison Avenue build-up."
6. Christianity, instead of providing the promised freedom and a new life for the poor and oppressed worker, has only brought additional oppression.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Art as a Weapon

"The Communist Party conceived of itself, not only as a political party per se,\* but also as the spearhead and organizer of a new society, a new civilization, and therefore among its prime responsibilities was the duty of organizing a new consciousness, a new morality, a new ethic, a new esthetic, which would be in harmony with the new society. The Party did not just reflect the force it represented; it proposed to change the relationship of forces.... For this principle applied to art made the demand that art serve as an instrument for change, and so become a 'weapon.'..."

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"Marxist...basic view of art as a profound commitment to the struggle of mankind, led by the workers, to free itself of capitalist exploitation and all its evils, is as creative as it ever was--even, under today's conditions, more so."

Phillip Bonosky, "The 'Thirties' in American Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 36, 37.

## 2. Soviet Ballet Gives New Concept of Dance

"THE BALLET in America will never be the same again. For the Bolshoi ballet has introduced us to an entirely new concept of the magic and meaning of the dance."

"It is not that the Bolshoi Ballet is greater than any other, but that it is wholly different, in idea and form, from any ballet company we have ever seen. None can compare to it, none conceive of the ballet on so grandious and all-embracing a scale."

"As the Soviet Sputnik invigorated American science, as education in the Soviet Union has caused us to reexamine our educational system, so, I believe the Bolshoi Ballet will change our concept of the dance.

"When their tour is ended and they have returned home with their accolades, gifts and bouquets, they will have given us something even more precious than the opportunity to witness their performances. They will have given us a new art form. Like all such gifts, at first, there will be some reluctant to receive it, some who will not understand it. Our culture however will be the richer for it.

"May there be more and more cultural exchanges!"

The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

### 3. Theater's Part in Struggle for Negro Rights

" 'A RAISIN in the Sun, ' the new play by Lorraine Hansbury, opened on Broadway in March, and made theatre history. It made history in many ways, and the discussion it has started, not only in art circles but among Negro theatre folk, will go on for a long time to come."

"It is an integral part of the struggle for Negro rights. This fact does not diminish its artistic value but, on the contrary, enhances it...."

"Art as a weapon and a truly cultural medium will come into its own, but not by itself. The freedom struggle of the Negro people should and will achieve expression on every front. Those who want freedom can never relax, nor can they accept the notion that there are fronts of human relations removed from conflict.

"The battle for human dignity is being won. The destruction of the racist concepts of those who rule in America would be a mortal blow to national and racial chauvinism. The theatre must be for progress and humanism. And 'Raisin in the Sun' is part of such a theatre."

William L. Patterson, " 'A Raisin in the Sun, ' " Mainstream, May, 1959, pp. 47, 49.

### 4. Negro Folklore

"... Negro history and culture have been given an enormous amount of attention and, at the same time, have been neglected. There is a wealth of Negro lore in thousands and thousands of books and articles, but most of this is buried in our larger libraries and is known mainly to specialists. The materials have been industriously collected but not much thought about, and then badly thought about for the most part...."

"Scholarship in folklore, like that in politics, history, industry, education and religion, is a battleground even when the warriors don't know it....

"We all know--or should know--that 'the battle for the mind of America' is not carried on solely in factories and union halls, that victories are won in libraries and their effects then filter down into the minds of journalists and then into the minds of that influential seventeen percent of Americans who read a book during a year...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
February, 1959, p. 47.

5. Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago

"Pasternak has written just another of the hymns of blind hatred of the Soviet Union that the people have suffered since the first day they dared to build the first socialist country. Not a single gleam of light penetrates the darkness that Zhivago finds everywhere. Can you imagine a great country where EVERYTHING is wrong and immoral? You will find it in Pasternak's book."

"Pasternak spits poison like a snake whenever in his novel he tries to describe any simple worker or peasant, and of course, any rank and file Communist."

"'ZHIVAGO' RECEIVED a Madison Avenue build-up that stunned the mind. Goebbels never had a better success. George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were never more glorified as 'freedom fighters' than Dr. Pasternak. It was one of those circus stunts of American business that often delighted the ribald spirit of the late Mencken.



"America leads the world in publicity skill and brain washing. But I doubt that the hucksters could have peddled a thousand copies of this undistinguished novel if it hadn't been for the Nobel Prize gimmick. That, and the denunciation by the Soviet Authors' Union. What a windfall for the manufacturers of synthetic best sellers.

"That Nobel prize was a disgrace to literature and a volcano of filth and dishonesty. It had little to do with literary value, as most readers now admit, but was as political and partisan an act as any backstage intrigue by Tricky Nick Nixon."

The Worker,  
February 1, 1959, p. 8.

#### 6. Christianity and the Oppressed Workers

"...the revolutionary ethical turmoil of Christianity, its tenets and teaching falling like the gentle dew from heaven upon the poor and the oppressed. However poor and miserable one might be, he and she now became, not only sons and daughters of men, but also daughters and sons of God. It was an hilarious thought! Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you, promised a new life and a fine freedom from want and care. The life of the Christians set an example; goods were held in common, and, for a while, a new earth seemed to be within the process of a great birth; a new dawn had come to all men, so all those who suffered, who were weary, all who laboured and were heavy-laden, flocked to the new idea. The workers had only to believe, and all would be well.

"It didn't turn out that way.

"The poor and the needy remained as poor, as needy, and as miserable as ever; the grandees, the rich, their lick-spittle followers became the governors, not only of the Church, but of the State, too; and the lot of the workers became worse than ever; they could have heaven if they wished, but the rich and the privileged continued to inherit the earth. The workers lived in the earth's worst room; they still had a world to win. The poor workers! They had had the rich on their backs before; now they had the prelate and the priest there as well."

Sean O'Casey, "The Day ~~the~~ Worker  
Blows a Bugle," Mainstream, May, 1959, p. 3.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women can be instrumental in formulating our national budget program.
2. Preparations should be made to celebrate the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day in March, 1960.
3. Solutions are needed to the problems confronting American women who are working outside the home in increasing numbers.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. National Budget

"The main problem facing American women today is the criminal wastefulness of national housekeeping. Budget defense spending brings us neither security nor friends. Every housewife knows you cannot pour most of your allowance down the drain of futile defense and simultaneously accomplish sensible housekeeping.

"American women, half the voting population, must assume natural responsibility for housekeeping of the nation, and use their common sense in spending the bulk of the budget for the essentials of life, namely health, housing, education and implementation of civil rights for all Americans.

"American women must replace the extravagantly wasteful war budget and program with a constructive peace budget and program."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, p. 8.

#### 2. International Women's Day

"IT IS NOT too early for American women to set up committees in various cities and begin to prepare for the celebration of the 50th anniversary

of International Women's Day, which will be world-wide, next March. In the struggle for peace, for democracy, for the well being of children and for the equal rights of women--meetings, demonstrations, exhibits, can be arranged.

"The progress made thus far, locally and nation-wide, can be registered and slogans prepared as to the struggles not yet completed.

"It will be disgraceful if in the country where International Women's Day had its origin, adequate and appropriate recognition of its history is lacking, while colorful and dramatic celebrations are planned in all other countries. Even a small group of determined women can start the ball rolling in each city."

...  
"...Let's set up committees to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of International Women's Day--and do it soon."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1959, p. 9.

### 3. Working Women

"The attitude that woman's place is in the home is a tongue-in-cheek myth. For American women have always worked in large numbers, that is, working-class women, and particularly women of immigrant and Negro families."

...  
"The 'bird in a gilded cage' concept of womanhood was reserved for the middle and leisure classes."

"What is new in the modern picture of today is not the fact that women are working outside their homes...."

"The striking fact is that it takes the earning power of husband and wife, in the majority of homes today (to get even a small share of the country's wealth in commodity production."

"...American women are working outside the home in growing numbers and...this fact requires a realistic view of their needs and problems. And we might add that, as part of the country's labor force, women have the right to demand solution of their needs and problems so that they may function more thoroughly and equitably both as women and mothers and as workers."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1959, pp. 7, 9.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. Conditions must be created that will encourage the formation of a Marxist youth organization.
2. The enthusiasm generated by the recent youth march on Washington should be maintained through proper organization.
3. Pressure from youth organizations has forced the State Department to modify its opposition to the forthcoming World Youth Festival in Vienna.
4. Federal legislation is necessary to guarantee an education, employment, and health for America's youth.
5. Youth can play an important part in combatting the Jim Crow system in America.
6. Jazz is a common ground for remaining close to the youth.
7. Many problems of America's delinquent youth might be solved by using Soviet methods.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Marxist Youth Organization**

"IN THE MOMENTOUS struggle for peace, democracy and social progress taking place today, the youth of our country occupy a uniquely important position. Hence they are a vital element of the mass base of any working-class or socialist organization, not least of the Communist Party. The Party cannot wage successfully the fight for progress and socialism without striving to win a solid base among the youth, and without a continual influx of young people into its ranks."

"...every effort should be made to increase and widen the Party's youth work and its participation, initiative and influence in mass youth movements and campaigns. Attention should be given in all districts to the setting up of youth-work commissions. A flexible policy should be developed toward the building of Party youth clubs and similar organizational forms. Every effort should be made to establish a national apparatus as soon as possible, and steps should be taken to prepare a Party program and perspectives for all aspects of youth work, as well as an educational program for youth.

"Further, the Party should do all it can to help create conditions for and support efforts of youth groups toward the establishment of a nationwide socialist youth organization along the general lines indicated above. It should give full encouragement and support to the building of all kinds of local youth organizations and committees, among them various interim and provisional forms of organization directed toward the goal of a national youth organization."

Hyman Lumer, "On Party Youth Work,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 1, 13.

"Peoples all over the world are ousting oppressive foreign rulers, insisting that they control their own resources and governments, and seeking peaceful relations with each other. All youth need knowledge of the conditions of life among these other peoples, and closer acquaintance with facts pertinent to youth's situation here.

"Therefore, we are establishing this page of articles, stories, reviews as a weekly feature of special interest to youth...."

The Worker,  
February 15, 1959, p. 6.

## 2. Youth March on Washington

"AMERICA'S YOUTH is capable of big things. They created the greatest youth pilgrimage to Washington that our country has ever seen.

"The young people's crusade was in its purpose and power a major political event. That is undoubtedly why the capitalist press imposed a virtual blackout on the crusade. The monopoly newspapers are allergic to mass action by the people, even young people, in their own behalf.

"The youths have returned home, or to the colleges from which they came, more determined than ever to win their simple and just demands.

"A GREAT NEW POWER has been forged in our land, the power of Negro and white young people."

"The confidence of the Youth Marchers that they will win is, we believe fully justified by what they have already done. The March was achieved not only by enthusiasm, but by organization, as all those who participated in it will testify. Organization is the key to its future success. A maximum of contact between all areas and the national headquarters, and a maximum of contact within each city and area, are now essential."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

"TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND Negro and white youth marched on Washington, demanding vigorous steps by the White House and Congress to speed school integration."

"The continuations program of the Youth marchers calls for passing the Douglas-Javits civil rights bill, continuing the petition drive, and freeing of Asbury Howard Jr.

"Eisenhower, who refused to leave his golf bags to listen to the youth, and also Congress, must be made to comply with the just demands of the youth. **BREAK THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION BARRIER BY SEPTEMBER. ACT NOW!**

"The Worker is proud that it gave its support to this democratic efforts of America's youth."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 26, 1959, p. 2.

### 3. World Youth Festival

"PRESSURE from youth and youth organizations around the country and the world has forced the U.S. State Department to change its position of complete opposition to the World Youth Festival. It is now 'quietly and unofficially encouraging the participation of able and thoroughly prepared American students' in the Vienna World Youth Festival, July 26 to August 4..."

"Indications are that the new State Department policy is not all for the benefit of peace and friendship. There have been reports of possible attempts at disrupting the Festival or the U.S. delegation at Vienna by 'thoroughly prepared American students,' thoroughly prepared by the State Department...."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1959, p. 6.

### 4. Legislation for Youth

"'...Legislate for America's youth. Establish an American Youth Administration with funds and authority to work with representatives of youth organizations on national, state and local levels for a program to guarantee to our youth the opportunity for job training and employment for schooling through college and specialized education, for athletics and recreational activities and all other needs. Abolish peace-time conscription.'"

The Worker,  
March 15, 1959, p. 5.



5. Fight against Jim Crow System

"THE DEVASTATING effects of the Jimcrow system in America, and the role of youth in combatting it were explored by Dr. Herbert Aptheker at a lecture May 1 for youth on integration.

"...Aptheker pointed out that although significant gains have been made since the Civil War, conditions for 19 million Negro American are still worse than unequal."

"He pointed out that the wall of hatred separating workers is 'the single greatest weakening instrument of the American working class and the trade unions.'

"...Aptheker suggested to the Negro and white audience that they could work effectively through opposing racism in their personal conduct, through combining and working with others who share these views, and through disciplined study.

"He urged youth to join the fight on all levels: in their schools, through local NAACP youth chapters, through union branches, wherever and however possible to secure our rightful heritage of true equality."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1959, p. 6.

6. Jazz and the Youth

"One must try to live close to the youth--they hold the future of America in their hands. What is the one subject nearly all of them are united on? It is Jazz, a subject of debate and devotion that far outclasses such subjects as war and peace, socialism and capitalism, books, girls and even baseball. Young intellectual and young working stiffs meet on this common ground.

"The sensible parent, however much he may dislike Jazz, should try honestly to understand it, if only as a means of remaining friends with his offspring."

. . . . .

"Let them discuss it seriously with their kids--they will be surprised to learn, often, how much real thinking the kids are doing on this subject, how deeply jazz moves them, how jazz has destroyed any racism they might otherwise have picked up. The kids have acquired a great deal of real technical knowledge of music through their passion for jazz."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1959, p. 8.

#### 7. Delinquent Youth

"In this day of gang fights, brutal murders and violence on the part of many of America's youth, we might do well to look to the Soviet Union, which had a serious delinquency problem.

"Some 35 years ago, hordes of homeless, hungry and often vicious youngsters roamed the USSR....

"Anton Makarenko, in his 'Road to Life', discovered how to apply Socialist principles to these 'hoodlums'...."

. . . . .

"His fundamental attitude was simple--young criminals must be treated with full respect as human beings, but pampering them can do more harm than good. You must be extremely demanding of them, always insisting that they deliver to society the utmost of their ability."

. . . . .

"Perhaps our young delinquents can also become useful members of society, but not while we continue either cuddling or beating them. We can learn a lot from Anton Makarenko."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1959, p. 6.

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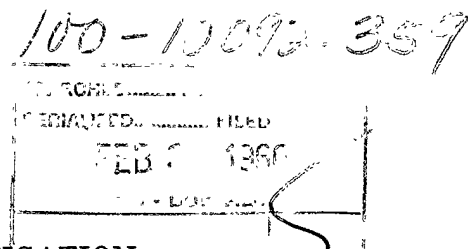
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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1959--December 1959**

**January 1960**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, feels that Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the United States has eased world tensions. Khrushchev is said to have given the American people a better understanding of the "peaceful foreign policy" of the Soviet Union, the nature of the socialist system, and the achievements of socialist construction. The Party claims this new awareness of the American people is forcing a change in United States foreign policy away from the Dulles "brinkmanship" policies.

While communists feel the "thaw" in the cold war has begun, they emphasize that peace still must be "fought for." They condemn "reactionary" Government leaders and "giant monopolists" for opposing all of Khrushchev's proposals for world trade and total disarmament.

The Party repeatedly charges "United States intervention" in Cuban affairs, claiming that our Government is plotting to overthrow the Castro regime and set up a new government in Cuba subservient to the "Wall Street trusts." Also, communists continue to condemn American

support of the "Nazi-tainted" Bonn regime and maintenance of West Berlin as a center for espionage against the socialist countries. They repeat their demands for recognition of both the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China.

In all phases of international relations, the central theme of the Communist Party, USA, has been that all actions of the Soviet Union reveal a desire for world peace while the actions of the United States continue to incite world tensions.

On domestic issues, the Communist Party concentrates its propaganda and activities on closer unity with the people. The Party has stepped up its participation in political activities. Added emphasis is being placed on mass opposition to "candidates of reaction" and the promotion of "pro-peace, pro-labor, and pro-civil rights" candidates at all levels. The goal of this struggle is to raise the socialist consciousness of the workers, farmers, and Negro people, leading to the formation of an independent, socialist-led farmer-labor party.

Communists claim some of the anti-Soviet prejudices of the American people have been removed by the Khrushchev visit. They believe that this favorable reaction and the Party's constant stressing of the "built-in"

problems of capitalism, such as, economic recessions, unemployment, corruption, and excessive military expenditures, can make possible the coming of the "era of socialism" in this country in the latter half of the century.

The labor movement, according to the Party, is confronted with a "determined and well-organized big-business offensive." The recent "labor reform" bill, which is being vociferously denounced by the Party, is said to be only the beginning of this offensive. Disappointing results from the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco and failure of union leadership adequately to fight the "anti-labor" trend reflect the growing crisis in the labor movement.

Continued charges of United States interference in Latin America and in the Far East appear throughout Party publications. The success of Cuba's revolution, according to the Party, has brought new hope to the "anti-imperialist struggle" in all Latin-American countries. Communists feel this has changed the tactics of the United States but not its aims of domination of Latin America.

The Supreme Court, the Congress, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

have been subjects of considerable contempt in recent Party propaganda.

These bodies of the Federal Government, according to the Party, have failed to protect the rights of the American people. Instead, through court decisions, repressive legislation, and red-baiting investigations, they have supported the forces of "reaction."

Communists charge that "racism" continues as a deadly menace in America because of the "dual system of justice" in the South and the failure to end discriminatory practices in trade-unions. The Party calls for intensive united action of "democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Dixiecrat forces" to realize, for all people, equal economic, political, and social status.

School integration and juvenile delinquency problems in the United States have received prominent attention in the Party press. While magnifying these issues, the Party constantly stresses the lack of such difficulties in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Party deems it imperative that a Marxist-oriented youth organization be formed as quickly as possible. All technical and scientific accomplishments of the Soviet Union have received conspicuous notice and are attributed to socialist "freedom of science."

## **B. Conclusions**

1. The Communist Party, USA, believes there has been an easing of world tensions since the Khrushchev visit to the United States. As a result, the Party press will undoubtedly even more openly parrot the Soviet Union's "peaceful foreign policy" line by prominently featuring the Party's support of Soviet disarmament proposals, trade with socialist countries, recognition of East Germany and Red China, ban of nuclear weapons, and an end to the cold war.
2. The Party emerged from its 17th National Convention in mid-December, 1959, determined to be a more decisive force in American life. Therefore, we can expect communists to increase their participation in and organization of united front movements in all spheres of activity, with special emphasis on the forthcoming elections.
3. Communists continue their censorious attitude toward trade-union leaders for their lack of determined opposition to "anti-labor" legislation. The Party press is expected to further deride these union leaders, as well as the recent Landrum-Griffin bill and its supporters in Government and the business world. Issues raised as a result of unemployment, automation, and "runaway" shops will undoubtedly receive continued prominent attention.
4. National movements arising in Latin America, Africa, and Asia can be expected to receive the same widespread support in the Party press as has been true in the past. At the same time, "American imperialist interests" will be condemned if and when our Government takes any position in opposition to revolutionary groups in those areas.
5. The Party claims the Government condones civil rights violations through its policy of "passivity." We, therefore, must anticipate that the Party will give widespread publicity to any further racial problems arising among Negro, foreign-born, religious, or youth groups.

6. The Party will undoubtedly exert more effort toward the immediate building of a new communist youth organization. As for the over-all program, future communist activities in this country will almost certainly be mainly concerned with uniting the Party more closely with all segments of the population, using the peace issue as the unifying influence.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. Mounting pressures and a new awareness of the nature of socialism are forcing changes in United States foreign policy.
2. Peace is the central issue of today but must be "fought for."
3. Reactionary opposition to complete disarmament can be overcome by the will of the people.
4. Although a "certain thaw" in the cold war has developed, "peace-lovers must unite" to defeat the advocates of world tension.
5. Richard M. Nixon has attempted to keep alive the "defunct Dulles policy of negotiation from a mythical position of strength."
6. Nikita S. Khrushchev's visit to the United States has eased world tension by dispelling much of the effects of the "mighty machinery of opinion-making in the U.S." against the Soviet Union.
7. Opponents of trade with the Soviet Union must be defeated by "positive steps" from American workers.
8. The Party supports the Cuban revolution and condemns American interference in Cuban affairs.
9. America's rearming and support of the "Nazi-tainted Bonn regime" are continuing sources of cold war incitement.
10. The Party demands that the United States give full recognition to the People's Republic of China.



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Changing United States Foreign Policy

"THE COLD-WAR policies of 'positions of strength' and brinkmanship have proven themselves increasingly bankrupt. In this, a major factor has been also the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

"As a result, American big business has been compelled to begin a painful reexamination of its policies--in the words of Dulles himself, an 'agonizing reappraisal'--and to take a more realistic approach to the situation in which it finds itself."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"...a change in direction of foreign policy...shaping up in this country.

"...an important first step away from the inflexible Dulles 'brinkmanship' policies, produced by a number of pressures. Among them are the growing bankruptcy of the Dulles line, the mounting force of popular peace sentiment here and abroad, the sharpening of contradictions and divisions among the big capitalists, and the great achievements of the socialist countries.

"Underlying these is a change in the relationship of forces on a world scale, with a mounting challenge to the dominant position of American capitalism from a number of sources, confronting the monopolies with an accumulation of increasingly serious problems."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"The foreign policy of Wall Street and the Administration is not only aggressive, reactionary and warlike. It is also bankrupt and doomed

to failure. For the bipartisan cold-war program of Big Business runs counter to the genuine national interests of the American people, who are threatened with annihilation in the event of a new world war. Even now this adventurist imperialist policy is meeting increased opposition among the most varied sectors of our population, including some influential business circles."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 27.

## 2. Peace Policy

"...Peace...emerges more than ever as the central issue of our day. It is to this that we must apply ourselves with all the energy, skill and ingenuity at our command. It is to this that our work in all other fields must be related."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"...Upon the outcome of the now-unfolding struggle for a policy of peace may hinge the fate of mankind. The aroused action of the people for peace can ensure victory in this noble cause. Moreover, their organized intervention will, by influencing the character of the peace, open the way to a new period of social progress."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"...the prospects for world peace are much stronger today...as the result of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower get-together."

"This get-together represents a defeat for the Dulles brinkmanship policies. They signify a thaw in the cold war. And the hope of saving many millions of people from nuclear death is brighter by far."

"But Peace must be fought for...For 'aggressive and reckless giant monopolists still dream of ruling a world molded in their own image... and pin their hopes on Cape Canaveral, not Camp David.'

"...the cold war is not yet defrosted. The evil plans of the warmongers... must be decisively defeated. The peace of the world, our lives and the lives of our children, hang on this.' "

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 4.

"...The security and the very survival of the American people demand that they halt the present foreign policy and impose a new policy on the government. Such a policy will not arise automatically from the dangers and failures of the present one, but only through a broader, more determined and consistent struggle by the American people to end the cold war, to achieve peaceful coexistence."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 28.

"NEEDED in America most of all is organized and crystalized political expression for a peace--at grass-roots as well as among the top-brackets in Labor and other popular organizations."

"...it needs emphasis and re-emphasis--for the enemies of peace, those who profit by the Cold War never sleep. Their machination endanger our country--and the world."

The Worker,  
August 23, 1959, p. 14.

### 3. Disarmament

"...the complete and early disarmament of all the powers. To this great goal, Premier Khrushchev's speech at the UN\* was an outstanding contribution.

\* United Nations

"The war-making imperialists are already carrying on a determined campaign to defeat Khrushchev's historic speech, but their efforts will fail. He was speaking for humanity, and the great body of the masses of the globe will rally behind his imperishable plans. This plan points out the only road to drive a death nail into the coffin of imperialist war, and it will free the world's masses from the wasted billions of war, as well as its wholesale slaughter. It opens the way to prosperity and progress generally. To wipe out all war armaments is a key task of world socialism."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 49-50.

"...the way to disarmament is not going to be an easy one, particularly in our own country, where many elements, who profit from arms production or war, are powerful enough to set up a multitude of roadblocks...."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 4.

"KHRUSHCHEV HAS ALREADY made a great contribution to the realization of peace through his address to the United Nations Assembly, in which he called for complete disarmament...."

"The top brass at the Pentagon, the State Department, and Wall Street, which calls their tune, don't want disarmament or peace."

"...these reactionary forces are against disarmament of any kind. Their concern is to keep the U.S. and its satellite military establishments

in a position of superiority to those of the socialist world. What a contrast this anti-human aim is to that of the Soviet Union, with its willingness, despite its great armed power, to bring about total world disarmament!"

. . . . .

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE now have the chance to promote peace, with Khrushchev's proposal for total disarmament as the first point on the agenda. Write President Eisenhower, telling him you want serious consideration of the Soviet disarmament proposal.

"Get your neighbors, church, club and union to pass resolutions on this to send to the President and members of Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 27, 1959, p. 2.

"...disarmament...has become the subject of intense discussion on all sides and is being regarded as a realistic hope by ever greater numbers of Americans."

. . . . .

"The Communist Party has always maintained that the American working people are not hopelessly entrapped in a dilemma of war or crisis--that they can and must fight for such a peacetime economy as a far better alternative for themselves. We must support and give leadership to these struggles today."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

#### 4. Cold War Thaw

"...The cold war...has bled the American people white and brought us time and again to the brink of atomic war.

"But the American people demonstrated anew this year their desire for cooperation with the Soviet Union for peace when they welcomed Soviet Premier Khrushchev to our shores as an emissary of peace. The people hailed the joint declarations of Eisenhower and Khrushchev to work together to ease the tensions of the cold war and to negotiate for peace.

"The American people must learn the lesson of the period since World War II, and not permit the cold warriors, to destroy the prospects of an era of peace. They must demand of Congress and the President that they agree with the Soviet Union for an atomic war ban, for disarmament and for an early summit meeting."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 6, 1959, p. 2.

"...the profundity of America's grassroot desire to live in amity with that other great power was scarcely realized by many of the best friends peace has here. That has bearing on this fact: that the bias of the cold-war is not deep among our people. That bias is artificial, and must be injected a la McCarthyism for it to exist."

"...America's peace-lovers must unite to defeat the forces that want the past, a world filled with tension, arms, and finally, war.

"But when all is summed up...one realizes that we have here a certain thaw in the cold war. A beginning. But a beginning of enormous value to humanity."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 14.

"The cold war is far from ended. Its advocates, who are to be found in both parties (as symbolized by the Republican Rockefeller and the

Democrat Acheson) and in some Administration circles, have already launched a counteroffensive designed to undo all that has been accomplished. They will have to be defeated, and there are hard battles ahead if the potentialities inherent in the present situation are to be realized."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

##### 5. Nixon Supporter of Cold War

"Immediately on the announcement of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower exchange visits, supporters of the cold war went into action...."

"...even among many, for whatever reason, who expressed their support of the exchange of visits, the cold-war mentality hung on. It is not accidental that Premier Khrushchev, immediately after he landed, asked the President if he had read Vice-President Nixon's address at the Convention of the American Dental Association.

" 'Setting Khrushchev straight' was the red thread of the Nixon address before the Dental Association....He considered 'incredibly naive' those who might see in the visit the opening of a new era of 'sweetness and light.' "

"Nixon did not use the occasion to help establish a better atmosphere for discussing the problems of mutual concern to both countries, but in order to keep alive the defunct Dulles policy of negotiation from a mythical position of strength. Negotiation on the basis of equality and mutual respect is foreign to this man who has been striving to don the mantle of 'peace-maker.' "

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit," ..  
Political Affairs, November, 1959, pp. 8-9.

6. Khrushchev Visit Eased World Tension

"The biggest event of 1959 was the visit of Premier Khrushchev to the U.S. Not only did this trip demolish the phony picture of the Soviet people promoted by the boss-owned press, radio and TV, but it began to thaw the 'cold war' which was instigated by Truman and aggravated by Eisenhower."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 2.

"THE KHRUSHCHEV visit has produced certain immediate effects of great import to the American people. It has reduced world tensions. It could well mark the beginning of a real improvement in American-Soviet relations..."

"Americans are examining and weighing the relative merits of the two systems. And they are coming more and more to realize that the socialist achievements offer no threat to them. Hence the lucid descriptions of the Soviet society presented by Khrushchev fell on interested ears."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"THE VISIT of Premier Khrushchev continues to shake the country. It is one of those rare moments in history when everyone feels a new world may be born, and hope is flying like a bright banner."

"...of course, the giant vultures of death, the great monopolies that already have conquered America and now are driving to conquest of the world. They and their army of purchased intellectuals, a gathering of skilled liars even sharper and more willing than Hitler's integrated seals,



have for decades employed all the mighty machinery of opinion-making in the U. S. as a weapon against the spread of truth about the Soviet Union. "

The Worker,  
September 27, 1959, p. 8.

" 'Khrushchev's visit has underscored the urgency of realizing universal and complete disarmament, an end towards which the Soviet Premier's momentous proposals to the United Nations are an outstanding contribution. And from it millions of Americans have acquired a better understanding of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and of the nature of the socialist system and the epic achievement of socialist construction in the USSR. ' '\*

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 2.

#### 7. Trade with Soviet Union

"GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER last week shocked the nation by his appeal to force in relations with the Soviet Union. In this he set himself in direct opposition to President Eisenhower's negotiations with Soviet Premier Khrushchev on relaxing world tensions and providing an atmosphere for peaceful coexistence. The heir of the Rockefeller oil dynasty made it clear that not only is he opposed to any thawing in the cold war but that he is for turning it into a hot war if it becomes worthwhile. "

"...Rockefeller, as spokesman for a large section of finance capital, was attacking any effort to come to agreement with the Soviet Union on Khrushchev's proposal for increased trade as an opening wedge for peaceful relations. "

\*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"He demanded that trade with the USSR be conducted only under rules set by Wall Street...."

"The answer to Rockefeller is for every American to mobilize his friends, neighborhood, church, shop and union for continuing peace talks with the USSR, for complete disarmament and for trade with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 1.

"With no cost to the taxpayer, ending the cold war can open up billions in annual business with the socialist world. For over ten years that trade has been cut off. The Government argued that the trade embargo would weaken the socialist countries and win the cold war. But it has been a fiasco. The Soviet Union has gained ground on the United States in production, military strength, and science. It makes and sells abroad many things Washington refuses to sell it."

"No American workers gain from the East-West trade embargo. Its removal, coupled with positive steps to encourage trade with the fastest-growing market in world history, would immediately open up hundreds of thousands, and in a few years millions of jobs for American workers."

The Worker,  
August 2, 1959, p. 9.

"One of the most provocative and war-like features of the Cold War situation is the economic blockade which the imperialist countries, led by the United States, are trying to enforce against all socialist lands, particularly the Soviet Union and People's China.... The economic boycott

is a disruptive factor on the international scene. It tends to hinder the building of world socialism, and increases the war danger; it should be abolished.... Actually, about the worst sufferers from it are the imperialist countries themselves, who through the blockade deny their own industries a great deal of much-needed trade."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 16.

## 8. Cuba

"HAVANA.--Here are some of the principal aspects of the new Cuba... First the outward visage of the capital--Havana. Contrary to all reports in the commercial press, tranquillity reigns."

"...Americans are being inundated, intellectually, by a tide of lies flowing from the commercial daily newspapers, the magazines, the radio, the television, the reactionaries within the State Department, and the well-heeled agents of Fulgencio Batista and his gangster-in-arms, the dictator in Santo Domingo.

"...it is necessary to bring the tidings from the new Cuba...

"...learn what the new Cuba offers its people--and its neighbors. To its people, peace, democracy, prosperity. To its neighbors, friendship, and the cooperation of men who respect each other...."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 8.

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY last week called on all Americans, 'in the first place the workers and their trade unions' to protest U. S. intervention in Cuba and 'to express their support to the people and government of Cuba.'

"The interventionist actions against Cuba 'could not be carried on without the encouragement and direct participation of American government personnel,' the party said. . . ."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 3.

"...the State Department and the Pentagon, assisted by the FBI, are busily plotting the overthrow of the Castro regime and the imposition on the Cuban people of a new government subservient to the Wall Street sugar and utilities trusts."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959,  
p. 28.

"...the Communist Party national committee...

"...pledged that American Communists would do their 'utmost to win the support of our working class and entire people to the Cuban revolution.' It greeted the 'firm national revolutionary government of Cuba and its principal leader, Fidel Castro.' "

The Worker,  
August 23, 1959, p. 15.

"Instead of sending the Marines, Wall Street is applying the most cruel forms of economic pressure against the Castro reform program and against the Cuban people beating down the price of sugar, etc. Simultaneously it is using the weapon of anti-Communism, labelling every reform by the Castro government as 'Communist' and 'Moscow-inspired.' "

"This is the moment for labor and the American people--born of revolution--to give the utmost support to the Cuban revolution, to demand: Hands off Cuba!... Let every voice be raised in our country in defense of Cuba's revolution, its national independence and self-determination."

The Worker,  
July 26, 1959, p. 2.

## 9. Germany

"...the West German government--and the arrogant Big Business circles behind it--are a most dangerous factor in the course toward alleviating tensions."

"...Dr. Adenauer has made it clear that he is unalterably opposed to any discussion of any kind of temporary solution of the Berlin question. His position is to let things slide as they are, for he is fearful that any change in status quo would rebound against the revanchists of the big German bourgeoisie who conspire to rearm, and at such a pace that they can upset any plans for East-West amity."

"The dangerous fact is that Adenauer could not be Adenauer without the support, open and covert, of mighty U.S. imperialist forces."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"...American capitalism has been rearming Germany, as it did after World War I, when it penalized the Weimar Republic, but lavishly aided with arms and money the forces that paved the way for Hitler.

"The same sort of cartel treachery to American democracy is now assisting Adenauer and his Nazi general staff. Only last month it was announced

that American finance would enable the West Germans to set up a system of atomic armaments. This move to make even more profits for the armament profiteers, can have only one meaning. It makes all the peace talk in the United Nations seem meaningless.

"This is the practice of war, not of peace."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 8.

"THE ABSENCE of a peace treaty with the two existing German states and the maintenance of West Berlin as a center for espionage and disruption against the lands of socialism, in the first place, against the German Democratic Republic, is a continuing sources of cold war incitement.

"Growing circles of the people of our country are becoming aware of this danger and begin to see that the responsibility for this lies in the first place with the most reactionary circles of United States imperialism.

"We pledge to do all in our power to awaken the American people to the peril to peace that lies in the rearming and support of the Nazi-tainted Bonn regime, in the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the U. S. "

The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, p. 12.

#### 10. Communist China

"...the Party must...demand that the United States get out of Taiwan, and keep its hands off Tibet and other territories of People's China; that the United States end its political and economic boycott of People's China, extend full diplomatic recognition to the Chinese People's Republic, and abandon its opposition to the seating of People's China in the United Nations..."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs,  
December, 1959, p. 52.

"...Eugene Dennis, national secretary, on behalf of the U. S. party's national committee."

. . . . .

"...paid tribute to the 'unmatched valor and skill, ' with which the Communist Party of China 'organized and led the peoples' to 'victory over the foreign imperialists and feudal-capitalist reactionaries. '

"The 'self-interest and national honor' of the U. S., Dennis said, requires the withdrawal of the U. S. Seventh Fleet from Chinese waters, the abolition of U. S. bases on Taiwan, the restoration of full and equal diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations, and the replacement of Chiang Kai-shek agents in the UN by representatives of People's China."

The Worker,  
September 27, 1959, p. 4.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. While many are minimizing the importance of the Khrushchev visit to the United States, the Party must act to utilize the "new fresh paths" for creating the "unity of all who want peace."
2. The rapid progress toward the "era of socialism" still requires united action by the American people.
3. Corruption, depression, and "profits above all" are built-in features of the capitalist system.
4. The "domestic cold war" against the civil liberties of the American people is nearing a crisis.
5. Dedicated efforts can now accomplish the removal of the "foreign agents" charge against the Party.
6. The Party must organize mass movements to "win friends and influence people" to accept Marxist solutions for their needs.
7. The Party must prepare for the 1960 elections by organizing mass movements around key issues, forging coalitions to oppose reactionary candidates, and promoting the election of "pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights" candidates.
8. Socialized medicine is the only cure for the "taint" of "commercialism" in the medical profession.
9. Progress of the working class, the Negro people, and the Nation depends on the rejection of the charge of a "Communist conspiracy."



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Khrushchev Visit

"...the visit of Khrushchev marks the beginning of a turn in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Not yet a full turn, to be sure, but an important beginning."

. . . . .

"...While the anti-Soviet prejudices have by no means been completely dissipated during the Khrushchev visit, the people are ready to listen, with less bigotry, to the actual story of socialist life...."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1959,  
pp. 2, 13.

"...all peace advocates in this country must study, understand and ACT upon the historic fact that the Khrushchev visit here, and Ike's pledge to go there, indisputably marks a thaw in the cold war."

. . . . .

"...the enemies of peaceful co-existence would like us to minimize this epic event; shrink it to THEIR-size; shrug our shoulders over it by brushing it off as some kind of pre-election maneuvering, or some capitalist tactic designed to befuddle the national movement for peace.

"That's their lead. We must not follow it.

"What must be done is first to fully realize the enormous positive fact of Khrushchev's visit and its even greater potential...."

. . . . .

"...Herein are matters of great theoretical as well as practical gravity that require searching study and consequent action; require vision and a courage to pursue that vision, overcoming old, outdated ways of thought and work, hewing new fresh paths to the creation of that imperative unity of all who want peace."

The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 10.

"...Premier Khrushchev...had hardly finished his final TV appearance in Washington when the trained seals of television began to bark.

"The press picked up the campaign; then various politicians got into the act--like former President Harry Truman and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Vice President Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller.

"They fear the success Premier Khrushchev enjoyed here, when the overwhelming majority of the American people climaxed his journey by clamorously hailing the energetic apostle for peace."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, p. 14.

## 2. Era of Socialism

"This past year has marked a historic turn, a great leap forward. 'Peace on Earth, Goodwill to All Men!' can be a reality. The era of socialism is on our horizon this last half of the century. We are living in great times.

"But these possibilities will not come without heroic struggle. To rout the war makers, achieve the rights of labor and the Negro people, abolish poverty and insecurity, will require tremendous united action by the American people."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1959, p. 3.

"...we have to...show what socialism will mean for our country, to explain how it will benefit the workers, the farmers, the Negro and Puerto Rican people, the youth, the professionals--in fact all men and women striving for a better life for themselves and their children...."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 13.

"...it is now clear that no amount of persecution of the Party, its leadership and members, no disruptive elements from within can destroy that organization which is rooted in the conditions and class relations in our country..."

"The recent economic recession, the continued unemployment, the fact that automation instead of bringing blessings brings insecurity and unemployment, the stepped up offensive of Big Business against the working people, all this has also added interest in socialism and socialist ideas."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, p. 2.

### 3. Growing Problems of Capitalism

"CORRUPTION is all around us. We must learn to swim and survive with our personal honor in this vast ocean of muddy corruption. Corruption is a built-in feature of the capitalist system, whose only morality is the pursuit of private profit...."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 8.

"Capitalism, of course, has depression 'built in' into its system.... We have, in fact, had three post-war economic recessions in the last decade and chronic unemployment of three or more million, despite high military expenditures. And a fourth one is predicted for 1961...."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 11.

"THE MENACE of government by injunction has again raised its ugly head in American labor relations. Twice within a few weeks, the Government and the powerful corporations of America have invoked the Taft-Hartley injunction to break a strike...."

"The American people thus witness another demonstration of the naked capitalist facts of life--profits above all...."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

"...This is the beginning of an era of serious challenge, of uncertainties, of an accumulation of unresolved problems becoming steadily more aggravated. For American capitalism, life is not beginning. It is entering its decline. It is slowing up. Signs of hardening of its arteries are appearing."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs,  
October, 1959, p. 4.

#### 4. Domestic Cold War

"DESPITE the relative relaxation of tensions in world affairs, there is no comparable let-up in the domestic cold war against the constitutional rights of the American people. In important respects the dangers to our liberties have increased and may soon reach the crisis point."

"Every assault on the Bill of Rights has been justified as a 'curb on Communism'. Almost every test case and important precedent has involved Communists or 'fellow travelers'. Today, the heart of the defense of First Amendment principles is the defense of the rights of Communists. This is necessarily so since those who direct the strategy of reaction have chosen this as the battle ground."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

##### 5. Foreign Agents Charge

"Our Party faces a great challenge. During the past decade and more it has felt the blows of McCarthyite reaction precisely because we advocated peace and friendship between our country and the Soviet Union as the only way in which peace could be maintained in the world. For this activity we were labeled 'foreign agents' and charged with support of the Soviet Union at the expense of the national interests of our own country. Today the issue of peaceful coexistence, the urgent need for improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, is on everybody's tongue. We have the greatest opportunity in our 40 years of existence to influence the outcome of the battle for life or death, if we resolutely dedicate our efforts to its realization."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 12.

"Throughout history, one of the sure signs of a dying cause, of the passing away of a social system, has been the labelling by its ideologists of the exponents of something new, of a change, as 'foreign agents.'..."

"This fraud is now embodied in the bill passed by Congress, the McCarran Act. And the Courts now insist that we, the Communist Party, become a partner to this deceit by registering under its provisions. The foreign agent charge is a fraud. Ideas, like anything else, can be shipped from one place to another but they will not take root unless the soil is suitable...."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins  
at Forty," Political Affairs, October,  
1959, pp. 2-3.

6. Mass Work To Win Friends and Influence People

"...the role of a Communist everywhere, whether as an individual or as part of a club, is to unite his fellow trade unionists, his neighbors, his fellow youth, around their accumulated needs, which are on many issues reaching the point of becoming unbearable."

"The real essence of our independent role is to find the forms and seize the opportunity to make Marxist solutions--socialism--more popular. It is to find more effective ways to 'win friends and influence people.' It is not to achieve 'principled' isolation, but to seek ways of bringing about mass recognition that our principles are in effect those of the people."

Mark T. Camuso, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, November, 1959, pp. 50, 51.

"...the Party's vanguard role must be exercised in such a way as safeguards the ability of Communists to remain among the masses, strengthen their ties with them and win them for the Party's mass policies. At the same time, the Party must boldly utilize all public channels for expression and activity, and intensify the fight for re-establishment of its full constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore and defend the Bill of Rights."

"Draft Political Resolution," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 41.

7. Preparing for 1960 Elections

"...three points need specific attention particularly in relation to the primaries and the elections of 1960. These are, the development of movements around specific issues and thus asserting an independent position in the development of program and platform. Secondly, it is necessary to develop independent forms of organization especially on an election district basis, precincts and wards, and thus not rely only on the regular party

organizational forms; although that must not be neglected. Thirdly, it is necessary to think and act on the basis of electing labor and Negro representatives to public office, and thus not rely only on friends of labor and the Negro people; even those with good records. Only in this way will labor and the Negro people get free from the choice of evils in many instances or be limited to unreliable friends in other instances who compromise the interests of labor and the Negro people for so-called considerations of practical politics."

Arnold Johnson, "Toward the 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 3-4.

"...the central political tasks confronting labor and the democratic forces are to organize mass movements and coalitions around key issues, to forge broad electoral coalitions to oppose the chief candidates of reaction, and to promote the nomination and election of pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates for office at all levels, including trade unionists and Negro representatives. It is also essential to build independent electoral apparatus and organizations of labor and its allies, and at the same time to popularize the concept of a mass people's party led by labor."

"Draft Political Resolution," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 38.

"IT IS OUR firm conviction that a labor-party--or some form of third party encompassing the mass of Negro people, the farmers, and with labor playing the leading role--is a necessary stage in the development of the class and socialist consciousness of our working class and in the struggle of socialism."

"Labor, the Negro people, farmers must be won for such a third party. They must be broken away from the two-party system they give their main support and confidence at the present time."

"The only 'socialism,' the only socialist parties in this world which have been successful, and still are, are those which are based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party is the only socialist party in the United States which is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. It will, based on its policy, select areas where Communist candidates will be placed in the field, and it will campaign for socialism through such candidates....

"OUR 1960 ELECTORAL policy may, therefore, be said to have these three objectives:

- "1. Help determine the outcome of the elections in a progressive direction, the strengthening of the fight for peaceful co-existence, Negro and labor's rights, and security.
- "2. Raise independent political action of labor, the Negro and Puerto Rican people to a higher level, moving in the direction of a third party.
- "3. Spread the message of socialism through Communist Party candidates, and build and strengthen the Communist Party."

"...Let us unite to bring all our supporters into active participation in the mass electoral struggles, as well as to seek out the specific areas where united independent third peoples' candidacies will advance the struggle for a higher level of political independence, for a farmer-labor party."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, pp. 6, 11.



## 8. Socialized Medicine

"There seems to be a lot of dissatisfaction with the medical profession...

"... The real trouble is commercialism. Most doctors are loyal, able, hard-working people. Yet the money taint has definitely entered the profession and largely made a joke of the famous oath of Hippocrates. How could it be otherwise?

"The only cure is socialized medicine. The leaders of American medicine fight it like the devil....

"Socialized medicine means the nation's health--all the nation, not a few favored sections. Despite such pseudo-collectives as Blue Cross and the Kaiser plan, plus the fringe medical benefits won by the big unions most Americans are medically unprotected."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 8.

## 9. Anticommunist Propaganda

"During the past decade, anti-Communist prejudices have been systematically spread by all of the propaganda centers owned by Big Business in our country (the press, radio, etc.). This propaganda deluge, further implemented with Gestapo-like harrassment by the FBI, is designed to confuse the real issues facing the people of our country, create fear, suspicion and division, and thereby blunt the effectiveness of united struggle by all sections of the American people concerned with democracy, higher living standards, and peaceful relations with all countries. Despite the setbacks registered by the American people against McCarthyism, red-baiting has been developed to a poisonous national institution, reinforcing that of racism. The Eastlands and Faubuses and their like have been quick to seize the weapon of redbaiting in their war against the Constitution and the rights of the Negro people. The basic fact that must be faced is that any acceptance of the Big Lie that there is a 'Communist conspiracy' in our country, by its very nature and logic, gives birth to another Big Lie (used very often and

very effectively in the South)--the charge that Negro organizations engaged in struggle for freedom, white liberal supporters of that freedom effort, and the Supreme Court's desegregation decision are all part of the so-called 'Communist conspiracy.' Basic progress of the working class, the Negro people, and the nation as a whole heavily depends upon the rejection of this whole fabric of lies, which has as its class source Big Business and its Dixiecrat servants."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 57.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The Party must cooperate with all "progressive forces" to overcome the disunity in the ranks of labor.
2. The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 is the "political reflection of an all-out anti-union drive."
3. Union leadership has failed the labor movement by not attacking the "enemies of labor" more vigorously.
4. There is no cure for unemployment in a capitalist economy.
5. Union members must be fully aroused to the meaning of the steel strike and the subsequent 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction.
6. The "big-business offensive" against the labor movement must be opposed by all working people.
7. The AFL-CIO convention was disappointing because it was "only a rehash of old policies and a reaffirmation of the same bureaucracy."

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Labor Unity

"...The Party must understand clearly that in the trade unions its basic line is active cooperation with the progressive forces. This includes all the trade unionists who support progressive policies, and in the fundamental way to put the unions as a whole fully into motion."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, p. 50.

"...The struggle of labor will grow in effectiveness as it becomes linked with that of the Negro people, as well as that of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American people, and especially to the degree that labor fights aggressively for Negro rights.

"It is the responsibility of our Party to link up all these struggles and to show their relationship to the fight for peace. We must work to overcome the disunity in the ranks of labor and the people which has permitted the reactionary offensive of big business to make such headway."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"...Communists, Socialists, progressives, all workers and all friends of labor--let us resolve to work together. We are friends. Let us now go out to meet the enemy, the all too often 'forgotten enemy,' monopoly."

By a Steelworker, "American Labor Today," Political Affairs, December, 1959, p. 62.

## 2. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"THE TRADE UNION movement is slowly but surely awakening to the realization that a government czar, a member of the cabinet armed with unlimited police powers under the Griffin-Landrum-Kennedy Law, is establishing government authority over organized labor. He is James Mitchell, secretary of labor. Mitchell has been acting with extraordinary speed to put the government control provisions of the new law into effect...."

"WHILE UNION lawyers are still analyzing the new law, the union-busters are proclaiming it was 'only a beginning.' Rep. Phil M. Landrum of Georgia, co-author of the new law, was one of the star speakers before last week's annual congress of the National Association of Manufacturers. His speech was titled 'Where do we go from here?'

"Landrum didn't mince words as the 2,000 corporation executive applauded. He noted that the new law does not deal with 'the great sums of

money expended by labor organizations in political campaigns.' Nor is there in it a provision to break strikes like the steel strike after an 80-day injunction runs out. He said that some 'anti-monopoly restrictions' against unions are needed."

"The new anti-labor law, said Landrum, 'is a long step forward, but it is only the beginning, the foundation, for real reform in this segment of our economic structure.'

"The forces of reaction are beating the drums for another anti-labor lynch party when Congress opens...."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, pp. 6, 11.

"...immediately after the President directed Mitchell to explore the possibility of organizing the conference proposed by Meany, the labor secretary asked the Justice Department to investigate the Teamsters union and the independent electrical, West Coast longshoremen's, communications unions, and the striking Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union, on their possible violation of the new Landrum-Griffin law barring union office to anyone convicted of a crime or who has been a Communist within the past five years. The latter four unions challenge the constitutionality of the provision.

"The move clearly indicated that the secretary of labor now vested with sweeping police powers over the labor movement, will use this authority to black-jack union officials into line for the kind of 'voluntary' strike restraints the Administration wants."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

"CONGRESS..

"...passed a vicious bill against the unions of the U. S. A. called by the high sounding and completely untrue title, 'Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.' "

"The bill purports to be aimed at 'corruption' in unions. Its provisions sound like the anti-labor decrees of Hitler and Mussolini."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 9.

"The toughest anti-labor bill since Taft-Hartley was enacted by Congress on the eve of Labor Day..."

"Enactment of the bill turned Labor Day into 'blue Monday' for the trade union movement...."

"The new law, given the innocent name 'Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959' is, like Taft-Hartley, a document of many pages and scores of provisions that should be a boon for the legal profession. Its full text was made available to the general public only after Labor Day...The more it is studied, the more of the anti-labor spikes reveal themselves...."

The Worker,  
September 13, 1959, p. 1.

"THE LABOR haters, just as they seized on the anti-Communism issue to divide the labor movement in the forties and set the precedent of legislation to meet the 'red evil' (Taft-Hartley), now seized on the racketeer issue to inspire another chain of expulsions and pass even more drastic legislation giving the government virtually a stranglehold over unions. Corruption is only the excuse. The real objective...is government control over unions.

"The Kennedy-Ervin bill and its equivalent in the House, is only the political reflection of an all-out anti-union drive that has been picking up steam for several years...."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1959, p. 6.

### 3. Failure of Union Leadership

"... Meany and his close associates are so firmly fixed along the coldwar track that they either don't realize, or don't care to see the realities.

"The plain fact is that the extreme cold war position of labor's topmost vocal leaders and their opposition to a summit conference, is so well known in the country, that the effect can be disastrous to the unions.

"The Meany position repels popular support for labor when labor needs it most. It goes without saying that the propaganda picturing union leaders as corrupt has already had some harmful effect among people generally. Labor can ill afford to be known as an extreme warmongering force in the country."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"The gall of big business of already drumming up now a movement for the next anti-labor blow in Congress points up labor's defensive position today. The enemies of labor are following the time-honored successful tactic of pressing new attacks while labor is still reeling from the previous blow. The most valuable allies for big business are those who in 'liberal' garb open the gates for the attackers, as Kennedy did on 'labor reform' and is preparing now to do on strikebreaking. The tragedy is in the endorsement these 'liberals' get from the Meanys and Reuthers each time they trot forward to open the gates. And it was most shameful to see how at the recent AFL-CIO and United Automobile Workers conventions these liberals were covered up and still hailed as 'friends' of labor, in spite of their performance."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 6.

"IT IS HIGH TIME labor stopped accommodating itself to every anti-labor measure added on the books. The use of these anti-labor weapons should not only be met with mass protests, but those who wield the club should discover it is a weapon politically and economically expensive...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 2.

" 'A time for anger' was the appropriate title of a speech some months ago by Albert Whitehouse, director of the Industrial Unions Department of the AFL-CIO...."

"It is most certainly 'time for anger' but in the first place inside labor's own ranks, against those who are paralyzing the labor movement, stifling its militancy and keeping it in lethargy while its enemies are mounting a drive to 'tame' and kill the unions. Until such anger truly mounts (as it did at an AFL convention in Atlantic City in 1935) there is little early outlook for a labor movement effective enough to meet the challenge it faces from its class enemies."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1959, p. 11.

"THE ONLY GOOD 'labor reform' bill is one that has been buried forever. Anybody who believes different is kidding himself or the working people. And that goes, too, for George Meany, Walter Reuther and all other union leaders who claim they can save the labor movement a worse fate by backing a so-called harmless 'labor reform' bill."

"The 'labor reform' bill is the legitimate flank of Wall Street's offensive against the unions..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 9, 1959, p. 2.



#### 4. Unemployment

"... coal employment is now running below 200,000 in place of more than twice that number 10 years ago. We have been hearing of the 'chronically depressed' mining areas for a full generation....

"Capitalism simply has no solution for such a situation. The classical capitalist theory is that new employment, death, the human scrap-heap or eventual revitalization of the industry by new uses, 'balances' the job deficit.

"But in this day of a general automation spree and the decline of jobs in most fields and recessions every three or four years, there isn't the slightest basis for these old theories."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 6.

"IT WILL TAKE 2 1/2 million new jobs a year in America to keep up with those whose jobs automation is doing away with, plus one million more jobs for those graduating out of schools each year."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 13.

"The cold war has not ended unemployment. There were three recessions in ten years, and last year's was the worst. Hundreds of thousands are permanently out of their industries on account of automation, runamap shops, and depressed civilian activity, Autos, textile, and coal mining are examples. Scores of major labor market area remain depressed in the midst of the corporate boom. One-eighth of the Negro workers remain unemployed, and their real family incomes have fallen, on the average, in the past seven years."

The Worker,  
August 2, 1959, p. 8.

"There is no real cure for unemployment in a capitalist economy. Not only is the economic cycle, with its booms and busts, inherent in such an economy, but so, too, is the historical tendency toward the growth of an industrial reserve army of unemployed workers. This tendency arises from the fact that capitalists are driven to utilize 'labor-saving' machinery as a means of cutting their wage bills--of getting rid of 'superfluous' workers...."

"Only in the socialist countries has the curse of unemployment vanished. The fact that in the Soviet Union unemployment is totally unknown stands in sharp contrast to the situation in this country. There, where the limiting factor in production is not private profit but the needs of the people, there is always a shortage of labor. There, automation does not give rise to 'technological unemployment,' but is universally welcomed as a means of freeing workers for other tasks, of increasing leisure time for all, and of creating the abundance which makes possible the achievement of a communist form of society."

Hyman Lumer, "The 'Superfluous' Millions," Mainstream, July, 1959, pp. 44-45.

## 5. Steel Strike

"THE STEELWORKERS are going back BY FORCE--BY EDICT. As they return, the country can see what the labor movement meant when it called the Taft-Hartley Law a slave labor law. This law orders people to work against their will.

"Every person of progressive sentiment will applaud the 500,000 steel workers for their gallant fight of 117 days."

"...these workers are ready to resume the strike after 80 days unless they get a contract retaining the basic union conditions they won through the years. They will not be starved into submission!

"The labor movement of 18 million workers must not be idle during the 80-day 'warmup' period. A strike fund of many millions should be piled up in the weeks ahead. Every local union should be fully aroused to the meaning of this struggle. Every influence should be brought to play in support of the steel workers."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 2.

"AN INJUNCTION in labor disputes, since its first application, has always been regarded simply as a strikebreaking club. By its use the government has, in effect, said to the worker: 'Take what the boss offers or the club will come down on your head.' Such, in plain language, is the meaning of the Taft-Hartley injunction the Eisenhower government has invoked against the 500,000 steel workers."

"The enemies of labor count on the 80 days to replenish steel supplies for an even longer period, because they are determined to get what they want and they know the steel workers, equally determined, will resume the walkout the first week in January.

"The steel workers are carrying the ball in a struggle that will have far-reaching effect on conditions for labor generally. The labor movement, too, should do some stockpiling in the period ahead -- stockpiling of millions of dollars to back the steel workers.

"Those dollars should be accompanied by an aroused spirit in the trade unions for public support of the steel workers. The unions should build grass-roots pressure on members of Congress against the new legislation which reactionary forces want to rush through when the legislative session opens in January. New bills are now being prepared to break up unions as trusts or impose compulsory arbitration upon them."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 25, 1959, p. 2.

"The steel strikers are fighting the battle of all American workers against the weakening of their strength--their unions. They are fighting the mass layoffs threatened by automation and technological change. They are demanding a share in the results of the increased productivity of all American workers. They are fighting for an end to anti-Negro job discrimination.

"The steel strikers need and deserve the help of the entire labor movement in the struggle against the monopolists who are acting for all Wall Street in this union-busting move. Every American worker's future is involved in the securing of a victory by the steel union."

"...it's up to every unionists, from top to bottom, to demonstrate, in every way, his backing for the strike."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 16, 1959, p. 2.

"HALF A MILLION steel workers are on the streets without jobs, virtually forced out of the shops by the bosses in an effort to starve the workers into submission. Already this great strike is having its effects in the widespread closing of industry and the throwing of additional thousands of workers out of employment."

"This strike is much more than merely a strike of the worker in the steel mills, important though that is. Every worker in the United States has a direct stake in it. If this strike should be lost, it would mean food off the table of every worker in this country."

"This means that every union must give all the necessary support so that this strike is won. This broad strike in steel is the affair and interest of every union in the country...."

The Worker,  
July 26, 1959, p. 3.

6. Big Business versus Unions

"...the labor movement is confronted with a determined and well-organized big-business offensive. If the monopolists of this country win this war, American labor and all American people, especially the Negro people, will suffer a serious setback.

"Labor and its allies, however, have the power to defeat this assault of capital, if only this power is mobilized effectively.

"The Communist Party identifies itself with the denunciation by the leaders of American labor of the strike-breaking actions of the Government and the courts. Together with all working people, we greet the call for greater unity and the decisions for building up a big fund to help the struggles of the steel workers, the railroad workers and all other targets of the big-business offensive."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

"MAKE NO MISTAKE--the unions that bosses most prefer are NO unions. Time and time again they have tried to smash them. The history of the labor movement makes this clear...."

"GREAT HARM has been done by the Taft-Hartley Act. Company unions have reappeared. A number of union leaders have been framed with perjury charges, under the non-Communist section...."

"But Big Business isn't satisfied. The steel strike shows their hand. They want no more 'interference' in the shops from unions. They are increasing production, through automation, cutting the labor force to the bone, while profits zoom sky high...."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1959, p. 9.

"...the steel barons have deliberately and cold-bloodedly forced the strike upon the workers. This action is part of a general plan to turn the clock back at least a generation for the working people and the whole country. It is intended to destroy everything the steel workers and all other American workers have won in the course of many years of bitter struggles and sacrifices. It is part of a nation-wide plot by big business to weaken, undermine and if possible destroy the unions in our country."

"All unions must therefore recognize and act upon the fact that the steel workers and their union are only the first target, and that all the other economic royalists wait like vultures for their own victims.

"To stop and defeat this first attack of big business must become the battle cry of the entire labor movement. This is the way to defeat the entire offensive, the whole conspiracy of the power-mad monopolists."

The Worker,  
July 26, 1959, p. 14.

7. AFL-CIO Convention

"The AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco met in face of conditions that amounted to a crisis for the labor movement. That crisis was in the making for some time, and many delegates gave clear evidence of their concern."

"The 13,500,000 members of the AFL-CIO unions expected something fresh--an effective program to meet the serious situation. The delegates brought home only a rehash of old policies and a reaffirmation of the same bureaucracy that has been leading the AFL-CIO along a disastrous course. Many in the convention entertained hopes that some of the younger leaders, of the industrial union, mainly of the former CIO, would resist the trend to make the AFL-CIO the image of the old AFL. But the performance of these people was disappointing...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, p. 2.

"...The convention of the AFL-CIO began with an attempt by George Meany, which failed miserably, to turn it into a anti-Khrushchev and sabre-rattling spree. It ended in a brawl, over the issue of Negro rights that A. Philip Randolph pressed courageously, and an exposure for all the world to see that the professed leadership for 'free' trade unionism by the AFL-CIO top leaders is a brazen fake."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 5.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. Despite the fact that farm production continues upward, farmers' income in 1959 will be the lowest since World War II.
2. The margin between costs and returns has been reduced to the vanishing point for millions of small farmers.
3. The Party must support the organizing drive among agricultural workers.
4. Migrant farm workers are denied almost all the social protection won by American labor.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. American Farmers' Outlook

"While the income of the U. S. farm population is forever shrinking -- in 1958 the per capita farm income was \$1,068 including income from non-farm sources while the per capita income for the rest of the nation was \$2,034 -- the income of farmers in the USSR is constantly rising and will have increased 40 percent by the end of the Seven Year Plan."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 7.

"The extra money the American people paid in September for food, as the cost of living rose to the highest level in U. S. history for the month, went to the top food processing and merchandising monopolies."

"The farmers of the nation, however, took a terrible beating in the prices they received from the food processors, grocery chains and



middle men during the third quarter. Farmers' income for that quarter was \$9 1/2 billions, or 28 percent less than in the same quarter in 1958.

"Indications are that farmers' income this year will be the lowest since World War II, while over-all production has jumped 30 percent in the period."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1959, p. 3.

## 2. Small Farmers Caught in Cost-Price Squeeze

"For millions of small farmers, long caught in a cost-price squeeze, rising monopoly prices and cold-war inflation have reduced the margin between costs and returns to the vanishing point. Tens of thousands of small owners, croppers and tenants have been swept off the land. In the rural South and elsewhere, acute privation and suffering is the lot of millions of Americans."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September,  
1959, pp. 30-31.

## 3. Organization of Agricultural Workers

"...the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a 'class' organization in behalf of common economic and political demands. Organizations of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent task before the labor movement as well as the Negro people's movement...."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro  
Question in the United States,"  
Political Affairs, September,  
1959, p. 50.

"The organization of the agricultural workers remains the major unsolved task confronting the labor movement... The farm workers are at the bottom of the economic scale insofar as wages, housing and other living conditions are concerned...."

"It is imperative that not only our members directly involved in farm workers' activity, but also those in industrial unions and other mass organizations take part in campaigns on issues affecting farm workers. The Party and all Left and progressive workers, should help to rally the trade-union movement to support the organizing drive among agricultural workers...."

Robert Wells, "The Agricultural Workers in California," Political Affairs, August, 1959, pp. 2, 11.

#### 4. Plight of Migrant Farm Workers

"Spokesmen for the processing and packing monopolies and the big growers' lobby tried last Monday to justify their semi-slave exploitation of migrant farm workers."

"Once again the misery and hunger imposed on the migrant workers were officially documented as they have been in numerous Congressional and state legislative investigations."

"These are the untouchables of the U. S.--the homeless living in chicken coops, barns and tents; children growing up in illiteracy; flagrant violation of child labor laws; hunger wages and often payless weeks; defrauded and often terrorized, and even denied almost all the social protection won by American labor."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, pp. 14, 16.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The increasing "anti-imperialist struggle" throughout Latin America has forced a change in the tactics of the United States.
2. The poverty-stricken people of Asia still suffer, as their nations are tied to United States "imperialism" by their "dictators."
3. "Powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests" oppose the new Cuban government.
4. United States "imperialism" is responsible for exploitation in Haiti.
5. Puerto Rico, in spite of its "vaunted" commonwealth status, continues to be a "colony of Yankee imperialism."
6. The workers of the world must support the struggle for independence in the Belgian Congo.
7. The United States, which disclaims "all except 'humanitarian' interest" in Red China, reveals its true hostility in its actions concerning Taiwan and Tibet.
8. The United States State Department has interfered in the internal affairs of Laos.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Imperialism in Latin America

"Fidel Castro and the Cuban people have dared to defy American imperialism by refusing to compromise with Wall Street and Washington and going all out for far overdue basic changes and agrarian reform. This has brought new hope and confidence to the anti-imperialist struggle in all the countries of Latin American."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

"...The epic rise of the peoples in the enslaved nations is a major obstacle to the plans of big business. Like everything else, the cost of extracting superprofits from the undeveloped lands is going sharply up....Cuba of today will not accept the treatment accorded a poor country cousin, and the Cubas of today all over the world not only demand but are in a position to get equal treatment in trade, diplomacy and respect on a par with all other nations. The heyday for imperialism is behind us...."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 5-6.

"American imperialism has changed its tactics but not its aims and goal--the continued ruthless domination of Cuba, Puerto Rico and all other Latin and Central American countries...."

The Worker,  
July 26, 1959, p. 2.

"...The OAS\* includes the 21 Latin American states and the U.S. It was designed, originally to corral the countries South of the Rio Grande into stooges of our State Department and corporations like United Fruit and Electric Bond & Share.

"The State Department finds it harder to manipulate the Latin American governments today than in the past, when all would vote as one in the UN for example."

"U. S. policy will seek to move dexterously, avoiding open violation of the sovereign will of the Latin nations, but will try to swing them into line behind the State Department."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1959, p. 3.

\*Organization of American States

## 2. Asia

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER flew last week from poverty-stricken country to country in Asia, hobnobbed with the dictators of Turkey and Pakistan, and the premier of India, and prepared for the final legs of his voyage in Africa and Europe for the professed objective of finding 'methods by which peace in the world can be assured with justice for everybody.' "

"All through Asia, wherever Eisenhower went, he was confronted with poverty-stricken people whose plight is a heritage of British colonialism, and who are still suffering as their nations are tied to U. S. imperialism by their dictators."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, pp. 3, 14.

## 3. Cuba

"Cuba--the country where the revolution against imperialism in Latin America has reached the highest point in history--is in great and immediate danger.

"This poses an immediate responsibility of utmost historic gravity before the American people, and its most decisive sectors, Labor, the Negro 18 million, all honest democrats and progressive who want to see a nation achieve sovereignty, independence, economic and political advance. The issue is one that must be at the very top of the agenda for Communists in the United States.

"Not only is revolutionary Cuba threatened by military invasion, it is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the remarkable advances being made by the new government."

"...The workers of Cuba harbor no illusions as to who is their real enemy. When they cry 'Down with Yankee imperialism,' they are resisting the same monopolists who are the bitterest exploiters of American labor."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"Premier Castro, in his Havana speech before a million of his countrymen this past week, urged citizens of the United States to protest against the terroristic onslaughts against his people made from U. S. soil."

"All Americans--who believe in justice and the rights of nations to govern themselves--must also speak out, now, in meetings, in resolutions, in wires and petitions, to our State Department and to our President, urging that the culprits on our soil be extradited to stand trial as war criminals in Cuba."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 3.

"Trading on ignorance about Communism and consequent long-standing prejudices, the State Department has inspired many reports that the new Cuba is under increasingly Communist 'domination'. Congressmen and press editorials have, for months, been depicting Premier Castro's brother, Raul, as either 'Communist or pro-Communist, trained behind the Iron Curtain,' and similarly with Comandante Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, as well as many other heroes of the revolution.

"That is the first step--a la Guatemala. Picture the revolutionary government as 'Communist.' "

The Worker,  
July 12, 1959, p. 14.

4. Haiti

"ALL GOVERNMENT and public buildings in Haiti's capital, Port-Au-Prince, are in a virtual state of siege. The Army and the Navy are on ready duty. Mass arrests by the Duvalier dictatorship mark the capital and the chief cities."

"HOY, THE NEWSPAPER published by Cuba's Popular Socialist Party, emphasizes that the Duvalier dictatorship is aimed at maintaining an economic exploitation..."

"The main gainer from this exploitation is U.S., imperialism, while the Haitian landlord and mercantile interests and the governing clique are given shares in the rakeoff."

The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 6.

5. Puerto Rico

"THE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities, of the U. S., Congress, with Rep. Francis Walter as Chairman, is summoning various Puerto Rican persons to appear before the meetings beginning Nov. 18...."

"This Committee arrives in Puerto Rico without anyone asking it to come. It has no moral authority to proceed with investigations here. Its action is a clear lack of confidence, politically, in Gov. Munoz Marin. Before Latin America and the rest of the world, it is one more example that Puerto Rico continues to be a colony of Yankee imperialism, in spite of the much vaunted free Commonwealth form of government.



"It is well known all over the world that for imperialism and capitalist dictatorships, all persons or groups that in any form identify themselves with the aspirations of the working class are singled out as Communist."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 10.

"BY THE INQUISITORIAL invasion of Puerto Rico, U. S. reactionary and imperialist forces acting through the so called Un-American Committee are adding a new venture to their already disgraceful record against freedom and democracy in this country. This Committee is invading the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico without a mandate or even an ordinary invitation from that country."

"...The Puerto Ricans...are being forcibly invaded again by this witchhunt Committee to question and harass 200 workers, intellectuals and freedom loving Puerto Ricans patriots to see if they can do by fear, intimidation and jailings what American imperialism has been unable to do by starvation, military, naval and atomic occupation, and sweatshop industrialization."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

6. Belgian Congo

"...the rifles and machine guns of Leopoldville are brutally reminding the world that the 'Belgian' Congo which many people believed would sleep through the centuries, is preparing to become simply, the 'Congo.'"

"According to information still incomplete at least 200 Congolese were killed early in 1959 for their heroic opposition to colonialism. Other hundreds have been wounded; still more are in jails. But the fire smoulders deep now. It is not a question of an 'incident,' but of a phase in the struggle for independence waged for several years now by the Congo people who have been encouraged by the successes won by their brother peoples of Africa."

"...The solidarity of the workers of Belgium and the world should not fail to be forthcoming for the workers and people of the Congo."

Roger Clain, "The Congo Freedom-Struggle," Political Affairs, August, 1959, pp. 56, 58.

#### 7. Communist China

"PEKING--These are times when the official spokesmen of the U.S. are expressing horror at the passing of the 'Tibetan way of life' which meant serfdom for the vast majority of Tibetans. Doing so, they disclaim all except 'humanitarian' interest in this region of China, in which the hard core of secessionist defenders of the world's darkest serfdom have brought destruction on themselves by taking up arms against progress."

"There was never any question of Tibetan independence; but there were many attempts by imperialism to dismember China, here as elsewhere, by inventing such on issue and enlisting local traitors and reactionaries to push it.

"So the Japanese, using the politically - dead Manchu ex-emperor of China, created 'independent Manchukuo' in 1931.

"So the rulers of the United States are pushing an 'independent 'Taiwan' and fostering the shouting over Tibet today, showing only their insensate hostility to new China and their vain dreams of dismembering and destroying her, which they have not a whit abandoned."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1959, p. 10.

#### 8. Laos

"The lies about North Vietnam aggression in Laos collapsed last week when a UN commission returned from an on-the-spot inquiry and admitted 'no proof.'"

"No sooner did the commission report, when arm-twisting Western powers headed by the U. S. State Department applied pressure on Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold to go to Laos and set up a 'UN presence.' This would be less than ghostly.

"It would mean that a personal representative of the UN chief would illegally supplant a body set up in 1954 by the Geneva agreements which settled the fighting in French Indo-China...."

"According to the 1954 agreements at Geneva, Laos, recognized as an independent state, was bound to neutrality.

"The Pathet Lao independence forces were to be integrated into the Laotian army on an equal basis.

"All this was subverted by the policies of John Foster Dulles, and in May, 1958, via military threats, bribery and blackmail, the State Dept. installed its puppet Sananikone as premier."

"Then the troubles began mounting, during which Sananikone allowed the building of new U. S. military bases, airfields and strategic roads, accepted thousands of tons of U. S. military equipment, the services of hundreds of U. S. military advisers, betrayed the agreements signed with the Pathet Lao forces, and began prosecutions and arrests of its leaders thus rekindling civil war."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 15.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Party continues to condemn the "reactionary" House Committee on Un-American Activities.
2. Using "red-baiting" tactics, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee acts as the "stooge" of American "imperialists."
3. Big business pursues its "anti-labor" program by planning even more drastic legislation.
4. Amnesty demands for the remaining imprisoned communist leaders need widespread support.
5. The Smith Act indictment against William Z. Foster, the Party's chairman emeritus, should be dismissed.
6. It is evident that a "coalition of reactionary Republicans and white-supremacist Southern Democrats" controlled the last Congress.
7. The "labor reform" laws contain new rules and penalties which will make Government control over unions decisive in the trade-union movement.
8. There is need for revision of United States policy on the issuance of passports, as well as immigration and naturalization procedures.
9. The Supreme Court has retreated in its defense of civil rights while approving the programs of "anti-labor" forces.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...The UnAmericans are unconstitutionally organized in the Congressional Committee for UnAmerican Activities.

"This committee is itself the most vociferous expression of UnAmericanism in these United States. Its present role is to serve as a Congressional prop for reaction and against peace."

"...Why is not a committee formed to organize public sentiment, spread the facts about the dangerous character of this UnAmerican Committee and start preparing our people for the help that has to be given if those who refuse to talk are cited for contempt..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1959, p. 10.

"The national executive committee of the Communist Party last week 'unqualifiedly' condemned...the House Un-American Activities Committee..."

"...Communists together with all other Americans cannot remain passive while reactionary committees of a branch of the American government seek to do a grave injury to our national honor, morality, and prestige."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 16.

"IT IS CLEAR to all who have followed the antics of the Committee on Un-American Activities, so-called, that it has served to protect and mask the real Un-American activities of groups like the Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. This Committee has not cared to investigate the activities of these proven Un-American groups, while it keeps constantly investigating and persecuting groups and individuals who have dedicated years of their lives in the defense of all that is free, true and in the best traditions of democracy in the United States."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

2. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

"THE EASTLAND committee is striving to turn the clock back to the worst McCarthyite days by harassing men like Eugene Dennis, Communist leader, who crusade for national policies that will, once and for all, end the awful menace of nuclear war. The Senate Committee brought Dennis before it last week again in an effort begun several weeks ago in Philadelphia....

"...this same committee summons a man like Joseph North, our foreign affairs editor, whose writings call for improvement of relations with the new Cuba.

"North was questioned by the committee on his writings in its effort to use the old and discredited tactic of red-baiting, of anti-Communism, against the Cuban Revolution and its popular advances."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 2.

"...Diaz Lanz came to the U. S., the refuge of the ex-dictators, to become the darling of Senator Eastland in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and give 'secret reports' in the hope of helping the American imperialist interests against Cuba...."

"THE U. S. SENATE Internal Security subcommittee, in giving a world platform to a deserter and traitor like Diaz Lanz, has proven something that we have known for a long time--that such subcommittees and committees in Washington are the stooges of the American imperialist interests for whatever 'job' is to be done anywhere in the world in the name of 'saving the world from communism.' "

The Worker,  
August 9, 1959, p. 10.

### 3. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"Terming the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law only a 'good beginning,' speakers, including a cabinet member, before 2,000 business executives at the NAM's\* Annual Congress of American Industry, beat drums wildly for enactment of even more drastic anti-labor legislation."

. . . . .

"The 'NAM line' adds up to a neat program: No letup in the drive against labor; less confidence in political tools and a more direct part in politics (Rockefeller style) by businessmen themselves; a drive for sacrifices to 'meet the Khrushchev challenge' through more automation, no such 'luxuries' as the shorter work week, and 'featherbedding' must go."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 1.

"...already the drums are beating for new drastic anti-labor legislation. The next target of the big business lobbyists now laying plans for an assault on the session of Congress opening in January, is the strike weapon. They are not yet united on their ideas, but they are as one voice for a common purpose--to turn labor's main weapon into a wooden sword."

. . . . .

"...a Congress that turned Kennedy's 'moderate' bill on 'labor reform' into a Kennedy-Griffin-Landrum 'Killer' Law, is not likely be satisfied with 'moderate' strikebreaking, once the door is open for provision of an 'arsenal.' "

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 6.

"Aware of the determination of the undefeated steel workers to resume their strike after the expiration of 80 days, President Eisenhower,

\*National Association of Manufacturers

Labor Secretary Mitchell and other government leaders are now threatening to enact new anti-labor and anti-strike laws, designed to force the steel workers to continue working after the expiration of the 80 days.

"There must be no illusions. Big business and the monopoly-controlled government will make every effort to enact such new laws as soon as Congress reconvenes. The recent enactment of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act has served to whet their appetites for still more shackling legislation with the aid of the unholy alliance of the Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans in Congress."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

#### 4. Amnesty Appeals

"...President Eisenhower was presented with a petition in December 1957 in France, appealing for amnesty for Gil Green and Henry Winston. The petition stated that their imprisonment was 'for no other reason than that they held certain opinions and were leaders of the Communist Party in the United States.'\* ...Two years have passed but these two men remain in prison.

"Twice they have been denied parole by a Federal Parole Board, which during the same period granted parole to 75% of imprisoned embezzlers, 31% of white slavers, 37% of kidnappers and 31% of narcotic violators. Appeals addressed to President Eisenhower for executive action on his part, have been sidetracked in the Department of Justice by the Pardon's attorney on the pretext that no new issues are raised. The real reason is discrimination against political prisoners.... Last Spring, Robert Thompson was returned to prison to serve eighteen months more, when the Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal. So today, there are three leading American Communists behind prison bars, under the infamous thought control Smith Act, now thoroughly discredited."

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



"...Winston, Green and Thompson are a test of American democracy before the world. The size and continuity of the amnesty campaign on their behalf is our challenge... Write your letter to President Eisenhower..."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Amnesty for Political Prisoners," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 10-11, 12.

"NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV said at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that there are no political prisoners in that vast socialist country. James Jackson, a fraternal visitor from the United States, in his speech of greeting there, called attention to the fact that there are political prisoners in the U.S.A. --Winston, Green, Thompson, Sobell and several others who are victims of the Taft-Hartley Law. Christmas is the traditional period for amnesty in this country. Let us take our pens in hand to remind President Eisenhower that there are political prisoners in the U.S.A. and he can free them."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 9.

"The continued imprisonment of the three remaining Smith Act prisoners, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson is a symbol of the denial of First Amendment freedoms. Limited as it has been, the effort to win their freedom has proved that Americans of divergent beliefs will defend these freedoms despite the fact that the prisoners are Communist leaders. Their case transforms the struggle for the right to dissent from one of abstract principle into the flesh and blood reality of suffering men, their wives and children."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 11.

5. William Z. Foster under House Arrest

"...Foster, who is 78 and is confined to bed by paralysis for the past two years, was neither able to get dismissal of the case nor to get permission to go to one of the several Socialist countries that have offered him better treatment and possibly some relief from his serious condition.

"...The government acts as though it plans to bring Foster to trial some day although its own physicians don't give one chance in a million that he could ever come to a trial. Thus Foster is held under what amounts to protective arrest."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 5.

"...The only person who stands today indicted but not tried under... the Smith Act, is William Z. Foster. He has been under bail all these years, with the heavy restrictions required, in the Southern District of New York....

"...These restrictions actually mean a form of house arrest."

"It is a shocking thing to people elsewhere and causes much indignation, that the government denied him the right to travel in search of health. That he would be allowed to die without an end to this continued persecution, is a disgrace to our country.

"Letters to the Attorney Gen'l in Washington should urge a dismissal of these indictments which cannot be tried and freedom for a man advanced in year and very ill to pass his last years as he is best able to do."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1959, p. 9.

6. Coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats

"...on the rights of the Negro people, the Democratic 'advisers' presented a weasel-mouthed plan calling on Congress 'to re-evaluate and build upon past accomplishments.'

"The policy statement sought to put the blame on the Republican party for everything wrong in the country and claimed in only a negative way that the Democrats would do better.

"The Democratic advisers omitted an acknowledgement that it was a coalition of the Republicans and the Southern Democrats, with acquiescence by the Northern and Western 'liberal' Democrats in Congress, that established the rules under which the unholy alliance was able to bar civil rights legislation."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 14.

"When the Congress opened in January, the unions and the Negro people, in particular, had high hopes that this would be a liberal Congress. In November, independent political action, led by labor forces, had routed Wall Street's attempt to foist 'right-to-work' laws on the workers in five states, and had replaced 50 reactionary Republican members of the House with 'liberal' Democrats.

"CERTAINLY, THE PEOPLE had a right to expect the new Congress to follow the voters' mandate for worthwhile labor, social and civil rights legislation. But it soon became evident that a coalition of reactionary Republicans and white-supremacist Southern Democrats had taken over in Senate and House..."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 6.

"Last year the American people had the right to expect that Congress would adopt legislation that would guarantee the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South--and the North, and end the horror of the jimcrow system.

"But the American people were doublecrossed by the leadership of the Democratic party in Congress. Lyndon Johnson, Senate majority leader and ally of the white-supremacists, talked sweet words about compromise that would achieve the practical purpose of bringing effective civil rights legislation. Meanwhile he, the Southern Democrats and the Republicans united in an unholy alliance, with the acquiescence of the 'liberal' Democrats, to guarantee continuance of the 'filibuster' veto."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 2.

7. Labor Reform Laws

"DENVER. --Little more than a week ago a second frontal assault was opened up against the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers. As the strike of the mine workers against the copper trusts went into its third month the officers of this beleaguered union began their defense in the Federal Courthouse here on the charge of 'conspiring' to violate the Taft-Hartley Law."

"John Clark, president of the Mine Mill union, characterized the trial as part of attack on organized labor. 'The charges and trial of these men in Denver are part of this attack and its effect will have its impact on all unions', he stated.

"Clark, who is not one of the defendants in the trial declared that 'if there is any vestige of "conspiracy" or any foundation in these charges, then conspiracy can be charged against any union or its leadership who meet to plan for the welfare of its members to offset the dangers incurred to their programs in the passage of the Taft-Hartley Acts, labor control acts, or what have you.' "

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 12.

"UNION ATTORNEYS are still studying that bookful of new rules, restriction and government controls known as the 'Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959,' or popularly as the Kennedy-Griffin-Landrum 'labor reform' law...."

"Some naive people are impressed by the many glittering things in the law and argue that no union that lives democratically need fear any of its provisions. They overlook, however, the basic element: that the new set of rules and penalties will make government controls over union decisive in the life of the trade union movement; that this control is by a capitalist government subservient to big business.

"THE ROLE of the government as overseer for trade union democracy presumes a diminishing responsibility for the union members themselves for vigilance and struggle for union democracy and rights. Reliance is on the government club."

The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 6.

#### 8. Passports, Immigration, and Naturalization

"...just seven years ago, a new immigration and naturalization policy went into effect...the Walter-McCarran Law....

"For the non-citizen, the Walter-McCarran Law is as the proverbial sword over one's head. Seven hundred grounds for deportation, yearly registration with the Justice Department, fingerprinting, and constant surveillance are but a few of the indignities accorded the non-citizen.

"For the naturalized citizen, the Walter-McCarran Law has created second class citizenship of the worst order. For despite the fact that the person voluntarily sought citizenship in his new homeland, he finds that it is not fast and binding but rather a loan which may be snatched away at the whim and fancy of an inconstant Attorney General."

"The contributions the foreign born and their sons and daughters have made to this nation are found in history books, current events, and the future will see them as well. Yet the 14 million foreign born who are Americans by CHOICE and not by accident of birth are today discriminated against with a vengeance."

"...During the holidays, the first months of Congress and right up until it adjourns in the summer is the time to demand enactment of a fair immigration and naturalization policy. That is the time to fight to assure revision of the Walter-McCarran Law in order that the second class status accorded 14 million of our fellow-Americans is rejected."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

"...Washington's...passport policy is only one of several instances in which the Federal Government has overstepped its authority, exercised powers never delegated to it and trespassed upon the residual rights reserved to the respective states and to the people. These changes in public policy have been made possible by a carefully planned united front from the right..."

"Today we live under a plutocratic oligarchy which violates the basic right to go and come by denying certain of its citizen-subjects egress and ingress. Passports are issued not as a right of United States citizens, but as a privilege extended by the oligarchy to those who agree, or go along with, its current foreign policy...."

Scott Nearing, "The Right To Go And Come," Mainstream, September, 1959, p. 53.

9. Retreat of Supreme Court

"THE SUPREME COURT'S order to 500,000 steel workers to return to work puts the high court's seal of approval on strikebreaking by government.

"This is the first time such sweeping federal court approval was given to government strikebreaking in peace time. From here on, the anti-labor forces will seek to build upon this foundation laid by the Eisenhower administration and the Supreme Court."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 2.

"The Supreme Court, by its refusal to hear an appeal of the Teamsters union, has left standing a lower court decision that enables a judge to put a union under receivership controls.

"Thus the decision may have far-reaching effect in strengthening the Landrum-Griffin Law provision that enables the Secretary of Labor to exercise police powers over unions and bring them to court for alleged infraction of the many new government rules issued for them."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

"...in the Supreme Court, in the face of mounting reactionary attacks, a majority has developed in support of a retreat from some of its previous positions defending the Bill of Rights."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959,  
p. 33.

"...four judges, to their honor, still try to enforce the Constitution. But five judges are protecting the FOES of Civil Rights instead. And they are jailing its FRIENDS at the same time.

"This is no longer the Court that rebuked the McCarthyites in the mid 1956's. For the balance shifted against the Bill of Rights with Ike's latest appointee, Judge Potter Stewart. And the Court began striking heavy blows at American Freedom in its June decisions."

The Worker,  
July 5, 1959, p. 7.



## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Approval by leading politicians of America's use of nuclear weapons must be opposed by the "forces of peace" in this country.
2. The huge armaments costs of the United States have increased the cost of living and denied essential needs and services to the people.
3. Peace lovers must convince the masses that disarmament can bring about the improvement of workers' living conditions.
4. The alliance between Wall Street and the Pentagon is responsible for the continued production of "useless materials of war."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"...the Democrats' advisers attacked the Republicans not because their 'massive retaliation' or 'brinkmanship' foreign policy was against the interest of the American people but because the armed forces did not have enough nuclear and other weapons and soldiers to back up such a war policy."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 14.

"Rockefeller, who has a 2,000-acre hideout in Venezuela and four other estates where he can hide, callously picked a TV forum of young people, who will be the biggest sufferers, to ask Eisenhower to renege on his pledge to halt nuclear weapons testing until the end of this year.

"Rockefeller is seeking to impose his pro-war line on the Republican party as part of his drive to be nominated for President. He is thus working the other side of the same street as Sen. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, a front-running candidate for the Democratic nomination.

"Kennedy early last August was reported as having declared in a speech at Milwaukee that the U.S. position in Europe 'is worth a nuclear war.'

"THUS, LEADING contenders for the presidency in both major parties are on record as favoring atomic war."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 1.

"...the men of Wall Street, who are raking in billions of dollars from the manufacture of hydrogen bombs and other weapons, don't want anything to interfere with that. And the policy of the Eisenhower administration and the leaders of Congress, both Republican and Democratic, is that what's good for Wall Street is good for them.

"The American people, however, must not let these elements hold them back. The first thing that must be done is to ban further H-bomb tests, that are poisoning the atmosphere for our children and their children's children. Also the move to give West Germany and other NATO\* countries nuclear weapons must be halted. Then the manufacture of all nuclear weapons must be ended."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 2, 1959, p. 2.

"A particularly devilish feature of the Cold War is the continued manufacture and testing of bombs and rockets. The United States is arming NATO and all its main allies with these murderous devices. These fiendish machines are being made to shoot one-fourth of the way around the world. A very bad aspect is the invariable accompaniment of the bomb and rocket

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization

blasts with malignant radioactive fall-out. The imperialist militarists have thus far successfully resisted the limitation or abolition of the bombs and rockets, as well as the abolition of testing. Above all, the forces of peace must find the way to put a stop or limitation to these murderous devices...."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 15.

## 2. Armaments Costs

"We are told that not only is the armaments industry necessary for the 'defense' of our nation, but it is an economic necessity. We are threatened by Wall Street with the specter of millions of jobless, thousands of small businessmen bankrupt, and thousands more professional people without clients or patients, if disarmament comes.

"But this is not true. Armaments production in our country is being paid for by the denial to the people of essential needs and services."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 10.

"...armaments production, of no value to the people, not only provided super-profits for the monopolists but it has directly increased the cost of living of every American, who has had to pay in direct taxes and hikes in prices on the necessities of life through hidden taxes which the monopolies have added to the prices."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 4.

"...The fabulous outlay of our government for military expenditures, and everything connected with the Cold War, has been such

as to impoverish the masses of people more and more. The government is squandering at present at least 50 billion dollars a year for war preparations; and its imperialist partners throughout the world, collectively, are getting rid of about the same amount. President Eisenhower has stated recently that the cost of war munitions has mounted so greatly that many airplanes now cost their weight in gold."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 15.

### 3. Disarmament

"...disarmament can be achieved. In this, a key role can be played by the unions. Organized labor's leadership must be made to see that membership demands an end to the policy of backing the monopolists in keeping a war-production economy.

"The Negro people, who can benefit tremendously from the channeling of the billions of dollars now wasted in weapons making into social services, the small business men, the professional people, the farmers, who will benefit from the shift to peace production, by joining forces with the working people, can guarantee disarmament and peace by telling President Eisenhower and Congress that this is their will."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 11.

"...disarmament has evoked a wide discussion on its effects on the economy of our country. But the alternative to the armaments economy is not an automatic collapse of the economy, nor is it necessary that the workers be saddled with the effects of reconversion. The alternative, rather, is a peacetime economy that employs the billions now spent for war to expand housing, schools, hospitals, recreational centers, and other social needs, and to improve further the standard of living of the workers."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 7.

"...Working people require a program of struggle against the monstrous program of armaments and war threats, a program for peaceful jobs to more than replace those now provided by military orders. Certainly East-West trade, low-cost housing, federally aided non-segregated school construction, etc., are less profitable to the monopolies than lush armament contracts. But by that very fact they provide twice as many jobs to workers per dollar spent. The task of peace lovers is to convince the masses of this; to convince people of the need to fight for a program of peaceful jobs as they fight for better wages, rather than accepting the natural tendency of modern imperialism to subordinate everything to arms economy."

Victor Perlo, " 'Monthly Review' on Booms and Busts," Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 23-24.

#### 4. Wall Street-Pentagon Alliance

"The stake of Wall Street's big-money men in the continued production of the useless materials of war may be seen in a comparison of the amount the federal government spent in 1958 on 'national defense' and the total amount spent in the nation on all manufactured products: \$45 billions for 'national defense' and \$180 billions for all manufactured goods, one-fourth of the basic sector of our economy."

. . . . .

"One therefore cannot expect the monopolist enemies of disarmament to give up such a profitable section of their operations without a struggle. And in their manipulations to maintain and increase this business, the top brass of the Pentagon play a most important role...."

. . . . .

"It's natural for this alliance between the armaments monopolists and the admirals, generals and civilian chiefs of the Pentagon to grow. After

all, the top brass are the middlemen, the salesmen for armaments, whose soft, well-paid jobs depend on the volume they are able to saddle on the army, navy and our force."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 7.

"The only people who want the H-tests resumed--and who fought even a temporary ban--are the armaments manufacturers, Wall Street and the generals and admirals, whose main job is to kill people...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 30, 1959, p. 2.

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Racism, a "deadly menace to democracy" in America, must be fought through the vigorous united action of labor and the Negro people.
2. Violence against Negroes continues unchecked under the "dual system of justice" in the South.
3. Discrimination against foreign-born workers must be combated by all Americans.
4. Only mass action can achieve the solution to the Negro question.
5. Racial prejudice is not being vigorously opposed by the trade-union leadership.
6. The Federal and state governments "flout" the constitutional rights of Negroes.
7. Peace and the solution to the question of racism are in most cases synonymous terms.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Racism in the United States

"OUR COUNTRY, our people, the citizens of the U.S. stand before the judgement of history. We must take responsibility for American racism with its denial to millions of black men and women of the most elementary rights of human beings if we do not step forward and call a halt. We must denounce the lie that ours is a 'free world'...."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 15.

"...racism has become a deadly menace to democracy in America."

"RACISM is completely irreconcilable with peace. It is not consistent with democracy for the people. It can be reconciled with the Kultur of Hitler's murderous fiends but not with any form of culture. Its roots lie in the remnants of slave barbarism so necessary to the super-exploitation of the Negro people, which brings billions to the banks and realtors of America. In consequence, racism is destructive of constitutional government."

"...RACISM in America has given birth to lynching and mob violence. It has facilitated the formation of the Ku Klux Klan and made the creation of such middle-class terrorist organizations as the White Citizens Councils imperative if the liberation struggles of Negro Americans and liberty loving white Americans were not to be successful. Can that way be found to secure for Negroes equality of opportunity in present day American life? Not without the most desperate unity front struggles of the American people."

"The report of the Civil Rights Commission must be studied. Its recommendations must be implemented. Vigorous action on the part of labor in conjunction with the Negro people will along secure this. The end result will not only be the defense of the rights of Negro citizens but defense as well of Constitutional government."

The Worker,  
October 25, 1959, p. 10.

## 2. Dual System of Justice

"Three Negro youths in Tupelo, Miss., charged last week with stabbing three white men, face the death penalty...."



"The arrests were made in an atmosphere of high tension. Roadblocks were set up around the city by highway patrolmen. More than 100 armed white men joined policemen in combing Negro communities of the city."

"The Florida State Conference of NAACP\* branches has called for action to end the 'dual system of justice' in the state. John Edward Paul and Willie City, two young Negroes were executed on Nov. 13, following their frame-up and conviction on charges of raping a white woman. Just a few months previously four white men, convicted of kidnap-rape of a young Negro co-ed at Tallahassee, Florida were given life sentences."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1959, p. 3.

"MACK CHARLES PARKER, resident of the State of Mississippi, citizen of the U.S., was murdered April 25 in Poplarville, Miss., by a lynch mob...."

"In the Parker case, the position of Mississippi is consistent with the attitude of the Federal Government toward white supremacists and the cult of white superiority.

"There is a Parker case because the Federal Government defends the interests of those who find billions in profits in the exploitation of Negroes and that violation of their constitutional rights which guarantees the exploitation."

"Labor and the American people are faced by a challenge to constitutional government and procedure. We have no guarantees that Parker's murderers will be brought to justice. Only mass demand can assure that step...."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

\*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

"A LOOK at the South today will show clearly that 'gradualism' does not work. While the Southern states delay and fight integration, Mack Parker is lynched, a Florida Negro co-ed is raped and her assailants given 'mercy,' four young Negro men are held for rape with a Florida death sentence (used only for Negroes) held over their heads. Things are not getting 'gradually' better. They are getting rapidly worse."

The Worker,  
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

### 3. Foreign-Born Workers

"...the distinction between native-born and foreign-born is artificial and arbitrary in a comparatively new country."

"It has been aggravated and exploited to keep workers divided. It has been used by employers to pit one group against others. It has been the basis for discrimination and segregation. It has created a fertile ground for reaction, fed McCarthyism, led to repressive legislation and has caused untold suffering and hardship to foreign-born workers."

"...To fight against all repressive legislation directed at the foreign born and to make possible their immediate inclusion as citizens, is the duty of all Americans who enjoy citizenship."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, pp. 9, 11.

### 4. Mass Action Needed To Solve Negro Question

"ATTORNEY GENERAL William P. Rogers deserves no credit for his sudden concern about the Mack Charles Parker lynching."

"The truth is that the Department of Justice is primarily guilty for the fact that nothing has been done to this date on the Parker lynching."

"On the record Rogers deserves no confidence. The Administration's ties to the Dixiecrats are much stronger than its concern for the rights of Negroes. The Administration will act only if it is compelled to.

"Now is the time to make public the secret FBI report on the Parker killing.

"Now is the time for labor and the Negro people to plan a common drive for a full program of civil rights legislation, including the means of enforcement, at the coming Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 2.

"...Our party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. is to secure with all speed their fullest realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other nationalities and individual citizens of the U.S. nation, including their inalienable right to genuinely representative government, with proportional representation in the areas of Negro majority population in the South." \*

"The achievement of the above stated programmatic objectives can only be realized through intensive struggle of a mass action character spearheaded by the united, mass action of the Negro people themselves and joined in by the labor movement and all democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Dixiecrat forces in general."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959,  
pp. 58-59.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

5. Jim Crow in Unions

"We most certainly hope...that something is done to erase some of the long-established jimcrow on the docks.

"But let us not forget that the railroad brotherhoods, on affiliating with the AFL-CIO three years ago, also promised to wipe out their constitutional color bars and have not yet done so. Meany opposed Randolph's resolution giving them a six-month time limit or be expelled.

"Nor should we forget that many of the former AFL unions still have segregated locals, and that Meany opposed Randolph's resolution to make such jimcrowism illegal in labor. While maintaining hope, we should not lose sight of the wide gap between words and action in the practices of Meany and his associates."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 29, 1959, p. 2.

"George Meany's insulting outbursts at A. Philip Randolph during the San Francisco AFL-CIO convention were a disgraceful performance such as will not soon be lived down by the labor movement. Meany's performance was most damaging to trade unionism and the already shaky Negro-labor alliance. It is an affront to the Negro people as a whole and to every American who cherishes civil rights."

"The outrageous 'show' at San Francisco only gladdened the hearts of the Dixiecrats. Decent Americans, especially union members, will make their protests heard.

"The spotlight should be all the more strongly on the leadership of the AFL-CIO for REAL and EARLY implementation of the high-sounding civil rights resolutions with DEEDS -- an end to jimcrow locals, color bars and other discriminatory practices.

"And Americans should applaud the handful of Negro delegates who stood up to the powerful bureaucracy. They set an example for all who want progress in the unions but have not yet found the courage to stand up and fight!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 1.

6. Constitutional Rights of Negroes

"...these are critical days in the struggle for Civil Rights and Human Dignity in our country. The struggle is even more acute and dangerous in certain areas in the South where forces of law and order are arrayed against any person or organization which strive for First Class Citizenship and Equality for all."

"...It is clear that the Federal government under Democrat and Republican administrations has condoned these through passivity...."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 16.

"Gov. John Patterson of Alabama has declared that the Civil Rights Commission of the Federal Government will not be permitted to investigate violations of the voting rights of Negro Americans in Alabama."

"A Southern District Federal Court has held that: the Civil Rights Commission did not have the power to force registrars to produce records indicating the extent of the state's violation of the rights of Negroes."

"If Alabama can flout the Federal Constitution with impunity where the rights of Negro citizens are concerned why can it not do the same where labor and the rights and dignity of poor white are affected. The answer is, it does. Herein lies the mutuality of interests of these groups."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 6.

"Racism in the United States has long been proved a policy of government, crassly expressed in the failure of the Executive branch of the federal government with its vast Department of Justice and FBI to protect the lives, property and constitutional rights of Negro citizens and in the brazen and cynical manner in which Congress has permitted anti-racist Civil Rights legislation to be sabotaged without seeking the impeachment of those who thus violated their oaths of office. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils are terrorists organizations unique in this country."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 12.

7. Peace and the Negro Question

"THE NEGRO PRESS, and Negro leadership generally, premitted a magnificent opportunity to make another contribution to the cause of peace, the freedom of mankind and human dignity, to escape them when they failed to insist that the State Department arrange a special meeting for them with Premier Nikita Khrushchev."

"Khrushchev would not have interfered in the internal affairs of the U.S. He was here at the invitation of President Eisenhower. Under excessive provocation he scrupulously avoided dealing with domestic issues.

"But the Negro question, as we call it, is no longer the concern of America alone. The Negro problem is being merged by history with the liberation struggles of the colonial and semicolonial peoples of Asia, Africa, India, and especially of the freedom struggles of the peoples of Latin and South America.

"PEACE and the solution of the question of racism are in most cases synonymous terms...."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 12.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The outlook for desegregation in the Southern states in the 1959-60 school year is "limited."
2. School segregation is causing American young people to grow up with prejudiced and distorted views.
3. The United States national budget for education must be increased if this Nation is to "catch up" with the Soviet Union.
4. School integration problems arise in many sections of the country.
5. In its hearings on the Marxist Faculty of Social Science in New York, the House Committee on Un-American Activities sought to "punish ideas."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Desegregation Outlook

"PROGRESS in combatting bias during the year was 'only meager,' the American Civil Liberties\* stated last week in its 39th annual report."

. . . . .

"With undue optimism, the ACLU report termed the 'biggest and best news' on the antidiscrimination front the 'change in the tide of opinion and action' among Southerners towards school desegregation.

"It is true that a growing number of Southern whites are concluding it is better to keep the public school system with some integration than have no schools. But this is a far cry from seeing Alabama and Mississippi soon 'alone in futile defiance of the irresistible tide,' as the Malin report does.

\*American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

"The hard fact is that not a single child in the five deep South states has been integrated in the public school system, since the 1954 Supreme Court decision."

The Worker,  
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"...the outlook for desegregation in 17 Border and Southern states in the 1959-60 school year is limited, advance in the five border states, pinpoint advance in the five states of the upper South and Texas, a pinpoint breakthrough in Florida, and strengthened defiance in five other deep South states.

"More than 46 percent of the 3,055,000 Negro students anticipated in the 17 states in the 1959-60 school year are in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana where no desegregation will take place..."

The Worker,  
September 13, 1959, p. 3.

## 2. Segregated Schools Inculcate Prejudices

"The fight against school segregation is the fight to save our public school system, which the labor movement helped bring into being. Segregated schools are bringing down the standards of education for all children. Working class communities, with large Negro and Puerto Rican populations suffer in particular."

"White children are being inculcated with prejudice from kindergarten on, as phony intelligence tests put the white child in one class, and his Negro and Puerto Rican playmate in another."

The Worker,  
September 13, 1959, p. 16.



"...something is sick and rotten at the core of the educational system of the South. Unless schools are integrated--now--young white people will be further imbued with very deep, almost unconscious feelings of race superiority, feelings which are always difficult to change. And unless we in the North, the East, and the West, unless we Americans take a vital and constant interest in the fight for equal justice, equal schooling--equality--our young people will continue to grow up absorbing warped and distorted views."

The Worker,  
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

### 3. National Budget for Education

"...one of the speakers at the 'Rally for peace and friendship' in Carnegie Hall, Sunday night, which was sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

"Dr. Corliss Lamont, author and lecturer, warned that the U.S. could not catch up with the Soviet Union in the field of education so long as we spend three percent of the national budget for education, while the Soviets spend ten to 15 percent. He urged the audience to 'go forward to win the battle for world peace.' "

The Worker,  
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

### 4. School Integration Problems

"DETROIT. ---Negro mothers who were able to move out of some of this city's worst slums some years ago are rebelling against having to send their children back into rundown schools in the slum areas.

"Some 74 children were ordered shipped each day by bus from schools near their homes on Detroit's West Side to a Houghton school deep in the heart of the slums. . . Children who come from an interracial neighborhood are placed in special classrooms and are not put in with the white children who live in that area.

"A delegation of Negro mothers from the Parent Teachers Association went to this school and protested against this segregation, as well as against anti-Negro language of some of the older students."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1959, p. 13.

"NEGRO PUPILS in Yancey County, North Carolina, are being forced by school officials there to make an 80-mile round trip to school on a dangerous spiraling mountain road. . . ."

"...Yancey County officials ordered this trip daily for 28 Negro pupils rather than integrate them into a white school."

"Also, at Apex, N.C., near Raleigh, the school official there are forcing Negro pupils to travel 36 miles to and from to a Negro school, because they refuse to integrate them into a local white school."

The Worker,  
October 18, 1959, p. 5.

"A vote for Amendment No. 4 is urged by the Communist Party of New York. This amendment would permit N. Y. City to borrow up to \$500,000,000 outside its present debt limit to build new schools and modernize old ones."

" 'Parents, teacher and labor organizations must exert their pressures to end the scandal of discrimination in the city's schools. The Negro and Puerto Rican parents of the city are outraged at the rapid increase in segregated schools in the city.

" 'The Negro and Puerto Rican voters must be assured that no school construction money will be used for further segregation of the schools.' "

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 16.

#### 5. Marxist Educators Quizzed

"THE HOUSE Un-American Committee tried another comeback last week in Washington, this time at the expense of education, and particularly of the only public institution of Marxist education in the country at present, New York's Faculty of Social Science."

"The opening statement by Committee Chairman Francis Walter, followed by the hour-long testimony of a stool-pigeon, Frank S. Meyer, showed the committee wasn't after information but sought to punish ideas....

"THE COMMITTEE got no help from the subpoenaed witnesses, who refused to answer its questions, citing the Fifth Amendment."

"AT THE END of the hearings, the press was given a statement issued in the Faculty's name, which declared in part.

" 'The aim of the Faculty of Social Science is to provide a basic understanding of our country and people, their problems and their struggles, and the great movement of world history of which these struggles are a part...' "

The Worker,  
August 2, 1959, p. 3.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. Technical and scientific advances produced under socialism result from the freedoms of this social system.
2. A renewal of the Federal Arts Project would help to solve the economic problems of the American theater.
3. Visits to the United States by Soviet musicians and dancers have aroused interest in the Marxist approach to the arts and culture.
4. Increasingly, writers are falsely attributing the corruption and social decay in the United States to the masses.
5. Socialist "freedom of science" has demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist brand of science.
6. The scientific Marxist outlook on life embodies the ethical teachings of Jesus.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Scientific Advances under Socialism**

"We are told about the magnificent scientific and technological advances of the people of the Socialist world. These can no longer be hidden. But we are told that these scientific marvels are produced in an atmosphere of slavery, by men and women who are enslaved.

"Such nonsense should insult our intelligence."

"These scientific achievements are the product of free men whose minds have been liberated from the meannesses that are the very essence of our daily lives."

The Worker,  
December 13, 1959, p. 15.

"...Automation and the use of energy released from the atom are ushering in a new industrial-scientific-technological revolution. Common sense tells us that science in the service of man should be something to cheer about. But when science and new technology are in the hands of big business, whose interest is not the welfare of mankind but only the lust for more profits, then this great achievement, this beautiful gift of nature turns into its very opposite....

"...Life has now brought forth ample proof that the social system that can give mankind the maximum benefits from the energy released from the atom and from automation is socialism...."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs, October, 1959, p. 7.

## 2. Commercialism in Art

"Economics haunt the theatre like the ghost of Hamlet's father."

"THE FEDERAL ARTS PROJECT of old, if renewed, would go a long way toward solving the economic problems of the theatre. Thereby the stage would be cleared for the actors and it would be a larger stage.

"Actors could devote themselves to acting and leave cost-accounting and ticket-taking and television commercials to those talented in these fields. Let the ad agency boys read the television commercials! They write them. Perhaps if they had to read them, they would not write them. Though whatever the fate of the television commercial would be once commercialism were cleared from the theatres, then art would be freed from its kitchen-sink hiding places off-Broadway."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1959, p. 10.

### 3. Soviet Culture

"THE ENTHUSIASTIC appreciation here in the United States for the gifted musicians and dance groups that have visited us from the Soviet Union, along with the rising respect for Soviet achievements in science--two fields that to some minds are mutually exclusive--has aroused considerable interest in the Marxist approach to the arts and culture. For the visitors possessed not only a consummate technical equipment, but also a quality known as 'heart,' together with a veneration for a cultural past which the West likes to consider peculiarly its own. It would be hard to prove at this moment that this humanist tradition and heritage is as secure in the West...."

Sidney Finkelstein, "Art and Ideology,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 35.

### 4. Social Decay in the United States

"Corruption, moral rot, social decay, ineffable hypocrisy surround us in the United States...."

"...There is...a tendency to place the onus for the decay upon the alleged failing of democracy, or the asserted low standards of the masses or the 'rabble.' In reality, this device, with which democracy and popular sovereignty are attacked, itself is a prime demonstration of the social and moral decay not of the masses of the people, but of the ruling class whose system of monopoly capitalism is in crisis, and is creating more and more intolerable material, political, cultural, and psychological contradictions and deprivations.

"Increasingly, this false ascribing to the masses of people themselves as the source of the decay is cropping up in the writings not only of reactionaries and conservatives, where it is to be expected, but also in the writings of liberal and progressive-minded people where its power to confuse and disorient is even greater...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1959,  
pp. 32, 33.

5. Soviet Freedom of Science

"SOVIET SCIENCE IS FREE of the profit motive.

"No profit-making 'arsenal concept' causes 'stagnation' of their work. No billionaire corporations force them to waste time and funds producing 'gadgets' and mass producing missiles that do not work merely because such production is profitable to a handful of capitalists.

"Socialism entrusts scientific work to the scientists. Soviet scientists have complete control of their own work, their basic research, their laboratories. And the results are clear for all to see.

"The success of the Luniks and Sputniks is the result of scientific freedom! Socialist freedom of science!"

The Worker,  
October 11, 1959, p. 3.

"For the first time, the genius of mankind, its forces unleashed by the October Revolution in Russia, burst the fetters of gravity to land a sphere on the moon, fulfilling the most fantastic dream of millions of years.

"Thus did the socialist society of the Soviet Union once again demonstrate its superiority in the science and technology of space discovery, which began with the Sputnik and continued with the Mechta, the man-made planet now speeding around our sun."

The Worker,  
September 20, 1959, p. 1.

6. Religion and Marxism

"... Many will see, as Khrushchev said in several of his speeches, that anyone who has a scientific Marxist outlook on life, also embodies in his views the ethical teachings of the Prince of Peace, the Man who chased the money-lenders, the usurers, from the temple.

"MOST AMERICANS saw that Khrushchev favored exactly the things they wanted: not only peace, but a better life, the equality of all, the end to poverty and degradation...."

"...Khrushchev's own views of religion--you have a right to worship and I have a right not to worship--made sense to most religionists. He reiterated the right of conscience of worship in his country. He was no church-burner, as the Bolsheviks had been pictured through the years by their enemies."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1959, p. 14.



## XI. WOMEN

1. Support must be given to a united effort to guarantee full suffrage to all women.
2. Women in socialist nations enjoy true equality with men.
3. American women protest the violence to which Negro women in South Africa are being subjected.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Woman Suffrage

"NEXT YEAR marks the 40th anniversary of the winning of woman's suffrage, through the passage of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Does this mean that universal adult suffrage prevails in our country since then, as a right of all citizens? Far from it. Millions of Americans in the South are denied the right to vote, by force and violence, poll taxes, so-called 'character tests', and literacy tests full of tricky questions. Over 200 local laws have been passed in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and elsewhere, deliberately planned to prevent Negro citizens from voting.

"Half at least, of those who are barred from going to the polls are Negro women. The 19th Amendment is a dead letter for them. They remained disinfranchised in fact."

. . . . .

"THE NAACP is carrying on a campaign for three million Negro voters in the South, by 1960. It is a hard, up-hill fight and needs widespread publicity and support."

. . . . .

"Sojourner Truth, a powerful orator, was a pioneer Negro woman advocate of votes for women. Her memory and tradition should be revived today, in a united effort to guarantee full suffrage for all women."

The Worker,  
October 25, 1959, p. 9.

## 2. Women under Socialism

"...In the Lands of Socialism, men and women are equal and unless you see it, coming out of capitalism, you can't really believe it. The women are well groomed, on the whole; but they are not on display. They are working and producing; they are full-fledged citizens with all the rights and duties of men. Your ship may be piloted by a woman; the person in charge of the power plant may be a woman; the editor-in-chief of a publication issued in 9 languages and having about 70 editorial workers may be a woman; the Cabinet Minister may be a woman; the Prime Minister of a Republic may be a woman; the worker handling the crane may be a woman. In all cases, they may be men or women; one never knows or assumes or, apparently, notices. The relationship between men and women--and girls and boys--therefore, has a freedom and comradeship about it, a functioning equality, that is...quite astonishing and heartening."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1959, p. 36.

## 3. Defenders of South African Women

"WHILE LEAFLETS protesting the recent police beatings of South African Negro women were distributed...a delegation of women presented a statement to the office of the Consul-General of the Government of South Africa..."

"Identifying themselves as American women-garment, shoe and millinery workers on their lunch hour, and housewives-varied in their political, religious and community affiliations and beliefs, the group declared themselves as one in their revulsion against the violent inhuman treatment accorded South African Negro women."

"We American women express our admiration and support of the brave South African Negro women who are showing such courage in fighting for their dignity and for the freedom and future of their children. Their militant actions serve to spur all American democratic-minded women in their fight against racial segregation here in the United States. We extend a fraternal hand to the Negro women of South Africa."

The Worker,  
August 2, 1959, p. 9.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. The Party must persist in its support of the formation of a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country.
2. The "decay and corruption of capitalism" encourages the disorientation of American youth.
3. Youth is responsible for much of the racial violence in the South.
4. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Children must be made a program of action in the United States.
5. United States press coverage of the World Youth Festival was shameful.
6. In Communist China, juvenile delinquency presents no problem.
7. West German youth is being indoctrinated through books "glorifying war in general."

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Marxist Youth Organization**

"...It is...indispensable that a new youth organization should be formed as quickly as possible. At the beginning, the youth movement will be pretty much a Communist organization, but it must be broadened out in the mass work...."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 51-52.

"The Party must give special consideration to the problems and mass struggles of American youth. It must give its support to the building of

a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country. Attention to work among the national groups must be restored. In this connection, it is necessary to combat the erroneous idea that these groups are disappearing as significant forces in the American scene."

"Draft Political Resolution,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1959,  
p. 42.

## 2. Juvenile Delinquency

"The decay and corruption of capitalism, which threatens atomic destruction, results in violence against the Negro people in the South and spawns crime and encourages the disorientation of our youth.

"The martyrdom today being suffered by Negro and Puerto Rican youth is already affecting all youth. What is happening will continue unless corruption and chauvinism by profiteers, government officials, and chiseling landlords are curbed."

"The broadest unity of the people, the labor movement, parents and youth organizations is needed. The youth of the city need decent homes, decent education, a perspective of decent jobs and equality of relationship and friendship of all young people; Negro, Puerto Rican and white."

The Worker,  
September 13, 1959, p. 16.

## 3. Youth Involved in Racial Violence

"...even more than the shocking violence and complete disregard of human rights being shown in the South, it is quite as alarming to view the participation of young people in these incidents.

"There is a serious question whether young white people in the South are being taught even the modicum of appreciation for human dignity and integrity...."

"...the most frightening aspect of all the acts of violence in the south. Except in the Mack Parker case (whose murderers are 'unknown'), these incidents of violence have not been committed by professional thugs, or Ku Klux Klan members. They have been committed by--let's face it--brutalized youth, who are fully capable of leading a responsible life in the white community, but whose ideas of justice and decency vanish when they see persons of different color."

The Worker,  
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

4. United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Children

"THE SOCIAL, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the UN Assembly has given the peoples of the world a new and magnificent document-- A Declaration of the Rights of Children.... \*

" 'Mankind,' states the committee, 'owes to the child the best it has to give'; it adds, 'regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.'

"Although the Declaration was formally approved Oct. 19th there can be little wonder that the big business press of this country has given it scant attention."

"No American has to ask how the governments of Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and other southern states will take this provision. How will the big landlords of California, the employers of thousands of

\*Declaration of the Rights of the Child

hapless migrant Mexican-Americans and their children respond to this covenant, or the Colorado sugar beet kings whose wealth flows from the bleeding hands of children?"

"Delegations seeking the implementation of this declaration should be mobilized to march to the White House demanding that President Eisenhower call for legislation to make this document the property of the nation. Who better than the youth can make this declaration a program of action?"

The Worker,  
November 8, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

5. World Youth Festival

"ONE OF THE MOST scandalous pieces of journalism of all time--possibly an all-time low--can be found in the way the N. Y. Times and other U. S. papers have been 'covering' the World Youth Festival in Vienna. The Times did not exactly duplicate the Viennese capitalist press, which threw a blanket of silence over the event, not one word about it appearing even in the Austrian social-democratic periodical. The leading U. S. journal has contented itself with describing alleged 'brawls', and 'fracases' between 'Communists' and 'anti-Communists', declaring that the latter's brilliant remarks put the 'Communists' to shame."

The Worker,  
August 9, 1959, p. 15.

6. No Juvenile Delinquency Problem in Red China

"...The phrase 'juvenile delinquency' cannot be translated into Chinese....in China if a young person neglected duty, was careless or showed tendencies towards wrongdoing, it was because he had not been properly guided and had not been integrated into the social group. It was

explained that when Shanghai and Canton were liberated there were many young petty thieves, beggars and prostitutes who were taken into the care\* of the State, healed in body and spirit and, for the first time in their lives, offered the opportunity of living a clean and rewarding life.\* These young people were never treated as criminals, but as victims.\*

"...there was little place and no reason for juvenile delinquency in a land where every young person knows\* he is important\* and that he is needed. The most agile minds are richly rewarded for effort in any creative activity. Recognition, appreciation and praise give the youth every incentive to harness his energies for constructive efforts. There is no reason for frustration, discouragement or feelings of insecurity."

Shirley Graham, "Hail the People's Republic of China!" Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 29-30.

#### 7. West German Youth

"BERLIN. --One of the most dangerous and sinister aspects of West German rearmament is the intensive drive of the militarists to once again win the German youth as cannon fodder. In this drive, the conscious propagation of books glorifying war in general, and Hitler's war in particular, plays a major role."

"Franz Joseph Strauss, west German minister of defense, was a 'morale' officer in Hitler's army. He knows how to train young men to become beasts of prey, to kill for the sadistic joy of it, and the mass circulation of these indoctrination books serves to raise a new army of mass murderers."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1959, p. 10.

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1960--JUNE 1960



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John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**January 1960--June 1960**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In international relations, the Communist Party, USA, is sharply critical of the "bipartisan cold war policy" of the United States and calls for a long-term peace policy which would involve "honest" negotiations with the Soviet Union. The responsibility for the collapse of the summit conference is laid directly on the so-called "cold war advocates in high places"--the Eisenhower administration, the Pentagon, the bipartisan congressional leadership, the big corporations with extensive defense contracts, and the top labor leaders in the United States.

The Party asserts that the mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States, in effect, established an aggressive military alliance between the two countries, is a serious setback to the struggle for peace, and should be dissolved.

Communists charge that American imperialism is intervening in Cuban affairs and is presently preparing mercenary forces from bases in Latin America to invade Cuba. These forces are alleged to be counting on a counterrevolutionary movement within Cuba itself for support.

The Party repeats its demands that the United States recognize Communist China and states that the rise of anti-Semitism, re-Nazification, and rearmament in West Germany is due to Western influence and can be negated only by peace treaties with both East and West Germany.

The Communist Party, USA, condemns the Government of South Africa for its reign of terror and accuses the United States of treating Canada as a military outpost.

In domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, stresses the fight for "peace" as the dominant issue in the 1960 election campaign and emphasizes the need to struggle against the "cold-war" candidates. The Party feels that support from noncommunists for its "peace policy" can be obtained most effectively through the "united front" tactic, and hence mastery of this tactic is the "key task" before every Party member. The "central strategic aim" of this "unified field" is to break the power of the great monopolies in this country and thus pave the way to socialism.

In spite of its setbacks in recent years, the Communist Party, USA, believes that the perspective for world-wide socialism, due to the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism, is brighter than ever.

According to the Party, "big business attacks on the rights of labor" are continuing. In order to defeat this offensive, organized labor, assisted by communists, must launch a countercrusade, which can succeed only if it is based on the united action of the entire trade-union movement. The Party attacks top labor leaders for supporting the "worst enemies of labor, the big monopolies," instead of helping the rank-and-file union members.



Despite the anticommunist clause in the constitution of the Negro American Labor Council, the Party hailed its formation as another "strong weapon against discrimination" and pledged the aid of all "progressives" to realize its objective-- the organization of Negro trade-unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination.

Continued charges of United States interference in Latin America, Africa, and South Korea appear throughout Party publications. The Party accuses United States imperialism of withholding genuine aid to the Latin-American countries and of exploiting them as a source of profits. The Cuban revolution is described as a "democratic" revolution which has the fullest support of Cuban communists, whose example should be emulated by all the Latin-American nations.

Civil rights legislation passed by Congress, congressional committees-- particularly the House Committee on Un-American Activities--and anticommunist legislation have been subjects of considerable contempt in recent Party propaganda. The Party denounced the civil rights legislation as worse than nothing, accused the House Committee on Un-American Activities of harassing thousands of Americans, and called the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act the most severe antilabor law yet enacted because it puts the trade-unions directly under Government control.

Communists assert that the fight for full Negro equality can be achieved only by the united mass action of the Negro people, supplemented by legislation

aimed at discrimination. The Party cites the "mass picketlines and sitdowns of the Southern Negro youth" as effective examples of this type of mass action. The Party re-emphasizes that the communist program for "self-determination" of the Negro in the Black Belt area in the South has been discarded, and the present policy is to seek complete economic, political, and social equality for the Negro with all other American citizens.

The educational program of the Communist Party, USA, for American youth calls for free education through college, Federal school financing, full academic freedom, the restoration of unrestricted political rights to all teachers, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. According to the Party, only token integration has taken place in the schools since the United States Supreme Court's desegregation order in 1954.

Culture in the capitalist countries, communists claim, is a "business" run by big businessmen who find it is expendable during a recession. Under socialism, they allege, women have achieved much in education, science, and art, while under capitalism, they face such evil conditions as juvenile delinquency, child labor, prostitution, and mental disorders which are absent in socialist countries.

The Communist Party, USA, considers its work among youth of major importance to the Party's own existence as an effective Marxist vanguard

movement. It also considers a Marxist youth organization essential to attracting thousands of young people to the socialist cause. In this connection, Advance, described by the Party press as a Marxist youth organization, was recently created for the expressed purpose of familiarizing American youth with ideas of socialism.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, maintains that American bipartisan cold-war foreign policy was responsible for the collapse of the summit conference and for the intensification of world tensions. As a result, it may be expected that the Party press will abound with denunciations of the "cold-war" leadership in the United States and with pleas for peace and "honest" negotiations with the Soviet Union for a ban on nuclear testing, full and complete disarmament, a mutually acceptable status for Berlin and the two Germanys, and recognition of Communist China.
2. Communists are determined to project the struggle for "peace and peaceful coexistence" as the dominant theme in the 1960 elections. To achieve this, they plan to use broad united-front tactics and infiltration on a major scale to broaden their scope of influence in American life. Therefore, the Party will undoubtedly increase its participation in all spheres of activity during the campaigns.
3. The Party persists in its attacks upon American trade-union leadership for allegedly supporting "big business" instead of helping the rank-and-file union members. Further derisive propaganda may be expected on this subject in the Party press, as well as against antilabor legislation and the misuse of automation. It may also be anticipated

that the Party will make every effort to infiltrate the newly formed noncommunist Negro American Labor Council in an effort to subvert it toward communist goals.

4. The upsurge of nationalist movements in the underdeveloped countries throughout the world will undoubtedly receive continued widespread attention in the Party press. The Party is particularly vociferous concerning the "democratic" Cuban revolution and can be expected to support Castro and any Latin-American uprisings, while denouncing American 'imperialist' interests in any of these nations.
5. Communists maintain that united action of the Negro people, plus legislation aimed at discrimination, is necessary for full economic, political, and social Negro equality. It is reasonable to believe that the Party will attempt to exploit the "mass picketlines and sitdowns of the Southern Negro youth," which they cite as an effective example of mass action, for their own purposes. It is also virtually certain that the Party will focus exaggerated attention on any further racial problems in this country.
6. The Communist Party, USA, considers the successful exploitation of youth of major importance to its own survival and effectiveness. It is evident, therefore, that communists will make every effort to utilize the new Marxist youth organization Advance for attracting American youth to socialism.
7. The over-all theme of the Communist Party line is inextricably threaded with "peace and peaceful coexistence" both on domestic and foreign issues. Every effort is being made to increase communist participation, concealed or overt, in the problems confronting the United States, and this program will undoubtedly be accelerated in the future.

## I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The United States needs a long-term peace policy instead of a bipartisan cold-war policy.
2. Responsibility for the collapse of the summit conference rests upon the advocates of the cold war in the United States--the Pentagon, the Eisenhower administration, the big corporations, the bipartisan congressional leadership, and the labor leaders.
3. The new mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States is a serious setback to peace and should be dissolved.
4. American imperialism is intervening in Cuban affairs and is preparing "mercenary forces" to invade Cuba.
5. Communist China should be recognized by the United States and should be admitted to the United Nations.
6. The rise of anti-Semitism, re-Nazification, and rearmament in West Germany is the result of Western policies, and this alarming trend can be negated only by peace treaties with both East and West Germany.
7. The United States Congress and the United Nations should take action against the Government of South Africa for its reign of terror.
8. The United States should abandon its air bases in Spain and stop using its capital to exploit the Spanish people.
9. The United States is treating Canada as a military outpost.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Peace Program

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:

"Intensifying the struggle for peace."

The Worker  
May 1, 1960, p. 6.

"Let the plain people of our country with an urgent dedication stand up for peace. Act for peace. Organize our millions into popular peace movements. The conspirators against the sacred cause of peace and co-existence with the socialist countries in the high circles of the government must now feel the pressure of the people.

"Don't let the cold warriors--who never wanted peace--stampede us into giving up the sacred fight for peace and peaceful co-existence!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 22, 1960, p. 1.

"Instead of a bipartisan cold war policy, our country needs a long-term peace policy that will be the basic guide of the government, no matter what Administration is in power. We need national unity in back of a policy to end the cold war and to negotiate, in good faith and with all honesty, with the Soviet Union--to end nuclear testing, to abolish nuclear and all other terror weapons, to get full and complete disarmament, to find a mutually acceptable status for Berlin and the two Germanys, to accord China her regihtful place in world councils."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 2.

## 2. Summit Conference

"THE COLLAPSE of the Summit in Paris has revealed in a single flash the bankruptcy of the cold war policy....

"The responsibility for the Summit failure should be openly and honestly faced. It rests on the advocates of cold war in high places--in the Pentagon, in the Executive, , in the big corporations with juicy war contracts, in the bi-partisan Congressional leadership, and also in the top command of labor, which joined the cold war 'partnership.'..."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 2.

"One may say that the Soviet leaders showed patience and tact and tried to save the Summit. They tried to give Eisenhower a way out by saying that most likely he did not know about it. But Ike would have none of that, and went blundering ahead after being caught not only redhanded but in a web of outright lies....

"The undeniable fact is that as long as the basic policies of the cold war continue, there can be no successful negotiations at the Summit. Yes, we have reached a new phase in world relations. What the Summit proves beyond the shadow of a doubt is that all policies of massive retaliation, of dealing from 'positions of strength,' of double-dealing, of speaking from both sides of one's mouth, in fact all policies flowing from ideas of U. S. superiority, have come to a dead end.

"The policies initiated after the second world war must be basically changed. The only successful foreign policy for the United States is a policy of coexistence, a policy of live and let live, a basic, honest, fundamental policy of peace."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 3.

"The Paris summit conference was doomed to failure by Washington, by the deeds of the Eisenhower administration.

"Now the tension-builders and war provocateurs who booby-trapped the summit by a series of calculated moves are busily trying to enmesh our people in a web of lies, to keep up the cold war, to put the blame for failure of the summit conference to get under way on Khrushchev and the Soviet Union."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 22, 1960, p. 1.

### 3. Japan

"In Europe, the chief bastion of Wall Street's aggressive cold-war policies is West Germany; in Asia, this role is being assumed by the erstwhile Axis partner of Hitler Germany--Japan. The Asian counterpart of the rearming and renazification of Adenauer Germany is the equally sinister remilitarization of Japan. A big step in this direction is the revised American-Japanese Security Pact, signed in Washington on January 19.

"The new treaty has been hailed as re-establishing Japanese-American relations on the basis of the full equality and sovereignty of Japan. In reality, however, the effect of the treaty is to establish an aggressive military alliance between the two countries with Japan as the junior partner...."

.....  
"...the new treaty is a serious setback to the struggle for peace.

"For the American people, it is as vital to fight against the remilitarization of Japan as against that of West Germany."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 10, 12.



"The 'vital interests of the American people require' that President Eisenhower 'abandon' his June 19 trip to Japan, the Communist Party said..."

"The party urged that the American people support the following demands:

- "1. President Eisenhower cancel his trip to Japan immediately!
- "2. Hands off Japan!
- "3. Scrap the 'mutual security' war treaty! No more militarism in Japan!
- "4. Respect the sovereignty of Japan and all other countries!"

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 2.

#### 4. Cuba

"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM is preparing mercenary forces in Guatemala, Haiti and the Dominican Republic to invade Cuba. They are of course counting on a counterrevolutionary force within Cuba itself to answer their call.

"The whole thing will not be done not in the name of American imperialism and its aim to subjugate anew the Cuban people to the Washington Wall Street yoke.

"It will be done in the name of 'liberty, fraternity, democracy.' It will be presented as a war against 'communism' and for going back 'to the original principles for which the revolution was fought.' "

The Worker,  
May 29, 1960, p. 4.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

. . . . .

"Support the sovereign integrity of the Cuban people, oppose all interference in their affairs of government."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"EVERY PLANE raiding Cuba makes a mockery of President Eisenhower's promises of 'nonintervention.'

"The President said in Chile that--

"We subscribe to and have observed with constancy a cordial policy of Inter-American life--the policy of non intervention.

"That statemet was a worthless scrap of paper when Ike read it. And we wonder whom Ike's speech writers tried to deceive.

"The President's speech writers could hardly have hoped to fool the Latin American people. The memory of Washington's bloody invasions is running too deep."

The Worker,  
April 3, 1960, p. 6.

5. Communist China

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

. . . . .

"Support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN and ending the military occupation of Formosa."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"A central task before us in the coming year is to help our countrymen develop an even greater understanding and friendship for China; for the recognition of the Chinese Peoples Republic by our government and for securing to China her rights in the United Nations; for relinquishing China's Taiwan territories and the taking of all necessary steps toward the establishment of normal diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with the government of the great Chinese peoples."

James E. Jackson, "Our Party and the World Communist Movement,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 52.

6. Germany

" 'Decent human beings everywhere have been shocked and alarmed by the series of outbreaks of desecration of synagogues and other anti-Semitic acts of vandalism which have taken place in recent weeks. Spread over half a dozen countries, with a growing number of instances in the United States, these outbreaks stem principally from West Germany, which is speedily coming forward once more as the world fountainhead of Nazi-like anti-Semitism.

" '... The real source of the renewed rise of anti-Semitism... lies in the cold-war policies of American ruling circle. It is these policies which are responsible for the re-Nazification and rearming of Adenauer Germany as American imperialism's chief gendarme in Europe, and for the inevitable upsurge of anti-Semitism to which this gives rise.' "

" 'A stop must be put to the rearming and the re-nazification of West Germany. And the American people must demand an end of the suicidal cold-war policies of which this is a product.' "

The Worker,  
January 24, 1960, p. 2.

"...an entire German generation has grown up ignorant of the basic horrors of Hitlerism and prey to its anti-semitism and other barbarities.

"Primary responsibility lies with the West; and within the West our own most powerful groupings in government and Big Business. Our NATO policy promotes the rearming and the resurrection of a powerful, reactionary Germany.

"We have allowed industrial and financial groups like Krupp's to become powerful again. Stimulated it in fact.

"Basically, and for the world, this is the major horror. We are supplying arms to this resurrected monster, 'conventional' as well as nuclear. And our authorities know that the 'revanchists'--those who would have World War III to restore their old boundaries--are increasingly powerful in Bonn Germany.

"Only East-West agreements to disarm totally and to arrive at peace treaties with both Germanies can solve this most dangerous of all political questions. Our fate, the world's, rests upon it."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 10, 1960, p. 2.

"The intensification of anti-Semitism in West Germany in the past few months is a reflection of the accentuation of reactionary policies at home and provocative policies abroad by the Bonn Government."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1960, p. 42.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

. . . . .

"For an immediate peaceful settlement of the German problem through the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states and ending the occupation status in West Berlin."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

7. South Africa

"WHOLESALE CRIMES against humanity are being committed by the Government of South Africa."

. . . . .

"Let the barbarians who rule South Africa feel the full force of our nation's indictment.

"Let our men, women and youth--Negro and white--take action through their unions, churches, colleges, fraternal societies and political clubs to:

"Picket the South African consulates and embassy.

"Demand that Congress and President Eisenhower officially condemn the South African terror-regime.

"Demand that an emergency meeting of the United Nations be summoned to invoke the full penalties of the anti-genocide conventions against South Africa. The UN must brand South Africa as a violator of the UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights and impose sanctions.

"Support the world-wide boycott of South African goods.

"Organize aid for the South African freedom fighters."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 27, 1960, p. 1.

"A worldwide boycott of South Africa's products can win results rather quickly. The South African economy--with its heavy trade deficits--is too shaky to stand such a siege."

"And it can win quickly because South Africa is VERY vulnerable to a boycott offensive."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 7.

#### 8. Spain

"IT IS TRULY admirable that twenty years after they returned home from fighting on Spanish soil beside the Spanish people against Franco, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade\* are still in the ring, fighting for Spanish freedom today. Then they were youths. Now they are middle-aged men with families and many responsibilities,. But they do not forget their comrades who lie buried in Spanish earth nor those who are behind Franco's prison walls.

"They are alerting the American people to our duty towards the Spanish people, and they are letting the Spanish people know too, through their deeds that there is 'another America' of people who do not support air bases, foreign capital exploiting the Spanish people and brutal imprisonment for labor and political activities. There are American friends of Spanish freedom."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1960, p. 9.

\*The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

## "AMNESTY NOW FOR SPAIN'S POLITICAL PRISONERS"

The Worker,  
February 28, 1960, p. 14.

### 9. Canada

"...The USA has attempted to treat Canada like a military outpost, having not only used all its influence in the country (which is great) to put across various militarization propositions, but it has also loaded up the country with American military bases, troops, and other paraphernalia of war, as well as planning to use Canada's excellent fighting forces for its own purposes.

"The United States has inflicted upon Canada the Marshall Plan, in its special Canadian form, and other militaristic programs, and has done its best to make the Canadian people believe that war is both inevitable and indispensable. The American style red-baiting has been the common fare of the Canadian people for many years past...."

William Z. Foster, "Canada's Fight  
for Freedom," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 58-59.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1.. Communists must help to defeat cold-war candidates and support the fight for peace, which has emerged as the dominant issue in the 1960 elections.
2. The perspective for socialism throughout the world, including the United States, is brighter than ever before.
3. The use of the united-front tactic is essential in winning the support of noncommunists for mass action for "peace, democracy, and security."
4. The Communist Party, USA, must unite with all mass movements against the big monopolies in this country in order to achieve peace, democracy, and progress.
5. The Communist Party, USA, supports the Forand Bill as a step toward socialized medicine.
6. The real aim of the "loyalty" oath is a conforming, obedient American people who will not object to the prosecution by American imperialism of the cold war.
7. Slum clearance, instead of giving low-cost housing to the poor, has been a windfall for "crooked millionaire realtors."
8. American labor leaders should take a positive stand against anti-Semitic activities in the United States.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Peace Dominant Issue in 1960 Elections

"The peace issue has emerged as dominant in this campaign. The people and events have made it so. The people can and are influencing, at



least in some measure, the selection of candidates and the issues of the campaign, more so on a local level, but also on every level, including the presidential campaign."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"The struggle for a new Administration for peace in November can be won if the people repudiate every effort to keep the peace issue out of the elections, or to befuddle and distort it. The investigations into the U-2 overflight and into the causes for the Summit failure must not be allowed to withewash all those responsible, no matter of what party. Nor should they be permitted to sidetrack the real and central issue of the cold war policy itself, or to stall real open debate on the policy this country needs if it is to live in a world at peace."

.....  
"...All the people's strength must be mustered to defeat cold-war candidates and to elect honest advocates of peace, democracy, and the people's needs."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 10.

"...peace is the number one issue in the election campaign..."

.....  
"...The present crisis of foreign policy demonstrates the futility of trying to solve anything in terms of continuing the cold war, of substituting one cold-war policy for another. It demonstrates, more plainly than ever before, that the preservation of peace and the achievement of peaceful co-existence means ending the cold war."

"It is the task of Communists...in the course of the election campaign, to elevate the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence to a new level."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1960, p. 10.

## 2. Era of Socialism

"...today's world is a far different place from that of even a year ago."

. . . . .

"Socialism has marched triumphantly forward, spearheaded by the grand seven-year plan and the proud advance toward a communist society in the Soviet Union."

. . . . .

"A new spirit of crusade is appearing among the American working people...."

. . . . .

"Reaction will be defeated in our country, and the American working class will march forward with its brothers in all lands toward a world of peace and socialism."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 1, 10.

"The future holds a splendid perspective for socialism. Marxism-Leninism is becoming dominant throughout the world of labor and the socialist movement. Lenin has truly become a world figure. The monopolists are making a determined effort to destroy the great theoretical system which he, along with Marx and many other proletarian fighters, built up. The Titos, Stracheys, Browders, and other tools of the capitalists, are crawling out of their holes and patching together such makeshift arguments as they can to try to undermine and

destroy Leninism. They are particularly the voices of Right revisionism, which has plagued a number of communist parties in recent years, especially our own. Nor have the sectarian dogmatists been lacking in their anti-Leninist work. But they are all shouting in the wilderness. Marxism-Leninism is invincible..."

William Z. Foster, "Lenin's 90th Birthday," Political Affairs, April, 1960, p. 17.

"Comrades, may our Party soon be in league with all those parties who have already taken the high road to the establishment of socialism and then again of communism in their own countries. There are in the world today some 34,000,000 Communists. We are proud to be counted among those who are in our day changing the face of the world into a truly promising garden for mankind. We cherish our ties of international working-class solidarity and ever-enduring bonds of common ideology and noble vista for the unbounded well being, happiness and brotherhood of all mankind."

James E. Jackson, "Our Party and the World Communist Movement," Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 52.

### 3. United Front Policy

"Mastery of the theory and practise of the united front policy is the key task before the whole Party--before every organization, every member."\*

"The united front is the basic style and method of our mass work."  
This encompasses comrades in the labor and mass organizations as well as those comrades able to function publicly as Communists in or out of mass organizations."

"Knowhow in the development of mass work must be promoted through restoring the practice of exchanging experiences and evaluating activities, through conferences and other appropriate means.

\* Underscored portion italicized in the original text.

"Assistance must be provided comrades in unions and mass organizations toward learning how to advance Party policies, how to go about building Left groupings, how to develop political and class consciousness, how to bring people closer to the Party and into its ranks."

. . . . .

"There can be no effective Party work which is not directed in one way or another to the solution of mass problems, to the development of united action of the people for peace, democracy, economic and social advance. There can be no effective work in the labor and people's organizations which is not directed in one way or another to winning non-Party people to support in their own best interests united, mass action for peace, democracy and security, to strengthening the Party's influence among the people, and to building the Party."\*

"Resolutions from the 17th Convention  
C.P., USA, " Political Affairs, March, 1960,  
pp. 67, 68, 69.

"The 17th national convention was an event of great significance in the life of our party...."

. . . . .

"What came out of the discussion, first and foremost, was a mass policy, one that can greatly speed up the process of broadening our mass ties and influence and lead our party onto the path toward becoming a far more important force in American life.

"The flexibility and the new realism of our united front outlook is graphically denoted in these words from the keynote speech delivered by Comrade Gus Hall: 'We want to participate in, organize and lead the broadest of united front movements on every level--in a thousand ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues if possible, with 180,000,000 people.'"

The Worker,  
January 3, 1960, p. 3.

\* Underscored portion italicized in the original text.

"We must be ready to say now, and we do say: We will march with the majority of Americans who are the victims of this monopoly rule no matter what class they belong to, whatever their political affiliation and needless to say, without regard for race, creed, color or religion. And further, we will march with this great mass of Americans knowing that in the majority they will most likely lean in the direction of replacing the rule of monopoly by a coalition of forces who in all probability will still look to a system of capitalism for a solution to our problems."

The Worker,  
April 17, 1960, p. 11.

#### 4. Antimonopoly Struggle

"...the Marxists perspective enables us to see the struggle for the defense of democracy as a progression of mass movements directed against monopoly and other backward social forces, thus winning ground for the extension of democracy and for basic social changes. We see in the growth of these mass movements of labor, the Negro, farmers and the nonmonopoly sectors the possibility of broad alliances and united fronts, that will isolate the most reactionary forces, curb monopoly power and move towards its elimination, with growing restrictions upon capitalist exploitation itself. For the party, the democratic anti-monopoly perspective is the guide to all the prime struggles of our day, to the struggles of tomorrow, and to the road to socialism...."

James S. Allen, "Recovery After the Anti-Revisionist Struggle," Political Affairs, June, 1960, p. 55.

"What is the force in our country that is the real obstacle, the one real roadblock for a realistic policy for peace, for total disarmament, for real civil rights, for the 30-hour week, for a real housing program, for a cut in taxes, prices and rents? What group is it that embodies the very essence of bigotry, greed and exploitation without mercy? What group is it that sits

in the saddle, that holds in an iron grip every phase of our life, including a grip on the reigns of government and state? Who is it that sets down the policies in all these fields?"

"Not only we Communists, but large sections of labor, the Negro people and the public in general understand and sense that it is a small but powerful, greedy, iron-fisted group of men--the high lords of monopoly and finance and industry--who rule the roost in the fields of economics, politics, military and international relations, culture and state power. Therefore, the central strategic aim, the outlook and essence of the 'unified field' theory, is the unseating of this group from power, loosening their grip, and controlling their bottomless greed. This is an absolute necessity if our nation is to take its place again on the road to progress."

The Worker,  
April 17, 1960, p. 11.

"The Communist Party, U.S.A. is now a united, healthy and active party. We are again becoming a part of the political scene and an element of the movements in our land. This has become possible because we have decisively defeated the ideas of revisionism and its counterpart, dogmatism and left-sectarianism. We Communists are out to unite with all Americans who have, and are, becoming victims of the crushing drive of the big trusts in a movement that will unhinge this grip of the monopolies so that our country can again fully take the path of peace and progress."

The Worker,  
April 24, 1960, p. 10.

"The recent national convention of the Communist Party was...correct in placing the struggle against the monopolies and the formation of an antimonopoly alliance as the main strategic task of the present period. That means an all-around struggle against the trust magnates, and their political tools

in government by strengthening the movement and struggle for peace, for democratic rights, for Negro peoples rights and for labor's economic, social and political needs. A number of these movements and struggles for their independent demands, embrace varied social elements but consciously or unconsciously these movements are all against the monopolies who block the way of the peoples advance.

"They inevitably interweave one with the other. The task is to consolidate and unite them into a mighty political force to effect radical social changes in the life of the country."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1960, pp. 10-11.

##### 5. Socialized Medicine

"What is the solution to our health problem. . .

"The answer is a fully rounded-out, state-financed system of free medical care to every man, woman and child, from birth to death. This should include government-financed medical research, regular and free medical examinations in place of employment and in communities to prevent disease and to provide early treatment, free doctors, medicine, hospitals and necessary rest home care.

"The costs of such services would probably be little more than the vast sums presently paid out to private insurance outfits which are run for the enrichment of powerful monopoly interests. If additional government funds were needed they would be peanuts as compared to the more than \$40 billion now spent annually for war purposes."

"We declare our readiness to cooperate with the trade unions and all other groups in the launching of an all-out effort to win a system of free, socialized medicine...in the United States.

"As a beginning we will continue to support the Forand Bill, which would amend our Social Security system to provide medical and hospital care for the aged. "

The Worker,  
June 19, 1960, p. 12.

"Our country in respect to aid to the aged is behind not only the lands of socialism, where both children AND the old people are provided every care, but also behind such capitalist countries as Britain, Sweden, Canada, West Germany, France and even Italy. Japan is now instituting compulsory 'people's health insurance'.

"Clearly, while Congress is already under great pressure on the issue, much greater and more widespread action by labor, the Negro people, and the oldsters themselves are needed to guarantee even the minimum Forand bill."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1960, p. 2.

## 6. Loyalty Oath

"...Today the majority of the American people are imprisoned mentally and economically within the interdiction of the 'loyalty' oath under the guise of providing for the 'security' of the U.S. This includes the more than 8 million government employes, the millions in the armed services, the many millions more working in the multitudinous industries that impinge ever so slightly on 'defense' production, most of the members of labor unions and of various types of professional organizations. All of these people have been entrapped by the 'loyalty' system, which was ostensibly aimed at only a few Communists."

"...The 'loyalty' system of the present time did not flow out of any idealist abhorrence by the American people of Communist ideas. There is a class basis for it.



"When the 'loyalty' era was ushered in by the then-President Truman in 1947 with his prescription of an oath for all Federal employes, the world was in a ferment. . . . And American imperialism was frightened. It was then that Washington embarked on the 'cold war.' But the prosecution of this 'cold war' required a home front not only in which the Communists were hamstrung, the progressives muzzled--but also a conformist, obedient American people. And that is exactly what the 'loyalty' system has aimed at since 1947."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1960, p. 9.

#### 7. Slum Clearance

"...The process...called Slum Clearance...is spreading all over the country. Its original legal purpose was supposed to be to wipe out the worst slums and to replace them with fine apartments at the same low rents that the lower-bracket Americans can afford.

"This necessary and moral reform of public low-cost housing has been turned into a grotesque caricature of the original plan. The city, state or federal authorities begin properly enough by condemning the slum areas, but then, through a cabal of crooked millionaire realtors and crooked politicians the land is passed on at a tenth of its cost and high-priced apartment houses for the rich are built."

The Worker,  
April 10, 1960, p. 8.

#### 8. Anti-Semitism

"At this moment the world, and our nation in it, requires a supreme effort against the home-grown fascists and racists, as well as against the infection-source of this latest outburst of the swastika plague. . . ."

"Racism, bigotry confronts us all. American Labor, which has often taken a good stand against these evils, can play a big part in combatting it, in preventing it from 'spreading one inch.'

"It may well consider a giant intervention on this score; in common with all organizations, whatever their politics, affiliations and race. Certainly, here, in the U. S. it must be seen that the racism practiced daily against the Negro tenth of our population is fertile breeding ground against not only Jews-- but against everybody who wants to breathe the air of freedom."

Editorial, The Worker,  
January 17, 1960, p. 2.

"THE SWASTIKA-SMEARING and synagogue-bombing drive has spread to the U. S. and many parts of the world since the Christmas anti-Semitic outrages in Cologne, Germany. The drive of reaction to revive and revitalize Nazism is one of the major topics in every country in the world. Organizations in all spheres of life, including trade unions, and persons of all faiths and political views, have spoken out against the plague and warned of its close resemblance to the tactic of the Hitlerites of earlier days. But most conspicuous on the American scene on this question is the SILENCE at AFL-CIO general headquarters...."

"Smearing swastikas or bombing houses of worship is not even conceivable in any of the socialist countries. In those lands such acts and even anti-Semitic words, are classed a major crime subject to severe punishment. Those countries do not permit the publication of anti-Semitic literature. In the U. S. scores of anti-Semitic publications are printed and mailed openly, and with legal protection.

"It seems that in our country there are many, among them top labor leaders, who would rather blow off steam against nonexistent anti-Semitism in the USSR than take action against widespread real anti-Semitism under their noses and in U. S. -occupied Germany."

The Worker,  
February 14, 1960, pp. 6, 11.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The entire trade-union movement must be unified in order to promote the welfare of the working people.
2. Automation in the United States is increasing speed-up, destroying skills, lowering wages, and causing unemployment.
3. The giant monopolies continue their relentless attack on the hard-won rights of labor.
4. The extreme cold-war policy of the top labor leaders in this country has weakened the trade-unions.
5. Repressive, reactionary, antilabor legislation must be repealed.
6. The Negro American Labor Council, recently established for the purpose of organizing Negro trade-unionists against discrimination in employment, should be fully supported by all progressives.
7. The recent session of the World Federation of Trade Unions\* condemned American imperialism, emphasized the value of mass struggle in the fight for peace, and stressed that peaceful coexistence should never be interpreted as an easing of the class struggle.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Labor Unity

"Organized labor cannot content itself with mere defense against the growing torrent of blows rained upon it. On the contrary, if it is to defeat these and move forward it must launch a counter-offensive--a crusade for advancement of the well-being of our country's working people.

\*According to the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the World Federation of Trade Unions has been cited as "Communist-dominated" by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"Such a crusade can succeed if it is based on united action of the entire trade union movement as well as on greater unity of action within the AFL-CIO itself...."

"On Trade Union Problems," Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 34.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Strengthen the unity of the trade unions."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"It is in the trade unions that Communists and other Left and progressive forces have the major job to do. Political issues and struggles must be presented as inseparable from the every day trade-union and shop struggles...."

"...we should include efforts to unite the A. L. P. and Progressive Party forces, together with ourselves, around the fight for peace, civil rights and liberties, and other agreed upon issues. We will strive for agreement with them on joint efforts to promote the formation of a new Party of the anti-monopoly forces at a time when the mass trade-union movement can be won for such a policy. We should solicit their help in winning the trade unions for such a Party. Meanwhile we should make clear our readiness to unite with them now in the selection of a peace candidate or candidates for Congress in agreed-upon congressional districts."

Clarence Hathaway, "Election Perspectives in New York," Political Affairs, June, 1960, p. 42.

## 2. Automation and Unemployment

"In the five years since the word 'Automation' drew attention, hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost and many occupations wiped out. Numerous fields where no one dreamed automation was possible have been invaded by the new technology. It isn't all push-button operation, but the technology of automation of machines operating a chain of machines, has paced the swiftest upswing in new mechanics and chemicals we have yet experienced.

"OFTEN the theme of a discussion in the mid-fifties was titled 'Automation--Blessing or menace,' The answer is now clear to anyone who isn't a press agent for a corporation. It is most certainly a menace, as it is bound to be in a capitalist society."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1960, p. 4.

"...automation...changes the make-up of the work force. Old skills, old methods; old jobs are abolished. 'Cross-crafting' is pushed, speed-up increased. It creates havoc with seniority, with job classifications, with job security. It eliminates the lowest paid and the highest paid workers. No man's job is secure...."

A. Krchmarek, "The Battle in Steel,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 15-16.

"Automation and the use of atomic energy are ushering in great possibilities for new industrial progress. The advances of science and technology in the service of the people should indeed be something to cheer about.

"But when science and new technology are in the hands of Big Business, whose interest is not the welfare of the people but only the lust for maximum profits, then this great achievement turns into its very opposite."

"...Automation is being used as a means to increase speed-up, destroy skills, increase the work-load and cut wages."

"On Trade Union Problems," Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 35.

### 3. Big Business versus Labor

"Big business attacks on the rights of labor based on the hard won Wagner Act have continued from the ouster of the political left from the CIO through to the Taft-Hartley scab protecting act. Now labor has the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Labor Control Act.

"It is against such 'class war' offensives spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers that labor must unite."

The Worker,  
April 10, 1960, p. 5.

"In our class society today, the goals of the Big Business monopolies and the goals of the working people, the Negro people, the bulk of the farmers, intellectuals and all other progressive minded and democratic forces are not the same.

"In the recent strike of the half million steel workers supported by the entire workingclass, the aim of the steel barons was to eliminate 100,000 steel workers, speed up the rest, lower their wages and weaken their union.

"The aim of the steel workers was just the opposite....

"The aim of the armament makers is to maintain their huge profits, and hence they are, to say the least, not the front line fighters for peace. The aim of the people is to put an end to the threat of war in this age of atomic bombs, rockets and missiles."

The Worker,  
February 28, 1960, pp. 6, 11.

"...the people who work, the decisive area of our nation, in the trade unions, want:"

"An end to Big Business's attack on working conditions which the giant steel trusts have launched."

The Worker,  
February 14, 1960, p. 14.

#### 4. Failure of Union Leadership

"GEORGE MEANY has clearly taken a false measure of the mood of America's workers when he hastily issued a statement, immediately after the ill-fated summit conference, proclaiming 'the workers of this country stand behind President Eisenhower.' What really stood out on worker sentiment in the three weeks that passed since the Paris conference and the AFL-CIO head's statement, is the fresh vigor and wider range of the moveemnt for peace in labor ranks, and the fact that more top labor leaders are moving away from Meany's bankrupt coldwar position than ever before."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 4.

"...the Meany leadership of our powerful trade union movement instead of forging the alliance of labor the Negro people, the farmers, the peace forces, is joining with the most extreme cold ward elements with lies and slanders against the lands of socialism, giving support to the worst enemies of labor, the big monopolies and their political spokesmen.

"This situation demands from all of us greater initiative, activity and leadership. We must be first in devotion and self-sacrifice in the sitdowns, on the picketlines, in the peace marches and meetings and in election struggle."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 12.

"In 1949, the CIO convention was told that if the 'Communist dominated' unions with a million members were expelled, organizing of the unorganized will be easier and the loss would be made up several fold within a short time. Those expulsions drained the CIO of vigor and blood and left it an easy prey for anti-union attacks and AFL raiders.

"The situation is a direct result of the cold war policy leaders of the AFL and CIO embraced. So was every field of trade union work adversely affected by the influence of cold war policy. Furthermore, the top bureaucracy has become more entrenched in the unions; racketeer and assorted corrupt and business unionism elements have had a field day and expanded under cover of cold war and McCarthyite type attacks on the rank and file and progressives."

The Worker,  
February 21, 1960, p. 6.

"Meany, especially because of his extreme coldwar position and his acts on civil rights, is a millstone around labor's neck. He repels support from sections of the population that should be allied with labor.

"It is high time some of Meany's associates in the leadership, who often mutter privately about the embar~~ass~~ment he causes labor, speak their mind.

"We urge local union and community groups to protest Meany's outrageous acts and let AFL-CIO headquarters know of their feelings...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 14, 1960, p. 2.

"A GROWING section of trade leadership is beginning to recognize that the Meany-Lovestone policy has left the unions behind millions in the country on the peace front. They see the Meany-Lovestone policy a millstone around labor's neck, weakening even its appeal for public support of unions against employer attacks. Ironically, it is in the midst of such trend that Reuther falls into Meany's arms and echoes the coldwar position the AFL-CIO head and former President Harry Truman have been harping."



"It is true, of course, that nothing could be more displeasing to Meany than a digression from his coldwar position. But it is self-deception to regard Meany as above the battle, and forget he came from the reactionary bureaucracy that has always tried to devitalize the industrial unions. In a showdown struggle between the dominant group of the old AFL leaders and the industrial unions, Meany will stick with his own crowd. Cringing before this crowd is an invitation to attack the industrial unions and keep holding back any serious moves to organize the unorganized."

The Worker,  
April 3, 1960, p. 6.

5. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"...the people who work, the decisive area of our nation, in the trade unions, want:

"The repeal and end of all anti-labor legislation!"

The Worker,  
February 14, 1960, p. 14.

"The reactionary forces in Congress have erected a wall of restrictive anti-labor legislation from the infamous Taft-Hartley Act to the shackling Landrum-Griffin Act. This wall must and can be broken down by means of a sweeping campaign of united trade union action for the repeal of such legislation, or else the trade union movement will become chained to government control of unions for the benefit of the monopoly interests.

"In the center of labor's counter-offensive must be a fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, a fight against new anti-labor legislation, and a fight for positive legislation to protect labor's rights. At the same time there must be the utmost resistance to all plans for accommodation to anti-labor legislation."

"Today the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act seeks to shackle the unions, and also seeks to place further obstacles in the way of participation of Communists in the labor movement. But it should be clear that this Act, using the bogey of anti-Communism, opens the door to prosecution of trade unionists of all political views. It demonstrates anew and more sharply than ever the harmfulness of anti-Communism to all of labor. The Communist Party itself, while continuing to make its contribution to the present struggles of the working class, will fight tirelessly for the abolition of all such repression. And it will do so in relationship to the fight to advance both the immediate interests of the working class and its ultimate interest--socialism."

"On Trade Union Problems," Political Affairs, February, 1960, pp. 39-40, 42.

#### 6. Negro American Labor Council

"THE PURPOSE of the Negro American Labor Council, said A. Philip Randolph at its founding convention in Detroit, 'is to organize Negro trade unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination from which they alone suffer.' "

"Establishment of the NALC is an outstanding organizational accomplishment on the part of representatives of the more than one and a half million Negro trade unionists. Now the Negro workers as an independent and united force can take their due place in the Negro people's far-flung line of battle for the wiping out of segregation and discrimination from American life.

"While the primary field of their struggle will be on the economic front against discrimination in employment and the remaining color bars in the life of the trade unions, it will bring a powerful force to bear on the political and civil rights fronts as well.

"Certainly all progressives will hail the beginnings at Detroit and will assist in every way to help this young movement to realize its lofty objectives.

"It is to be regretted that this lusty infant was marked at birth by diverting and unsightly concessions to anticommunist prejudice ensconced in its Constitution. This alien growth should be cauterized."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"The NALC should be warmly welcomed by ALL because it is another strong weapon against discrimination. And no less important, spurred by the fight on jimcrow, the NALC will help draw into union life and leadership, more thousands--especially the thousands most abused and most willing to struggle militantly. It will, therefore, serve as a force for greater progressivism in labor."

"The test for the NALC will not be loyalty to the AFL-CIO's top leaders, most of whom ignore or violate the principles against discrimination incorporated in the AFL-CIO constitution."

"The real test will be in the ability of the new movement to wage militant struggle to force compliance with, and application of, those principles by the organizations and leaders of the AFL-CIO."

"In that struggle, the support and activity of those on the Left in labor ranks will not be wanting...."

The Worker,  
June 19, 1960, p. 4.

## 7. World Federation of Trade Unions

"The five-day 11th session of the general council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which was held in Peking, concluded with unanimous adoption of a resolution on the current international situation and the tasks of labor in the struggle for peace and against colonialism."

"...All speakers...directed sharp fire at imperialism, U. S. imperialism in particular, and stressed struggle by the people as the primary force that can bring real peace negotiations and eventually secure the world against the menace of war."

"Agostino Novella, president of the WFTU, in summarizing the session, said:

" 'We have decided unanimously that we must go forward, must extend and intensify the struggle and increase international solidarity.

" 'Events have confirmed the decisive value of mass struggle, above all the struggle of the working class and of the laboring people in the forward march of the peace forces to secure a stable peace.'

"Novella also stressed that peaceful co-existence between nations should never be interpreted as an easing of the class struggle and the fight against imperialism. He said the struggle to safeguard peace was always accompanied by the growth of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and by the national liberation movement waged by the people against imperialist oppression."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1960, p. 2.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. An agricultural program must support the interests of the small farmers as opposed to those of the large farmers.
2. A farmer-labor-Negro coalition is necessary to defend the common interests of the farmers, workers, and Negro people against the Dixiecrats.
3. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, both Negro and white, is an urgent task for the labor movement.
4. Under capitalist agriculture, the income of the small farmer declines whereas under socialist agriculture it rises.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Communist Farm Program

###### "A FARM PROGRAM

"...must be based on supporting the interests of the small farmers as against those of the large capitalist farmers....

"1. A main advantage of big farmers is the vast profits they sweat out of the terribly underpaid and exploited farm workers. The organization of effective unions among farm workers would be a major help to small and middle farmers....

"2. The method of farm price protection must be changed. Farm produce should sell on the open market, and prices under parity should be supplemented by deficiency payments on only that amount of production per farm that will sustain a family-size farmer.

"3. We oppose crop curtailment, but where there is reduction it must be imposed entirely on the big farmers.

"4. The Communist Party urges full participation of its members in every struggle to keep small and middle farmers on their farms, including support of legislative programs for low-interest credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, federal aid to education and other demands of small farmers.

"5. We favor the enactment of a national food stamp plan that will supplement the starvation wages imposed on millions of Americans, and that will provide adequate food and clothing to the millions in depressed areas....

"6. The world, too, needs a food stamp plan. Let us subsidize the shipment of food abroad to allay hunger, instead of military hardware for destruction."

"On the Farm Question," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 81-82.

## 2. Farmer-Labor-Negro Coalition

"The common interests of the farmers, workers and Negro people require an offensive against the Dixiecrats. It is the Dixiecrats who are the gun runners for the offensive against the labor movement. It is the Dixiecrats who block the democratic advance of the Negro people. It is the Dixiecrats who defend the interests of big farmers and plantation owners.

"Farm-state liberal Congressmen trade with the Dixiecrats to help pass farm legislation. Deals are made whereby the Dixiecrats trade their votes on farm laws for support of anti-union and anti-civil rights positions. The Dixiecrats must be isolated in national politics and then totally eliminated. This can only be done by a farmer-labor-Negro coalition in which each understands and supports the basic needs of the others, and which develops urban support in the North and West for adequate farm legislation."

"On the Farm Question," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, p. 82.

### 3. Organization of Agricultural Workers

"The Negro farmers conduct their struggle through organizations and in such forms as are common to farmers generally in the country and to the Negro people in the South particularly. . . . Though represented to some extent in all of the major farm organizations, the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a class organization with their white brothers in behalf of common economic and political demands. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent need of, and task before, the labor movement as well as the Negro people's freedom movement."

"On the Negro Question in the United States," Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 49.

### 4. Socialist and Capitalist Agriculture

"This year, one of the key slogans is 'bring the advantages of the People's Communes into Full Play-Speed Up the Overtaking of Grade One Teams by Grade Three Teams.' And thereby hangs a tale that throws the contrast between socialist and capitalist agriculture into sharpest focus."

. . . . .

"China's 20-odd thousand rural People's Communes are subdivided into big production teams. . . . These production teams fall into three categories according to their income and general economic circumstances--Grade One consists of the more well-to-do teams, Grade Two of the average and Grade Three of the less developed teams. . . . However, under the Communist principle of more political and economic help to the less developed, members of the third category of production teams showed a really phenomenal rise in income during the last year, despite the weather."

. . . . .

"Contrast this with the U. S. Census Bureau figures which show how the lower economic levels of American farmers are constantly being shoved still further down the ladder and finally driven off the land altogether to swell the ranks of the unemployed! What is involved here is not simply a difference in economic systems, but also a corresponding difference in the basic attitude towards the people who produce the country's wealth. "

The Worker,  
May 15. 1960, p. 4.



## V. COLONIALISM

1. United States imperialism wants to keep the Latin-American countries enslaved as a source of profits.
2. The Cuban revolution seeks to establish true national independence in Cuba and as such should be supported by progressive forces in the United States.
3. The Communist Party supports the Puerto Rican people in their fight for full independence and freedom from American imperialism.
4. The "white supremacist" South African Government is financed by the United States Government and controls the African people through the Pass Laws.
5. American workers should help the South Korean people in their struggle against United States interference.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Imperialism in Latin America

"Today there are only two roads for Latin America: The Cuban anti-imperialist revolutionary road or the Washington Wall Street colonialist road."

The Worker,  
May 15, 1960, p. 4.

"...Pres. Eisenhower, on his return from his hemispheric journey, delivered a radio and TV address which contained a thinly-veiled threat against Cuba or any other Latin American people that sets up governments not to the liking of the State Department. If the State Department regards such a new government as 'tyrannical,' ie., if that government pushes through land-reform or curbs foreign monopoly dictation, pressures would follow from Washington for armed, political or economic intervention."

"The President's speeches were all general, and threadbare except for two repeated themes. One was the hope for peace and the benefits that disarmament would bring to all countries (while at the same time threatening intervention in any Latin American country that tried to free itself from imperialist exploitation.) The other main theme was that if those countries needed loans they would have to accept the stiff conditions demanded of them which in synthesis are the surrender of their economies to U. S. imperialism."

"... As long as imperialism controls their economies and drains their countries of their wealth taking out both the unprocessed raw materials plus the profits of the work of their peoples the Latin American peoples will live in misery. And as the workers and peasants of Latin America learn of the fast pace in which the Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist countries build economies of plenty for their people they will increase their militancy and struggle for decent living conditions."

The Worker,  
March 13, 1960, p. 2.

"A program of genuine aid to the Latin American countries is vitally needed. But such a program requires assistance to the Cuban people in their heroic efforts, and not campaigns to undermine them. It requires removal of the multitude of important quotas and tariffs which now exist on Latin American goods, as well as stabilization of their prices. It requires adequate long-term development loans, without attached conditions that state-owned enterprises be turned over to United States trusts or that the living standards of the working people be wrecked by 'austerity' programs. It requires opening the door to trade with all countries, including the lands of socialism. And it requires an end to the reactionary anti-Communist campaign, which serves as a cloak for fastening the grip of exploitation more firmly on the Latin American people."

"Such a program... is incompatible with the drive of United States imperialism to keep the Latin American countries an enslaved source of superprofits. It is a program which must be fought for by the American people in opposition to the trusts...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1960, p. 14.

## 2. Cuba

"...the Cuban revolution...is a democratic revolution, seeking to establish the true national independence of Cuba and the freedom of its people to control their own political and economic lives. As such it has the fullest support of the Cuban Communists. It is the most advanced wave of the tide of national liberation which has begun to sweep Latin America, and is a beacon light to its sister Latin American countries.

"It is exactly this which causes such consternation in American ruling circles, for the democratic interests of the Cuban people are incompatible with those of United States monopoly capital...."

"It is clear that if the schemes of Wall Street are to be defeated, the American people must take a firm stand...in defense of the sovereign rights of the Cuban nation. Solidarity of American and Cuban workers against a common exploiter, American monopoly capital, is in the interests of both."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1960, pp. 9, 12.

"...Cuba...is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the impressive advances being made by the new government. Capitalist newspapers, State Department officials, television, radio, the combined agents of ex-Dictator Batista and Dictator Trujillo--all have joined forces to defame and injure in every conceivable way, economically, politically, militarily, that country whose advances are regarded as sacred by the 200 million inhabitants of Latin America, as well as by all enlightened mankind everywhere.

"Imperialism fears that the new Cuba will succeed...."

"The imperialist forces that exploit and oppress the Cuban people and the rest of the Latin American nations are the same monopolists that exploit the workers of the United States. This fact places upon the workers and progressive forces of the United States the responsibility of developing solidarity and aid to the embattled people of Cuba and the other nations of Latin America."

"On Cuba," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 95, 96.

### 3. Puerto Rico

"PUERTO RICO is a nation. It is a direct colony of American imperialism.

"The Communist Party has a twofold task in relation to Puerto Rico.

"First, to aid the people in Puerto Rico in the fight against economic, social and political oppression by Wall Street imperialism, and for full sovereignty and independence.

"Second, to aid the Puerto Ricans in the United States, in their struggles against extreme conditions of poverty, slum ghettos, discrimination, police brutality, and other forms of oppression as a national minority."

"On Puerto Rican Work in the United States,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1960, p. 92.

"The Cuban revolution is threatening to change the slave-master relationship between Latin America and Wall Street. American imperialism has been pressed to a decision for a definite political status for Alaska and Hawaii. And pretty soon a final decision about Puerto Rico, for independence or statehood, will have to be made."

"One day soon the united Puerto Rican forces for independence, rejecting anti-Communist prejudice, will appear on the scene. They will present a program for the solution of the economic problems of Puerto Rico, not based on the left-overs from the U. S. economy, but on trading with ALL OTHER countries, as Cuba is doing today."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1960, p. 4.

#### 4. South Africa

"THE U. S. GOVERNMENT must stop financing the South African butchers.

"This demand should be addressed to the Eisenhower Administration, which alone has loaned more than \$100,000,000 to the Apartheid slave masters."

"These official loans are extended by the Export-Import Bank of Washington, a Government institution. Its capital of one billion dollars was subscribed by the U. S. Treasury Department. Its officers are selected by the U. S. President, on the advice of Wall Street leaders. And its loans are made in accordance with U. S. Government policies."

"...all of this Export-Import Bank aid to South Africa is strengthening the slave system of the bloodiest white supremacists on the Earth Planet."

The Worker,  
April 24, 1960, p. 6.

"The aim of the African people today is to end the iniquitous Pass Laws imposed on them by the South African Government.

"For, though slavery was officially abolished there in 1834, these Pass Laws have taken its place.

"This is the centre of the struggle now going on in South Africa."

"The real reasons for the Pass Laws in South Africa are...clear:

"1. It brings the African into the grip of the police State--every man is indexed, numbered, finger-printed and kept in his place and regimented to the needs of the privileged white minority, the mining monopolies and the white farms.

"2. Above all it keeps the system of cheap labor going--every worker, in fear of the loss of his job and his pass, is forced to accept poverty wages.

"It provides for a vast controlled labor force without trade union rights, without the right to bargain and without the right to opportunity.

"3. It is a source of revenue for the white regime--pass book fees, court fines, and the thousands of pounds collected on the monthly service contracts help to maintain an army of Civil servants and police."

The Worker,  
April 10, 1960, pp. 9, 11.

"Today the international united front of national liberation movements and the 'Western' working class movements, is fast changing the political map of the world. Now only fragments of world imperialism's once powerful colonial empire remain in Asia. Half of Africa has obtained its sovereignty and although the gangster government of South Africa has launched a wild frenzy of violence upon the Africans, it is but the death convulsions of a doomed regime...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 24, 1960, p. 2.

5. South Korea

"THE U. S. STATE Department, like Pilate, is trying to wash the blood off its hands again. But the Eisenhower Administration can't escape the guilt in Korea. For Syngman Rhee and his butchers were its puppets many years.

"The fact is that Washington kept these butchers in power as long as it could. It kept them in power with billions of dollars of American aid, and with tens of thousands of American bayonets. The bullets that killed the students were made in American mills. And the U. S. gave Rhee its blessing until the Korean people rebelled.

"South Korea is a U. S. colony in everything but name."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1960, p. 6.

"... The South Korean people see what their brothers and sisters in North Korea are accomplishing. Free of imperialist exploitation, they are marching forward at a rapid rate, industrializing their country, providing jobs and food for all, building homes, overcoming illiteracy, raising the people's living standards. News of this tremendous progress cannot be kept from the poverty-ridden and oppressed people of the south.

"The struggle of the South Korean people will go on. American workers should give all-out support. In the first place, demand the withdrawal of U. S. military forces, thinly disguised as UN forces! Take away American weapons from Syngman Rhee's armed assassins! Let the South Korean people determine their own future!"

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 2.

"...the democratic interests of the Korean people, our national interests, and the cause of world peace, demand that the military bases in South Korea be dismantled, that all foreign military forces be withdrawn from Korea, that Korea be allowed full freedom to develop her national life without foreign interference as an atom-free, militarily unarmed, **ZONE OF PEACE** in the Far East."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 3.



## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Civil rights legislation passed by Congress is too weak, and pressure must be exerted for the enactment of stronger legislation.
2. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has harassed thousands of Americans in all walks of life and should be abolished.
3. The Senate Rackets Committee is being used by headline-hunting investigators and should be dissolved.
4. The Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act is the toughest antilabor law yet enacted, because it puts trade-unions directly under Government control.
5. The Internal Security Act of 1950, automatically condemning any organization registering under it as a "communist action" or "communist front organization," is "the Big Lie written into law."
6. Henry Winston, Gil Green, and Robert Thompson are in reality political prisoners and should be freed.
7. William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA, has been kept under virtual house arrest by the United States Government on the excuse that he may be brought to trial at some future date.
8. The Communist Control Act of 1954 has resulted in barring communist candidates from the ballot, hounding communists in employment, and harassing the children of communists in school.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Civil Rights Legislation

"WATERED DOWN civil rights legislation or none at all--that is the danger at the second session of the 86th Congress. In the battle against entrenched privilege and Confederate die-hardism the people's forces are not commensurate with the need. But massive people's intervention is required for victory.

"President Eisenhower and the Administration have already run up the white flag of surrender to Dixiecratism. The President has asked Congress to pass his toothless seven-point civil rights program which was introduced last year. He has refused to endorse the recommendations of the federal Civil Rights Commission for Federal registrars in Southern states where officials reject Negroes seeking to vote."

"The hour is late but not too late. Massive labor and people's support can yet guarantee legislation to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro Americans."

The Worker,  
January 17, 1960, p. 3.

"Pressure upon the Conventions of the two major parties is needed. It is a step in the development of militant action. By demonstrative militant activities Congress must be compelled to pass a vital Civil Rights program.

"It is time to force the passage of an anti-lynch bill.

"The Attorney General, head of one of the most significant agencies of the Executive branch of government, must be forced to ensure the voting rights of the Negro citizens.

"All organizations advocating or practicing racial discrimination or terror must be outlawed and subjected to vigorous and effective legal prosecution....

"All state or federal laws restricting the rights and privileges of citizens must be annulled.

"The government must make no contract nor extend credits to those groups or organizations which in their public dealing practice racism or permit it to be practiced."

The Worker,  
February 21, 1960, p. 11.

"Dixie filibusters and their Northern confederates from both sides of the aisle are chortling over the predicted outcome of their macabre death dance upon the body of the civil rights bills. They have stomped the life out of the bills offered for securing and safeguarding the full citizenship rights of the Negro people, and have voted out a fetid corpse."

. . . . .

"All this means that so far as Congress is concerned the disfranchised Negro masses can have no relief which their disfranchisers do not choose to grant. It leaves the suffrage rights of the Negro people of the South right where they were before, in the hands of their oppressors."

. . . . .

"The farce played in the Congress on civil rights ended nothing and settled nothing. The Negro people and all true believers in democracy have just begun to fight."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 20, 1960, pp. 1-2.

"THE SO-CALLED Civil Rights Bill passed by the Senate and sent back to the House for action, is worse than nothing.

"It isn't even the mouse produced by the proverbial labors of a mountain. Or if it is a mouse, the danger is that it will eat up the remnant of civil rights which the Negro students in the deep South are defending with their naked backs."

"The clever Johnsons, the happy Eisenhower and the opportunist Nixon may think the Negro people are dumb, whom they'd like to whip as the South African beasts do the African natives. But they're in for a rude awakening, in this election year. Gone is the day when the Negro would accept any old thing the cat dragged in, or when he would wait around quietly and passively for his freedom.

"The prediction of the Communists, along with a few others, that the civil rights battle in the Senate was a putrid sham, was all too true. The main thing now, however, is how to turn this insulting fraud into future victories for the unity and advancement of the Negro and the whole cause of civil rights."

The Worker,  
April 17, 1960, pp. 1, 14.

## 2. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...the House Committee on Un-American Activities..."

"...public opposition to the Committee has been rising not only from those who view the Committee from the standpoint of the political left, but also from many highly 'respectable' sources which evidently feel that the Committee is a vestige of McCarthyism and should be abolished. That such opinion has not yet reached proportions sufficient to influence the actions of Congress is self-evident. Continued and increased activity is necessary before a break-through in the House is possible.

"The fury of the Cold War has diminished somewhat in the past few years and there are signs of increasing activity on the part of those who believe in unorthodox political views and in the importance of preserving First Amendment freedoms. The Committee stands today as a major obstacle to the continuation of such growth. Increased concerted activity on all fronts is necessary if it is to be abolished."

Victor Rabinowitz, "What Price the Un-Americans?" Mainstream, March, 1960, pp. 35, 45.

"Anti-communism must be recognized for what it is, a weapon against the interests of the people.

"That is why the demand is growing to end the House Un-American Activities Committee, whose stock-in-trade is anticommunism. That is why the time is ripe for a mass exposure and banishment of the anti-Communist virus."

The Worker, Midwest Edition, May 8, 1960, p. 2.

#### "THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

"THE CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT political repressive legislation began when the House Committee on Un-American Activities was set up in 1938 under the chairmanship of Congressman Martin Dies of Texas.... While fascist agents and pro-Nazi activities infested our country prior to Pearl Harbor, this committee not only failed to investigate them but actually worked in collusion with them...."

"The committee has hounded and harassed thousands of American shop workers, union leaders, scientists, actors, ministers, reporters,

government workers. Many have been blacklisted, lost employment, and been imprisoned. I am sure its long and disgraceful career of repression is well known to our readers...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Civil Liberties and the Communist Party," Political Affairs, January, 1960, pp. 35, 36.

### 3. Senate Rackets Committee

"SENATOR McCLELLAN, after announcing publicly that the Senate Committee he heads would wind up its affairs and expire March 31, suddenly reversed his position. He obtained from the Senate Rules committee another 12-month extension for the committee and \$100,000 to continue the hearings."

"The labor movement is now paying the price not only because of the folly of backing the McClellan committee when it began, but for refusing to face forthrightly the issue of headline-hunting 'investigators' when the idea was becoming 'institutionalized' for 'red-hunting' purposes 20 years ago.

"Now that there is general agreement in all of labor, in and out of the AFL-CIO, that the McClellan committee should be ended, an all-out drive should be launched to defeat the extension, and every Senator should be forced to stand up and be counted on the issue."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 10, 1960, p. 2.

"DESPITE A NUMBER of court decisions and other developments indicating a lessening of the worst aspects of judicial assaults on democratic rights, reaction is still determined to carry on in the spirit of McCarthyism.

"The illegal use of Congressional committees to persecute peace advocates, trade unionists and the Negro people still continues...."

"On Civil Liberties," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, p. 86.

4. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"American big business...

"...has launched an anti-labor offensive marked especially by a drive, through the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act and other anti-labor laws, to subject organized labor to complete government control and regulation."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 1.

"LABOR MANAGEMENT REPORTING DISCLOSURE ACT

"This toughest anti-labor law yet enacted...is called the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act by Congress and the Killer Law by organized labor. It puts the unions directly under government control....

"...Many...unions are extremely critical of the Act and some real challenge of this fascist-like control of unions is assured."

"...To continue the struggle to abolish the...anti-labor laws, is a must...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Civil Liberties and the Communist Party," Political Affairs, January, 1960, pp. 44, 45.

"The betrayal by this Congress, the Administration, and the dominant forces in both parties, of labor and the Negro people, in the passage of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy anti-labor law, and the sham civil rights bill, should make clear once again the need for unity of labor and the Negro people, of all the progressive and peace forces in common action on the political front.

#### "NOT TOO LATE

"It is not yet too late for such united action. And certainly it can be developed in many areas, and especially for the nomination and election of labor, Negro and peace candidates for Congress, and the state legislatures...."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 11.

#### 5. Internal Security Act

"INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950...is the so-called McCarran Act. Under its provisions the Communist Party and twelve other organizations have been cited before the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under it to investigate organizations and designate those who should be ordered to register as either 'Communist action' or 'Communist front organizations.' This monstrous piece of legislation originated in the Mundt-Nixon bill of 1948. It has built into it outrageous definitions and so-called 'facts' which by decree it declares as part of the law, thereby also creating a built-in verdict of guilt on the part of anyone who would register under it. It is the Big Lie written into law...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Civil Liberties and the Communist Party," Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 42.

"...The Department of Justice is still pressing the outlawing of the Communist Party under the McCarran Act....The FBI continues its harassment of supporters of peace and democratic rights..."

"On Civil Liberties," Political Affairs, March, 1960, p. 86.



6. Amnesty Appeals

"The sham of the government's democratic pretensions is shown by the stubborn refusal of the Parole Board to release our unjustly-imprisoned comrades, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson, while crooks are regularly paroled or pardoned. Their continued imprisonment, the brutal sentence inflicted on Morton Sobell, the Taft-Hartley jailings, the sentences imposed on the numerous individuals who merely asserted their rights under the First Amendment--all these, and others as well, give the lie to the pious hypocrisy that there are no political prisoners in the United States."

"On Civil Liberties," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, p. 86.

"Let our readers help rouse the conscience of the nation and the world to the fact that U. S. prisons hold **POLITICAL PRISONERS** in defiance of court rulings that have affirmed their innocence of any violation of law (the Supreme Court's decision in the Yates case, et al.)

"Demand that President Eisenhower and Attorney General William P. Rogers grant full amnesty NOW to Winston, Green, Thompson and all political prisoners!

"Urge your trade union leaders, your civic leaders, your congressman, the church leaders and newspaper editors to intercede for justice now!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 7, 1960, p. 2.

"The fight for Winston's freedom must go on. His freedom can be won by continuing and increasing the demands on President Eisenhower for executive clemency or medical parole."

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 17, 1960, p. 2.

"Winston is a political prisoner, in whose situation is merged the abominable cruelty of American racism against the Negro people and the viciousness towards Communists and others who dare to oppose the reactionary policies of American imperialism."

. . . . .

"Let the revolutionists in Washington start at home. Let them free the man whose health their own criminal neglect has broken. Winston is certainly not out of our minds and hearts, nor will we permit the federal government to forget him.

"Send letters, resolutions and wires to the President demanding his immediate release! Get friends, shopworkers and neighbors to do likewise."

The Worker,  
April 24, 1960, p. 2.

7. William Z. Foster under House Arrest

"The U. S. Court of Appeals on Thursday, May 12, denied the motion of William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus of the CPUSA to dismiss the eleven-year-old Smith Act indictment and to permit him to travel to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia for medical treatment."

. . . . .

"The U. S. government, through its Department of Justice attorneys, maintain that they plan to bring him to trial some day in the future and therefore want the indictments in force and Foster confined to his bail limits. Consequently, Foster has been kept under virtual house arrest with the threat of trial hanging over his head for over eleven years and this situation will continue for the rest of his life unless popular indignation can compel the U. S. Government to drop the indictment."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1960, p. 3.

8. Communist Control Act

"OUTLAW ACT"

"This weird proposal, made in 1954 by Senator Humphrey, to outlaw the Communist Party, declared however that membership is not a crime. No attempt has been made to enforce it. Indirect effects are the refusal of meeting halls and office space in many cities, that Communist candidates are barred from the ballot, that radio and TV time cannot be purchased, that there is harrassment of individuals by the FBI., Communists are hounded in employment, and children of Communists are harrased in schools and colleges."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Civil  
Liberties and the Communist Party,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 44.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The huge cost of armaments in the United States is borne by the working class and has resulted in lowering their living conditions.
2. The Soviet Union has made a sincere effort to bring about total disarmament whereas the United States has not.
3. The Eisenhower administration is responsible for the failure of negotiations with the Soviet Union for a nuclear weapon test ban.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Armament Costs

"The lords of Big Business, the high military brass, the bi-partisan advocates of the cold war and the arms race are crippling democracy, undermining our republican form of government, and corrupting the morality of the country. The arms race and the so-called foreign aid program have become one big monopoly payola, with the people paying."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1960, p. 2.

"However profitable military spending may be to Big Business, the American working people will be far better off without it. Disarmament will make possible a very substantial reduction of the present enormous tax load. It will release the immense sums now being thrown down the drain, to be used for productive purposes--for the schools, hospitals, homes, power projects, and the recreational and other facilities which are so badly needed. The replacement of the present foreign military 'aid' with genuine economic assistance in the industrialization of undeveloped countries will create big new markets for American goods. And the ending of the cold-war trade embargo will open up added markets for American exports to the tune of billions of dollars a year.

"All this will serve greatly to raise living standards and mass purchasing power, and to provide far more jobs than are now to be found in military production...."

"On the Fight for Peace and the Struggle Against the Monopolies,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 9.

"Military expenditure is a form of state monopoly capitalism-- that is, of using the financial resources of the government to protect and augment monopoly profits, with the working people footing the bill. It is the form of government spending most preferred by big business."

Hyman Lumer, "Disarmament and the American Economy," Political Affairs, January, 1960, p. 23.

## 2. Disarmament

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

. . . . .

"Support proposals for general and complete disarmament which were first advanced by the Soviet Union."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"THE 10-NATION East-West Disarmament Conference, which resumed in Geneva last Tuesday, has been given the opportunity to retrieve the progress toward peace lost by the Eisenhower administration's sabotage of the Paris summit conference."

. . . . .

"Now, once again, the Soviet Union has sought to cut through the entanglements and booby traps devised by Washington. In a sincere effort to come to agreement with the West on the only real guarantee of an era of peace, total disarmament, the USSR has come much more than half-way to meet Washington's objections, whether real or trumped-up, on stages, controls and other guarantees."

"Past performances of the Eisenhower administration indicate that it will drag its feet on this latest disarmament proposal as it has on all past genuine approaches to peace. It will be goaded into action only by the concerted demand of the American people. Letters and resolutions from every neighborhood, factory, trade union, club and church organization throughout the land will help Eisenhower and his State Department to make up their minds to come to agreement with the Soviet Union and the socialist world for real disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

"...the grand vista of total, universal disarmament in the space of four years, opened up by Khrushchev in his United Nations speech, offers a shining goal for which to fight. In such a fight, we Communists must be found in the very front ranks."

Hyman Lumer, "Disarmament and the American Economy," Political Affairs,  
January, 1960, p. 34.

### 3. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, it was the Eisenhower administration that pushed the arm that set off the French atomic blast in the Sahara desert, increasing the nuclear peril to all humanity. Washington's criminal stalling at Geneva, its conniving to scuttle the negotiations with the Soviet Union and Britain for a nuclear weapon test ban, gave the French imperialists the time they needed to prepare and explode an atomic charge, despite the protests of the African nations, whose lands were violated and poisoned.

"Not only is the French atomic explosion a menace in itself, but it increases the power of the revenge-hungry Adenauer regime, with its hard core of Nazi generals and officials and the Krupps and other monopolists who pull their strings.

"The American people cannot permit this to go on, or the world will be filled with trigger-happy purveyors of nuclear weapons."

"We have to act at once, or our country, because of the madness of a few officials, will be responsible for a situation in which all civilization can be destroyed."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 21, 1960, p. 2.

"...President Eisenhower...should be reminded again and again that the people...want a permanent ban on all nuclear testing, the destruction of all nuclear stockpiles, and the outlawing of nuclear war...."

The Worker,  
March 27, 1960, p. 9.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Actions for ending atom weapons tests, prohibiting the manufacture of nuclear weapons and destroying atom-bomb stockpiles."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6-7.

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Communists advocate united action of the Negro people in order to ensure full effectiveness in the struggle for Negro equality.
2. The communist program for "self-determination" of the Negro in the Black Belt area in the South\* has been discarded, and the present policy is to seek complete economic, political, and social equality for the Negro with all other American citizens.
3. The labor movement must act to force the Federal Government to secure full integration in the South.
4. Anticomunist attacks restrict the "initiative of the masses" and impede Negro progress toward full equality.
5. The Communist Party must help to unite the two largest and most oppressed national minorities in the United States--the Mexican-American people and the Negroes.
6. The Attorney General must intervene to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in the South and end its reign of terrorism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Mass Action Needed To Solve Negro Question

"To the struggle for Negro freedom the Negro worker brings many indispensable contributions. Foremost among these is mass action, in the best tradition of the labor movement of which he is a part. Without this element the battle for Negro equality cannot be fully effective...." \*\*

\* The communist idea of self-determination proposed that Negroes in those counties of the Southern States where they were the majority of the population actually secede from the United States and establish their own government.

\*\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.



"Communists have long advocated the united action of the Negro workers to enhance their fight for equality on the job and in the labor movement, and to add their organized weight to the struggles of their people for freedom...."

"On the Negro Question in the United States,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1960, p. 48.

"Out of the crucible of many struggles there is emerging a pattern of generalized concepts which, in time, no doubt will become guiding principles of a united Negro people's movement. First and foremost is the concept of mass struggles as opposed to exclusive preoccupation with the legal phase. The Negro people have learned through bitter experience that reliance upon court victories does not suffice to do the job of winning freedom. Hence, more emphasis is being placed on forms of struggle based on grass roots activity.

"Forces in the NAACP which heretofore relied solely on the legal struggle, and deprecated mass actions under today's circumstances, are being forced to embrace mass activity as a principal weapon. This is most clearly demonstrated in what is happening around the student sit-in strikes in the South. These have already assumed the character of a national peoples' crusade. Supporting actions of a mass character are developing everywhere and the NAACP is playing a pivotal role."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Negro People and the 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, May, 1960, pp. 13-14.

## 2. "Self-Determination" Slogan Withdrawn

### "ON WITHDRAWAL OF THE SLOGAN OF SELF-DETERMINATION"

"In 1930 the Communist Party adopted... programs on the Negro question in the United States in a pioneering attempt to theorize and project a principled solution to that special feature of Negro life--the oppression of the plantation-bound masses of Negroes in the so-called Black Belt area of the deep South.

"Nevertheless, this particular program for the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. was revealed to be an incorrect orientation by the course of the development in the country and within the Negro people's movement. Life experience and greater knowledge of the question have exposed its deficiencies and for this reason the 'self-determination' projection and program for the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is now discarded. . . . Our Party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is to secure to the Negro people with all speed the complete realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other American citizens."

"On the Negro Question in the United States,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1960, pp. 56-57.

"On this May Day let there be renewed dedication to:"

"Join in active struggle with the Southern Negro masses for the total abolition of the segregation system and in defense of the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

### 3. Labor Must Aid Struggle Against Segregation in South

"What is needed for victory of the Negro people's struggles in the South and in Washington on legislation is for the labor movement, for all white progressive and democratic elements, to realize that this is their fight.

"The place of all of us is to support and join the sit-downers and the picketlines demanding an end to segregation. There is urgent need to step up activity that will make clear to every Congressman, especially in the North, that what the people want is not partisan maneuvers and legislation for the record. They want legislation to insure every Negro citizen in the South the right to vote, that will once and for all compel the Federal government to use its resources to put an end to lynch terror and to guarantee the Negro people, North and South, all their rights and protection under the constitution."

Editorial, The Worker,  
February 28, 1960, p. 2.

"THE MILITANT mass picketlines and sitdowns of the Southern Negro youth represent a new and higher stage of the Negro people's fight for equality. It is they who are championing the Constitution of the United States and defending the rights of all the people. And their heroic actions should be supported by all the people and in the first place by the labor movement."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1960, p. 1.

"Men and women of labor, all those with a longing for peace and a sense of justice, must ACT now in support of the valiant though unequal struggle for freedom and against segregation being borne forward by the continuing heroism of the Southern Negro masses.

"Demand that Attorney General Rogers and President Eisenhower now use the full police power of the Federal Government to secure and uphold the equal rights of the Negro people."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 1, 1960, p. 3.

#### 4. Anticommunist Attacks Curtail Effectiveness of Southern Negro Movement

"HAVING FORGED firm ties of internal unity, the Southern movement against segregation, and genuine democracy, and equality is forging ever broader alliances and common ties with labor and all that is progressive in our national life."

"As the power of the movement mounts beyond the ability of enemies to smash it by force, they will strive to undermine it from within. They will strive to introduce divisions, to sow suspicions, to breed distrust between the diverse ideological elements who are united for the common task, the end of jimcrow.

"Anti-Communist slanders and witchhunting are the last hope of the detractors from unity and the foes of Negro progress. This device has been used for decades to divide labors ranks and becloud its vision.

"The new movement for Negro freedom needs to be on guard against the drum beaters of 'anti-Communism.' "

Editorial, The Worker,  
April 3, 1960, p. 2.

"Professional anti-communism--not serious debates and disagreements with Communists on the merits of issues--never stops with Communists. Often it doesn't even touch them. Its inherent menace is that anti-communism clubs down every spark of militancy and struggle, every desire of the Negro people for unity, at a time when both vigor and united action are needed to smash Jimcrow in America....

"...Red-baiting restricts the initiative of the masses and robs the Negro people's movement of its independence."

The Worker,  
June 19, 1960, p. 9.

##### 5. Mexican Americans

"The Mexican-American people constitute an oppressed national minority with strong ties of language and culture. They suffer discrimination from chauvinism and the entire pattern of national oppression."

"The general isolation of the Party is sharply demonstrated in our isolation from the Mexican-American people of the Southwest. Our Party has an important history in organizing and leading struggles of the Mexican-American people. To root the Party in the Southwest is to influence a decisive

national minority...Our Party must seek to initiate steps that will lead to the unity of the two largest and most oppressed national minorities--the Negro people and the Mexican-American people."

"On the Mexican-American People in the Southwest," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 87, 91.

6. Ku Klux Klan

"...the architects of 'massive resistance' policy to nullify the constitution's 14 and 15th amendments and the Supreme Courts desegregation rulings, the Almonds, Byrds and the cabal of unreconstructable Dixiecrats of Virginia and the South are not resting their hopes on filibustering civil rights bills in Congress and enacting punitive racist laws in Virginia. They are stepping up the terror.

"Already over 200 young people have been arrested from Virginia to Alabama. Hoodlum gangs have been given immunity of law to beat, cut and shoot young Negro men and women struggling to uphold their Constitutional rights.

"The KKK has convened in Atlanta, with the blessings of Georgia's attorney general, and issued a call for a 100,000 strong legion of terror.

"IT IS TIME for every decent minded citizen, for labor and church bodies, to stir into actions of solidarity and support of the fighting Negro people in the South who are risking their lives in this movement embracing tens of thousands to secure the simple liberties that the rest of the nation enjoys.

"U. S. Attorney general Rogers must be compelled to intervene to outlaw the KKK and initiate actions against the lawless officeholders in the South who are organizing terror against the peaceful struggles for equality now being spearheaded by the youth."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1960, p. 14.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The educational program for American youth should include free education through college, Federal school financing, full academic freedom, and the restoration of unrestricted political rights to all teachers and should eliminate all forms of discrimination.
2. Only token integration has taken place in the schools since the Supreme Court's desegregation order in 1954.
3. In the South, white supremacists are expelling growing numbers of Negro college and university students participating in the sit-down movements for integration at lunch counters.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Communist Educational Program for American Youth

"... we present, for the consideration of America's youth, the following program:

##### "The Right to Learn:\*

"1. Free education and educational facilities, from kindergarten through college.

"2. Elimination of all forms of discrimination, including the quota systems, to guarantee full integration at all levels of education.

"3. Federal school financing to guarantee:

- a. All necessary improvements in physical plant, facilities, and educational staffs needed to eliminate inequalities created by segregation.
- b. Expanded scholarship grants, loan funds and part-time work projects freed of all loyalty provisions.

\*Underscored portion italicized in the original text.

- c. Free night schools, from public school through college, for those unable to attend full-time institutions.
- d. Decent wage standards for teachers.
- e. Expanded vocational training to include new skills needed because of growing automation; and a non-discriminatory job placement program.
- f. Review of present curricula, textbooks and other materials to guarantee provision of education for higher skills, an accurate picture of the contributions of labor and minority groups to American life, education for democracy.

"4. Defense of academic freedom. The elimination of all restrictions on the right of students to organize, to listen, to discuss, to debate, to evaluate, to conclude, and to act.

"5. The restoration of full political rights to teachers wherever these have been restricted, so that they may again become full-fledged citizens. A teacher whose citizenship rights have been curtailed by law or otherwise, cannot teach others the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy."

"On the Youth Question," Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 76-77.

## 2. Supreme Court School Desegregation Order

"In 1954 the Supreme Court issued its famous decision on desegregation in the school. Six years later, only token integration has been achieved. What little has been done has been accomplished in the face of tremendous terror and intimidation.

"If the executive and legislative branches of the government had been in harmony with the Supreme Court's decision, things by now would have been different...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Negro People and the 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, May, 1960, p. 23.

"And now--six years after the Supreme Court called for 'all deliberate speed' in the eradication of segregated education--one finds that 94% of the southern schools remain completely segregated and that in most of the remaining 6% the desegregation has been of a token kind. Certainly there has been 'deliberation' here, but what about the 'speed'? Moderationism and gradualism always have been devices for thwarting significant change and for curbing the wrath of the masses; for maintaining--with only the essential concession and elasticity--the system of exploitation and indignity. If further proof were needed of this, the history of the years since the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court is that proof."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1960, p. 50.

"Six years after the Supreme Court Decision on Integration of schools, we find a frightening increase of segregated schools in New York City. The Board of Education has scuttled its own plans to end school segregation. The small victories won after years of struggle by parents in Harlem and Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant are being whittled away. As children transferred from segregated schools in Brooklyn and Harlem to lily white schools such as Glendale complete their grades, no new children are transferred in. In fact, the Board has taken to bussing children for segregation purposes 'in the best Georgia tradition', as one Negro parent put it."

"...The Board of Education is following the pattern of the South by building new schools in the ghettos in order to evade integration. The Budget proposals also call for closing schools in white communities in order to evade demands to integrate under-utilized schools."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1960, p. 10.



3. Sit-Down Students

"ON FEBRUARY 1, in Greensboro, North Carolina, four Negro college students occupied seats at a Woolworth lunch counter and asked to be served. When they were refused, there ensued a sit-down demonstration by a larger body of Negro students."

"The movement quickly won the support of adult Negro leaders and organizations in the South and elsewhere...."

"Alarmed and frightened by the scope and momentum of the movement, the white supremacist ruling elements in the South have reacted in the one way they know--to crush it at all costs. They have expelled students in growing numbers from state-supported colleges. They have resorted to 'legal' devices and maneuvers, to wholesale arrests, and increasingly to outright violence and terror."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1960, pp. 1, 2.

"MASS FACULTY resignations at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., in protest against the expulsion of James Lawson, Negro sit-in leader, marked the sit-down front last week...."

"The Negro sit-in-leader, who lacked only 12 hours credit for his degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology was expelled last March because of his advocacy of civil disobedience during the Nashville student sit-ins."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 3.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Bourgeois culture is a "business" run by big businessmen who find it is expendable during a recession.
2. Socialism allows prominent artists to enjoy major differences in style, temperament, and technique.
3. The pharmaceutical industry in the United States is directed by businessmen who use the profit yardstick to measure their contribution to science.
4. The religious ideas of Jesus are only myths and hence have no meaning in the Soviet Union.
5. The objective of the attack on the clergy contained in the Air Force manual was to use the Government's military power to strike at the influence of the National Council of Churches.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Bourgeois Culture Is a Business

"THE ARTS AND BUSINESS are, they say, like oil and water. They just don't mix. . .

"It that is so, some bourgeois ideologist must have invented a secret formula by which to mix them. Culture, of course, is not only a business, but a big business, run by big businessmen. . . .

"To the businessmen who run this show the only critics worth listening to are their accountants.

"Economics of the arts is of course but one aspect of culture and to artist and audience alike, the least aspect. Not so to the businessman who sees profit where the artist sees beauty, for to him profit is beauty."

"What then takes place during a recession? Businessmen, when money is tight and investment unprofitable, do not invest. Culture becomes expendable."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1960, p. 8.

2. Socialist Artists "Giants" of Culture

"FOR DECADES the trained parrots of bourgeois culture have repeated the stale monotonous unoriginal charge that socialist artists were all trained parrots, 'artists in uniforms,' etc., etc.

"The phony thing isn't heard so often today. For even the dumbest young opportunist plugging at Harvard or Yale toward an academic career in the teaching of literature can perceive that there are major differences in style, temperament, personal lyricism and approach to life in such socialist artists as Mayakovky, Gorky, Aragon...

"...The universal nature of the socialist idea is well demonstrated by the fact that it is great enough to nourish and contain such varying giants of culture...."

The Worker,  
February 21, 1960, p. 8.

3. Science for Profit

"MEDICINE you buy could cost you one third as much as they do!

"Two dollars of every three that the consumer spends for drugs and medicines is unnecessary, and could easily be cut from the medical bill if the pharmaceutical industry were run for public health instead of private profit."

"It is strange that one of the most vital fields of medicine in the country is directed almost entirely by bankers and businessmen who use 'the yardstick of dollars' to measure their contr\_ bution to science and human welfare."

The Worker,  
January 24, 1960, p. 6.

#### 4. Christianity a Myth

" '...sometimes, '... 'those who fought for freedom used religious ideas as a weapon in the struggle. Jesus fought for the oppressed, and used the religious ideas of those times to make his meaning clear. We now know that those ideas are just parts of ancient mythology--fairy tales--but we can see the strength they gave him nevertheless. Is the Soviet Union now putting Christianity into practice? No, she is building a society which may one day give people freedom. The ideas that will grow in the process must turn out to have meaning for people at this later stage, different from that of the poor people of Palestine 2000 years ago. We all understand much more now.

" 'So when they say in the Soviet Union they are not putting Christianity into practice, they are right....' "

Ruth Adler, "Africa, Come Back,"  
Mainstream, June, 1960, p. 24.

#### 5. Air Force Manual

"The attack on pastors, contained in the manual issued by the Air Force, emphasizes the decay in U. S. leading circles."

. . . . .

"The pamphlet attacking the clergy was issued Feb. 11. The generals said they knew nothing of it until the National Council of Churches called it to their attention.

"Yet as far back as 1955, the Air Force 'Guide for Security Indoctrination' declared:

" 'A while back Americans were shocked to find that Communists had infiltrated our churches... Are there Communist ministers? Sure... Of course, no clergyman admits he is a Communist. When he is one, he is required to keep his membership a secret, but he still does Communist work. ' "

. . . . .

"Is the aim here to attack the Communists? Of course not. The objective is to use the governmental military power to strike at the influence of the National Council of Churches, the body which unites 29 Protestant denominations and a membership of more than 39 million Americans. It even seeks to create distrust of the Bible that these millions are now reading by accusing thirty of the 95 clergymen who officially sponsored the revised standard version of the Bible as being 'affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects and publications. '

"Talk about infiltrators! It's about time Congress and the American people really probed for the poisonous elements who have sneaked their way into places of ideological power in the armed forces and, as part of an unholy alliance with the brass, are brainwashing millions of young Americans, powerless to resist because of their military status. "

The Worker,  
February 28, 1960, p. 4.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Support must be given to suffrage for Negro, Spanish-speaking, and poor white women in the South.
2. Under socialism, women have made many achievements in education, science, literature, and art.
3. Under socialism, women do not face many of the evils that prevail under capitalism, such as juvenile delinquency, child labor, narcotics addiction, prostitution, and mental disorders.
4. This year, International Women's Day was devoted to the fight for peace.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Woman Suffrage

"LARGE GROUPS of women still do not have the right to vote. There are the disenfranchised Negro women in the south. The poor white women in the south are also robbed of their rights by poll taxes and illiteracy. Puerto Rican, Mexican American and other Spanish-speaking women cannot register in their own language.

"In the big cities, party machine election officials are particularly notorious in discouraging Negro, Puerto Rican, and other working people, from registering to vote."

. . . . .

"The Negro, Spanish-speaking and working class women's vote can be increased where there is a program for registration, legislation and women candidates.

"Women's political action is not only having an effect on the program and candidacies of the major parties, but is becoming an important part of the growing independent political movements."

The Worker,  
March 13, 1960, pp. 5, 13.

## 2. Women under Socialism

"Women the world over can be proud that in the Soviet Union 49 per cent of the citizens having a higher education and over half of the citizens having full or partial secondary education are women. There are 233,000 women engineers, more than 1,280,000 women teachers, some 300,000 women doctors, and over 110,000 women scientific workers. In literature and art, women have also shown great achievements.

"On the eve of International Women's Day the Order of Lenin was conferred upon 50 Soviet women.

"Those who are the givers of life and have the daily task of upbringing and care of the growing generation are glorified and elevated to new heights. Many have received the title of Mother-Heroine, while another 6,500,000 have been awarded the Motherhood Glory and the Motherhood Medal."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1960, p. 8.

## 3. Women under Capitalism

"We women in capitalist countries cannot afford to be complacent about our 'progress.' We face many evils which are absent in Socialist countries and which we must deal with in our country, such as juvenile delinquency, child labor, drug addiction, mental disorders and prostitution. All of these are byproducts of an exploitive profit system of society...."

. . . . .

"...it would be safe to say that one-third of the nation are still not adequately housed, fed, clothed and cared for in sickness. Hardest hit are women and children. It is unnecessary, in fact criminal, in a country with the resources of the U.S.A. What is spent on armaments alone would remedy this situation. American women can help to change all this."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The Golden Jubilee of International Women's Day," Political Affairs, March, 1960, pp. 30, 31.

#### 4. International Women's Day

"TENS OF MILLIONS the world over...observed the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day. To the women of our country who gave this day to the world, it also marks the 40th anniversary of their right to vote.

"This year the fight for peace is the center of observation of Women's Day.

"In our country progressive women will also join with the heroic Negro women fighting for civil rights."

Editorial, The Worker,  
March 13, 1960, p. 2.



## XII. YOUTH

1. The Communist Party considers youth work next in importance to work in the labor and Negro movements.
2. A Marxist youth organization is essential in organizing American youth to fight for socialism. Advance, a Marxist youth group, created in February, 1960, is this type of organization.
3. In June, 1960, Advance called for a mass demonstration against the ratification of the Japanese-American security treaty.
4. The White House Conference on Children and Youth was characterized by a lack of concrete proposals for solving the needs of children and youth.
5. Juvenile delinquency in the United States results from the lack of an adequate educational system, job security, and facilities for social and recreational activity.
6. In San Francisco, students demonstrated against the visiting "Un-American inquisitors" and took their rightful place in the "vanguard of progress."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Major Area of Mass Work

"...The present generation of youth, led by the working class, is the guarantee of success in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. It is also the base of the Party of the future. Without full attention to its needs and development, therefore, the Party jeopardizes its own existence as an effective vanguard. Youth work must be placed next to work in the labor and Negro people's movements as a major area of mass work." \*

"On the Youth Question," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, p. 74.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

## 2. Marxist Youth Organization

"A Marxist youth organization is essential to the development of a mature American youth movement. Such an organization would help to move the present democratic youth groupings and movements in the direction of support to and alliance with the labor and Negro people's movements. It would contribute to uniting the present generation of youth in the people's fight against monopoly capital. It would win tens of thousands of young people to the cause of socialism. . .

"It would not, however, constitute a Marxist vanguard organization. It is the Communist Party which is the vanguard of the working class, including the working-class youth, as well as of the other strata of the youth. . . ."

"On the Youth Question," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 75-76.

"THE LINCOLN holiday weekend saw the formation of 'Advance', a Marxist youth organization, in N. Y. . . .

"The proposal for a socialist youth organization that would ask its members only to be active on one or more of its issues was welcomed by the delegates.

"It was pointed out that many youths will become active and engage in activities concerning integrated schools, job training programs, discrimination in job placement, abolition of ROTC and the compulsory draft, juvenile delinquency and other issues facing N. Y. youth.

"Special mention in reports and discussions was made of Puerto Rican and Negro youths who comprise the greatest minority groupings in the city and the most exploited. Integration in schools and around neighborhood housing projects were among the topics mentioned. "

The Worker,  
February 28, 1960, p. 14.

"THE STATEMENT of principles of the new independent socialist youth organization, 'Advance,' was made public last week by its officers...."

"The statement of principles follows:"

"WE CARRY on education for a basic change in the way society is run--a change that opens the future to man...a change to socialism. Everywhere today young and old are discussing socialism as it is being built by half the world's people. We should know and understand the ideas and achievements of socialist life...."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1960, p. 11.

### 3. Youth Demonstrate Against Japanese-American Security Treaty

"ADVANCE...has called for a mass outpouring of New Yorkers on Union Square...to protest the ratification of the U. S. -Japan military treaty."

"Make this demonstration a worthy action of solidarity with the peace fighters of Japan!

"Speak out for scrapping the aggressive military treaty with Japan and for a treaty of peace and friendship!

"Demonstrate for an end to the cold war, for peace and disarmament, for peaceful coexistence!"

The Worker,  
June 26, 1960, p. 1.

4. White House Conference on Children and Youth

"THE... White House Conference on Children and Youth,...

"Two main trends developed within the conference regarding an approach to the myriad problems facing the country's young folks. One was characterized by the high sounding phrases 'imperishable value', 'unshakable faith'...and 'individual dignity' peppered through President Eisenhower's welcoming speech, which momentarily blurred the fact that he uttered not a word about a single down-to-earth need facing children and youth, nor a word concerning Administration program on the issues involved.

"This approach was continued by others, who claimed the problems raised at the conference could not be solved by laws or remedial measures, but only by raising the ethical and spiritual values of youth.

"...Many group chairman did not allow any criticism of Administration policies and agencies in the resolutions, claiming that 'expressions of opinion are banned by the rules of the conference.'

"HOWEVER, there was a strong contraru trend which rejected these viewpoints. This opposition was centered in efforts to pinpoint concrete proposals for the final program of action and concentrated particularly on the fight to guarantee that the issue of desegregation would be dealt with."

"THERE IS LITTLE indication...whether major attention was given to the life-and-death issue of guaranteeing world peace and banning of nuclear tests as primary pre-requisites for carrying out all other proposals for helping America's children and youth."

The Worker,  
April 17, 1960, p. 6.

## 5. Juvenile Delinquency

"Youth, and particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth, are faced with job insecurity and the lowest pay, with limited chances for advancement on the job, and with a lack of social, recreational and athletic facilities. They are faced with an educational system characterized by overcrowded public schools and by trade schools which cost much but teach little, incapacitated by segregation North and South, deprived of some of the best teachers by the witchhunt, and offering curricula which contribute to producing an anti-union, anti-Communist and chauvinistic population.

"The answer of big business to the problems and challenge of youth is to bend them to its own ends. It presents to youth a world of moral destitution, brutalized culture and a future of dog-eat-dog and nation-eat-nation. And when some youth respond to this with acts of so-called juvenile delinquency, monopoly answers with an iron hand and with cynical police brutality toward working-class and minority young people.

"The greatest responsibility for answering big business lies with the trade unions...."

"On the Youth Question," Political Affairs,  
March, 1960, pp. 73-74.

"THE NEEDS of America's youth are reduced by city, state and federal administrations to the single problem of juvenile delinquency."

. . . . .

"Thousands of young people are labelled as troublemakers, uneducable, and liabilities in the current 'Beat the Russians' all-out emphasis on the so-called superior science student. The average and below average student is being shunted off the educational rails and sidetracked into vocational fields--which has become a label of mediocrity.

"Real vocational training, integrated into the academic high school; fostering in all students a respect for industrial and vocational labor; a

realistic system, under the guidance of the trade unions, of effective apprentice training, and guaranteed job placement for all students after graduation--these are but a few conditions which parents and particularly the labor unions must interfere on. City and state government must not be allowed to legislate our young people out of the schools and onto the sidewalks--out of jobs, out of school, on the loose, easy prey for trigger-happy cops and get-tough-with youth-laws."

"Year-long studies which never seem to lead to action, 'get-tough' license to the police whip-them-rights laws, throw-them-in jail laws; throw-them-out-of-school laws--with a sugarcoating of an occasional settlement dance or basketball game thrown in--this is government's 'crash program' for America's youth."

The Worker,  
March 13, 1960, p. 7.

6. Student Demonstration Against House Committee on Un-American Activities

"HERE IN San Francisco, when students recently demonstrated against the visiting Un-American inquisitors, reactionaries repeated the smelly old cliché: it was just another Communist conspiracy...."

"LIKE OTHER observers, I found myself wondering as I watched the great-hearted demonstration of the youth, what powerful emotion had led them here....

"There came to me then the thought...that perhaps we are entering a new epoch, here in America. The movement for equality of the Negro students was the turning point for all American youth. This was the Cold War generation that had grown up under McCarthyism. To save itself from the persecutors and inquisitors, it had learned to be a 'silent

generation,' a generation of opportunists who knew how to 'play it cool' and safe, and to take no sides on the great moral issues that form man's destiny."

"How could youth go on living in this cold tomb? The thing was impossible. All around the world, youth was reaching the same end of the dead end, then breaking out. They had ripped off the ugly mask of opportunism, to reveal the face of a man of justice, honor and love--the face of a humanist America. Now one could be sure of the future here. The 'silent generation' was at last taking its rightful place in the vanguard of progress."

The Worker, June 12, 1960, p. 6.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

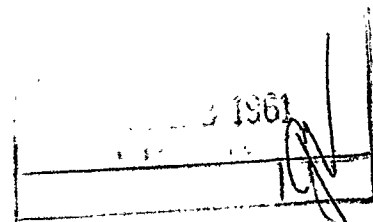
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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The focal point in international relations from the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, is the long-range policy of peaceful coexistence which has been made possible by the alleged shift of the balance of power from the free-world nations to the socialist states. Such a policy can be implemented through "strong peace organizations," "unceasing struggle," and increased pressure by the American people on the new Administration for an end to the cold war.

While demanding that the United States cease its interference in Cuban affairs and return the naval base at Guantanamo to Cuba, the Communist Party, USA, unequivocally pledges that it will fulfill its obligations of "international solidarity with the Cuban revolution."

The Party calls for Communist China to be admitted to the United Nations and recognized by the United States. It denounces the "aggressive" American-Japanese mutual security treaty, which provides for American military bases in Japan, and asks for the adoption of a "genuine peace treaty."

The free Republic of the Congo has the firm backing of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which will not tolerate

continued aggression there by Belgian or American monopolists. Africa's future as a continent of free nations is directly related to the destiny of the Congo.

West Germany, with its characteristics of militarism, antisocialism, and repression of the national liberation movement, is emerging as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs.

On the domestic front, the emphasis was on the national elections. The Communist Party, USA, presented its own election platform, which urged the American people to struggle for world peace, full rights for the Negro people, protection against the effects of automation, enforcement of the Bill of Rights, and the formation of a "broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement." The Party referred to the 15th Assembly of the United Nations as a "historic event" which made distinct contributions to the fight for peace, colonial liberation, and socialism under the "great initiative" of the Soviet Union and its leader, Nikita Khrushchev.

One of the outstanding public demonstrations of Party discipline in recent years occurred when long-time Party leader Alexander Bittelman was expelled in November, 1960, on charges of having violated the communist principle of "democratic centralism" by publishing a book containing "anti-Party" views.



According to the Party, if the labor movement is to make real headway, it must unite with its natural allies--the small farmers, the Negro people, small business--to curb the powerful monopolies and to win basic reforms for the American people. The Party considers the present trade-union leadership reactionary and favorable to the "cold-war imperialist policies."

Automation, which allegedly has emerged as a "blessing" under socialism, is leading to growing unemployment under the capitalist system of government in the United States. According to the Communist Party, USA, this trend can be partially offset by the 30-hour week without reduction in pay. Employment prospects would also be enhanced by disarmament and a peaceful economy, which would be the basis for tax reductions, expanded outlays for social welfare, and other measures.

The communist farm program opposes driving farmers from the land, supports organization of all agricultural workers and a food stamp plan, wants enough Federal aid to assure every farmer a decent standard of living, and favors extension of credit by the United States through the United Nations for the purchase of our surplus farm production.

Today, there is a world upsurge of "colonial and semi-colonial" people, particularly in Cuba, the Congo, Algeria, and South Africa. This

indicates that the struggle to end colonialism has reached a new level and should be supported not only within communist circles but on a united-front basis. The first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples signifies that the Soviet Union will expand its diplomatic activity on behalf of the "national liberation" struggles of colonial people and still-dependent, underdeveloped states.

The Party asserts that strong, effective civil rights legislation should be passed which will guarantee full democracy to all Americans, Negro and white. It calls for the repeal of all restrictive laws and anticommunist statutes which prevented the Communist Party, USA, from entering the elections under its own banner, repeats its charges that the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act and the Taft-Hartley Act restrict labor's organizing and bargaining power, and denounces the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as unpatriotic groups which should be abolished.

According to the communists, the Soviet Union has striven persistently for total disarmament, and the United States has been the chief stumbling block against its realization. Immediate priority should be given to ending nuclear tests, banning nuclear weapons, and destroying nuclear stockpiles. In addition, the United States Government should ground spy planes and dismantle its military bases abroad.

The Party claims that a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination can smash the "jim-crow" system in America. The election provided the communists with an excellent opportunity to deride the United States Government for allegedly not supporting the rights of minority groups to register and vote. The Party also chides Negro leaders for indulging in anticommunist attacks which, it claims, weaken the fight for Negro rights. Communists call for the broadest united action to attain fully desegregated schools throughout the entire country, especially in the South. In addition, they claim that the placement plans permit only token integration and should be abolished. According to the communists, the New York School for Marxist Studies has demonstrated that there is a wide interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

There is no artistic freedom in the United States, communists assert. Such an idea is considered impractical by Big Business interests, because art here is produced primarily for profit. Socialism, on the other hand, produces great artists, scientists, educators, and physicians. Women, too, have made tremendous progress under socialism and have been freed from the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism.

The communist youth program proposes the adoption of a Federal Youth Act which would provide free education, the guarantee of a job after

education is completed, an end to military conscription, and a federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational, and cultural program for youth. The Party emphasizes that all "progressive adults and youth" must do everything possible to increase the ranks of communist and organized "progressive" youth. It also stresses the need for a labor-youth alliance as an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, maintains that the balance of power has shifted from the forces of imperialism to the world socialist movement thus making possible the long-range policy of peaceful coexistence. Accordingly, it may be expected that the Party will intensify its propaganda for world peace, disarmament, and an end to the cold war, while reiterating its demands for admission of Communist China to the United Nations, abrogation of the American-Japanese mutual security treaty, cessation of United States interference in the Congo and Cuba, and the return of the naval base at Guantanamo to Cuba.
2. Communists claim that Senator John F. Kennedy was elected President of the United States by the increased vote for the Democratic ticket by labor, the Negro people, and other minority groups; therefore, he is committed to honor their mandate to carry out a program which the Party feels will benefit the interests of these groups. It is apparent that the Communist Party, USA, while ostensibly making every effort to promote a public image of a legitimate political party sincerely interested in peace, civil rights, et cetera, will continue to exploit these issues, not for their own sake, but as a tactical means of advancing the Party's actual goal--the establishment of a communist United States.
3. The Party asserts that labor must unite with the small farmers, the Negro people, and small business against the powerful American trusts in order to make real progress in the fight for jobs and basic reforms. Further propaganda in the Party press on this basic point

of communist policy in the United States may be anticipated, as well as the usual barrage against the "reactionary trade-union bureaucracy" and the misuse of automation.

4. The Communist Party, USA, will undoubtedly pay increased attention to the widespread nationalist movements springing up throughout the world, particularly when there is a communist or procommunist element involved. It has fully supported the Castro revolution in Cuba, the "freeing" of the Congo from the Belgian colonialists, and the struggle of the Latin-American masses against "Yankee imperialism." The Party has indicated that the struggle to end colonialism has reached a new broad level; therefore, the emergence of new Party groups and communist front organizations to deal with this issue may be expected.
5. As in the past, the communists magnify the evils of discrimination against the Negro people and other minority groups in the United States. In this election year, their attention has been focused on the alleged denial to these "second-class" citizens of the right to register and vote. It is evident that the Party will follow up its demand for a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination, to smash the "jim-crow" system in this country.
6. The Communist Party, USA, considers the need to attract young people to the communist movement of primary importance if the Party is to survive. To achieve this, it calls for the formation of new study groups, action groups, and also the organization of a labor-youth alliance which will be an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."
7. At the core of every Party activity, lies the phrase--"peace and peaceful coexistence" between the socialist bloc and the free nations of the world. The Party press may be depended upon to weave this concept into every possible issue while simultaneously proclaiming that this is the "epoch of the disintegration of imperialism" and the "final victory of world socialism."

## **I. FOREIGN POLICY**

1. Today, the balance of power in the world has tipped from the imperialist countries in favor of the socialist states, and this change has made possible the policy of peaceful coexistence.
2. Communist China should be recognized by the United States and admitted to the United Nations.
3. The United States should not interfere in Cuban affairs, should restore the full sugar quotas, and should turn the naval base at Guantanamo back to Cuba.
4. The Communist Party of the United States will fulfill its obligations of international solidarity with the Cuban revolution.
5. The Soviet Union will not tolerate continued aggression by Belgian or American imperialism against the Congo.
6. The aggressive American-Japanese mutual security treaty should be liquidated and a genuine peace treaty adopted.
7. The real murderers of the Japanese socialist leader, Inejiro Asanuma, are the "free world" leaders who brand their opponents of all persuasions as "subversive."
8. West Germany has emerged as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs.
9. The United States has made Turkey into an anti-Soviet spearhead of the cold war.

## **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

### **1. Peaceful Coexistence**

"Peaceful coexistence is the only policy which is in accordance with the state of the world today. The basic shift in world relations, which has proceeded since the end of World War II, cannot be reversed. The main

historic trend continues; in favor of socialism, of independence from imperialism, of the forces of democracy and progress. Ours is the epoch of the disintegration of imperialism. It is the epoch of the rise, consolidation and final victory of world socialism. In such an epoch, the strength of the world forces arrayed against imperialism must continue to grow, and with it the realistic possibility of averting war between capitalist and socialist states and of establishing peaceful coexistence as a long-range policy. In such an epoch, war is not inevitable, and world peace and disarmament can be fought for as realizable goals."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 28.

"The world forces of progress draw their growing strength from different areas of movement and struggle--the world system of socialist nations, the newly won independent countries, the colonial peoples, the peoples and working class of the capitalist nations. What is it that gives unity to these movements, a unity that adds a new quality of strength? They are all on the right side of history. They are all elements of the new, healthy progressive direction of history.

"What is the new ingredient that has added such confidence to these forces? It is the realization that the scales of history have tipped in their favor; the realization that this new force is now the strongest element in human life.

"From this realization flows the new concepts, the new possibilities that, yes, civilization can move forward without world or nuclear war. So the concept of peaceful co-existence has become a banner for struggle, for movement. It is the unifying ingredient of all these different struggles and movements."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 23.

"...The imperialists, particularly the U. S. monopolists, oppose peaceful co-existence because of their inherent war-like character, their desire for high profits from armaments, their aim to undermine the socialist states and to recover their domination over the newly freed colonial

states and because they fear that the abatement of the cold war would help the cause of freedom of democratic and socialist advance. That is why peaceful co-existence will not come of itself but must be imposed on the imperialists by strong peace organizations and by unceasing struggle.

"It is possible, because of the changed world situation, particularly the strength of the socialist and peace forces..."

"As long as imperialism is a considerable power in the world, the struggle for peaceful co-existence and its maintenance will be a long term battle. The possibilities exist however, however today for attaining and maintaining it until such time as the victory of socialism on a world scale or in the greater part of the world ends for all time the danger of war."

The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, pp. 4, 9.

"THE STATEMENT of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties is a document of momentous importance...."

"CONFIRMING THE CORRECTNESS of the 1957 Declaration and Peace Manifesto of the Communist and Workers' Parties, that 'war is not fatally inevitable,' the Statement declares that world war 'can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.' "

"Now with the new Administration about to take over, it is even more necessary for the American people to make known their urgent desire for peace...."



"The people...should tell the new Administration that they want a change, an end to the cold war, they want a policy of peaceful coexistence..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 18, 1960, pp. 3, 10.

## 2. Communist China

"In connection with China...it is necessary to develop broad agitation and movement for recognition of the People's Republic and its admission to the UN...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 13.

"...Insist on the admittance of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations; its recognition by the United States; the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from the Chinese waters; and the repudiation of Chiang Kai-shek."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

"The fight for peace demands a far greater struggle for the recognition of People's China, for her admission to the United Nations, for an end to American occupation of Chinese territory through the puppet Chiang Kai-shek, and for the lifting of the total economic embargo which now exists."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 29.

## 3. United States Government Should Not Interfere in Cuban Affairs

"THE FLEET and warplanes in the Caribbean are criminal folly...."

"The nub of the matter is this: Cuba's enemies in the U. S. are moving, by hook or crook, to intervene militarily. This is the enormous danger and it imperils every one of us. The moment demands protest on a national scale: picketlines, such as the Committee for Fair Play to Cuba sponsored at the UN, resolutions, letters to newspapers, mass meetings, every variety of action that says: 'Hands off, Cuba. She has the right to her sovereignty....'"

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 3.

"...It is time the people of this country, particularly the Labor movement, tell Washington the elementary facts of life.

"Tell Washington--first of all--to stay out of Cuba and halt these military and economic shenanigans that bring upon our nation an onus that compares only with that the Nazis had less than a generation ago.

"The peace of the world is at stake in all this, and it is time our people said that, in no unmistakeable terms, to those who are fooling with mankind's fate."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 3.

"...Discontinue all pressure on Cuba; stop interfering in her internal affairs; restore the full sugar quotas; turn the U. S. naval base at Quantanimo back to Cuba. Provide aid to the countries of Latin America without restriction or interference in their internal affairs, and without interfering with their sovereign right to develop and nationalize, if they wish, their basic industries."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

#### 4. Relationship of the Cuban and American Communist Parties

"...the Communist Party of the United States will fulfill its obligations of international solidarity with the Cuban revolution,

overcoming all difficulties that may be raised against us, come what may!

"May the fraternal unity of our Parties grow ever firmer in the common struggle against the monopolists of the United States and Yankee imperialism!

"Long live the Popular Socialist Party, vanguard of the nation and leader of the Cuban working class!

"Long live the Popular Socialist Party which lives by, and carries forward, the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism!

"Long live the international working class solidarity, anti-imperialist unity, and alliance of all who seek world peace.

"Long live friendship between the peoples of Cuba and the U. S. A.!

"Long live Cuba and its government led by Fidel Castro!"

James E. Jackson, "To the First Party of the Americas," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 34.

## 5. The Congo

"WE URGE LABOR and the American people to express full solidarity with and support to the Republic of Congo.

"1. Hands off the Republic of Congo.

"2. Africa for the Africans.

"3. Demonstrate and picket before the Belgian consulates and embassies demanding: Belgium, get out of the Congo! Hold demonstration meetings demanding: U.S., get out of the Congo! No help to the colonialists.

"4. Full material support and aid to the Republic of Congo."

The Worker,  
July 31, 1960, p. 10.

"EVENTS NOWADAYS MOVE with lightning speed, and nowhere is this more so than in Africa, where the national liberation movement is making tremendous strides forward. One colony after another is gaining its independence...

"Among these is the Belgian Congo, long regarded by the imperialists as a 'model colony' and one of the strongest bastions of colonialism. The crumbling of this fortress is a severe blow not only to the Belgian monopolists but to world imperialism--a blow which it is strenuously resisting....

"It is clear that behind the Belgian return in force lies the heavy hand of the American ruling circles, without whose backing the Belgian imperialists, compelled by forces beyond their control to grant independence to the Congo, would have been far less able to march in...."

"The Congolese people have the firm backing of the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries. The Soviet government has made it plain that it will not tolerate continued aggression against the Congo...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, pp. 1, 9.

"AFRICA'S FUTURE as a continent of free nations as well as the destiny of Congo is so directly related to the fate of Premier Patrice Lumumba that clamor exploded on a world scale insisting that the fascist-minded usurpers of the Congolese government be instantly brought to book.

"Matters were becoming starkly clear to many who were confused before. Charges rapidly expanded that the Western colonialists, led by U. S. imperialists and aided by a compliant UN executive, had helped bring the Belgian overlords back into the Congo saddle."

"The sadistic treatment meted the heroic Lumumba brought increased awareness everywhere that plots existed to subvert the entire African Freedom movement...."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 1.

6. Japan

"...The mass resistance of the Japanese people to the imposition of the aggressive American-Japanese treaty, spearheaded by the militant actions of the workers and students, have shaken Wall Street's cold-war empire to its very foundations.

"This resistance is of special significance in that it occurs in the main bastion of American imperialism in Asia, and moreover in a country which is itself a major imperialist power, with its own highly developed monopoly capital. It is a matter of no small import that in such a country as this the ruling class, though it has succeeded in ramming ratification of the treaty through parliament, finds itself unable to cope with or to muzzle the mass opposition of the people to its war-breeding policies."

"It is urgent, therefore, that the fight against the treaty be much more extensively developed in this country. The new treaty must be scrapped, at the same time, however, neither can the old treaty be left in force. It is no better than the new one, since its core is the maintenance of American military bases and troops on Japanese soil, and in some respects it is even worse. What is called for is the liquidation of both treaties and the adoption of a genuine peace treaty--a treaty between sovereign equals directed toward the prevention of nuclear war and the securing of peace and friendship with all Asian nations."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, pp. 3, 5.

7. Assassination of Japanese Socialist Leader

"Japan's beloved Socialist leader, Inejiro Asanuma, is dead. His youthful murderer committed suicide in prison, and the nation is beset by political unrest rivaling that which attended ratification of the U. S. -Japan military alliance."

"THE REAL KILLERS

"...the murderers of Asanuma are many, and their victims are legion....

"The real murderers are not only in Japan, but in Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Madrid; in Taiwan, Korea, Indone-China, the Philippines, Guatemala, Algeria, the Congo. They are running SEATO, NATO, CENTO, not to mention AP, UPI and TIME.

"They are, in short, the people who contribute to the biggest lie of our age, the lie by means of which capitalist imperialism calls itself and its captives the 'free world' and brands its opponents of all persuasions as 'subversive.' "

The Worker,  
November 20, 1960, p. 5.

8. West Germany

"WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM is emerging as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs."

"The major economic objective of the U. S. -German imperialist alliance is joint and parallel expansion of investment and trade through most of the capitalist world, particularly Western Europe, Asia and Africa, including British and French colonies and spheres of influence. Its decisive

political characteristics are militarism, provocations against the lands of socialism, repression of the national liberation movement, undermining the sovereignty of weaker capitalist states."

Victor Perlo, "West German and U. S. Imperialism," Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 48.

9. Turkey

"...Wall Street's cold-war outpost in Turkey is...tottering. Here...American imperialism has maintained corrupt, undemocratic regimes, subservient to its interests, which have made Turkey into an anti-Soviet spearhead of the cold war at the expense of the Turkish people."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 9.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The communist election platform urges the American people to struggle for world peace, full rights for the Negro people, protection against automation, and the formation of a "broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement."
2. Senator John F. Kennedy was elected President by the votes of the workers, the Negro people, and other minority groups; therefore, he is committed to honor their mandate to carry out a program which the Party feels will benefit the interests of these groups.
3. The prospective for socialism throughout the world, including the United States, is brighter than ever before.
4. The 15th Assembly of the United Nations, spearheaded by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, has made distinct contributions to the fight for peace, colonial liberation, and socialism.
5. Appointed Government bodies such as the National Security Council operate without control and are becoming the instruments by which the giant monopolies dictate Government policies.
6. No one can violate the principles of democratic centralism and remain a member of the Communist Party of the United States.
7. Free medical care under Federal supervision and at Government expense should be provided in America as it is in the socialist countries.
8. Low-rent desegregated housing should be made available for the slum dwellers.
9. The impact of the film "Operation Abolition" actually strengthened beliefs that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was itself un-American and should be abolished.



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Communist Election Platform

#### "THE COMMUNISTS' ELECTION PLATFORM"

"The Communist platform puts forward a 6-point program

"Urging dedication of the American people 'to struggle unselfishly for a world at peace.'

"Demanding full rights for the Negro people; the barring from Congress of all Dixiecrats elected in states where Negroes are denied their voting rights, and the breakup of the huge plantation type farms and the distribution of this land among the Negro and poor white farm people.

"Proposing a rise in the purchasing power of the people, and their protection against the effects of automation.

"Calling for restoration of full democracy through enforcement of the Bill of Rights and repeal of all repressive legislation.

"Asking for adoption of a Federal Youth Act to guarantee every child the right to a full and free education.

"Seeking an end to the disgraceful 'payola' which has infected the entire fabric of American society with corruption and degeneration."

"Declaring that the Communists have the same interests as other working people and have confidence in the people, the platform declares that 'the Communist Party, though devoted to the socialist reorganization of society, will give all-out support to every struggle of the people to win (their) immediate demands, and to form a broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement.' "

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 3.

## 2. 1960 Election Outcome

"THE ELECTION of John F. Kennedy as President by a relatively narrow margin was possible only because of the increased vote for the Democratic ticket by the workers, the Negro people and other minority groups..."

"The fact that the unprecedented electorate divided almost equally emphasizes...that millions voted for both candidates without any real enthusiasm, and millions voted for Kennedy only because they had no other way to defeat Nixon."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, pp. 1, 12.

"NOW THAT IT IS CLEAR that their candidate, Richard M. Nixon, lost the presidential race, the Wall Street monopolists and their camp-followers, the Dixiecrats, are trying to steal the elections.

"That is the real meaning of the barrage of propaganda to convince the American people that they did not give President-elect John F. Kennedy and the new Congress a mandate to reflect the policies of the Eisenhower administration and to move ahead with a progressive program."

"KENNEDY WAS not elected by those who voted for Nixon, many of whom were confused by appeals to religious and racial prejudice into balloting against their own interest.

"Kennedy was elected by the vote of the working people, the Negro people, the Jewish people, the Americans of Mexican and other Latin American descent and the senior citizens.

"It is their mandate that Kennedy is committed to honor--a halt to the menace of unemployment, repeal of restrictive anti-union laws like

the Landrum-Griffin Act; guarantee of the constitutional rights of the Negro people; federal-paid medical care for the older citizens, and a real start toward disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 20, 1960, p. 3.

"...The principal aim of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, in threatening legal recounts, is to bring reactionary political pressure to bear on the Kennedy Administration...to nullify the mandate of labor, the Negro people and the peace forces....In view of the moves by the Republicans and Dixiecrats, the narrowness of the Presidential contest should serve as a stern warning to labor, the Negro people, and to the peace and progressive forces that the promissory notes delivered by Kennedy and the Democrats can be cashed in only through the bitterest struggle of labor and the popular masses, waged with persistence, unity and independence around an effective program of action...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, pp. 7-8.

### 3. Era of Socialism

"Capitalism is on the downgrade of history. The splendid example of the USSR...and other socialist countries, and the security, health and happiness, socialism brings to all, will finally spur our people on to make the great change. Our grandchildren will surely live in a Socialist America!"

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"After forty-three years, Socialism is here to stay. No one is forcing it on those who live under capitalism. But what the imperialist rulers in the world today frantically realize is the growing attractiveness of socialism\* to toilers everywhere. Cancers eat at the heart of capitalism--

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

poverty, insecurity, unemployment, automation, taxes, racial discrimination, the arms race, the cold war. It cannot guarantee life, liberty or happiness to the plain people. Try as they will, by lies, misrepresentation and suppression of the truth, the ruling class cannot forever keep the facts of Socialist life away from our people. The King Canutes of today cannot hold back the tide of history. Nor will the people of the world, our own included, permit them to destroy humanity and civilization by nuclear warfare, in their mad frenzy of rule or ruin."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 4.

"...the Soviet economy is growing far more rapidly than that of the United States and is bound, in the not too distant future, to surpass\* it. This is the great historical fact of our times, and no amount of statistical juggling or fakery can wish it away."

"...It is clear that nothing short of a socialist America would produce anything approaching the Soviet rate of growth, which stems from a socialist economy.

"The ultimate goal for the American people must, of course, be socialism...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 9, 10.

4. Khrushchev Visit to the United Nations Assembly

"Unprecedented developments marked the close of the first month of the 15th UN Assembly. This was especially true in the field of colonial liberation, reconstitution of the UN executive to accord with world changes, and the annual test vote on inclusion of China.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Furthermore, seeds were sown in the most decisive of humanity's interests--i. e. disarmament."

"Distinct contributions were made to each of these areas of mankind's most urgent problems. It came about, even the most grudging of commentators admit, because the socialist sector of the world spear-headed by Nikita Khrushchev, pressed for it...."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 2.

"THE 15TH ASSEMBLY of the United Nations is an historic event, a great landmark in the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism. It reflects and registers the enormous changes in the world and in the alignments since the end of World War II and the formation of the UN 15 years ago...."

"The 15th Assembly has special significance because of two facts. First, it takes place at a moment of an unprecedented upsurge and maturing of the struggles of the colonial peoples on all continents...but first and foremost in Africa where great struggles and great leaders are rising and having their impact on the entire world...."

"The second significant aspect which marks the 15th Assembly is the great initiative of the great Soviet Union and its leader Nikita Khrushchev.\* This initiative, which brought to this country almost all of the outstanding heads of state, not a few against their will, is itself the most striking confirmation, not only of brilliant leadership but of the correctness and effectiveness of the creative Marxist-Leninist policies developed by the USSR under Khrushchev's leadership and by the world Communist movement."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 5.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV is gone, but the thunder of his voice and his ringing appeals for peace will continue to echo throughout the entire session of the United Nations. The supreme issues which the Soviet delegation raised remain--general disarmament, an end to colonialism, the immediate cessation of provocations of the kind of U-2, peaceful coexistence, a summit conference in the spring on West Berlin and Germany, the reorganization of the general secretaryship of the UN into a representative leadership. These and other crucial questions will now be debated in the UN and throughout our country with greater regard for the determination, strength, and peace desires of the socialist states, the neutral states, and the masses of the world."

"The historic UN session with the socialist and non-imperialist states playing the chief role reveals the great and mounting strength and power of the peace forces. Imperialism still has a mechanical majority of the votes in the UN, but not of the people of the world. It is still strong and a vicious force, but its power is declining. The socialist and peaceful new nations have moved to the center of the stage. Peace is possible, but it will require a stubborn, militant mass struggle."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 4.

##### 5. State Monopoly Capitalism

###### "STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

"...A system of dictation and control is being built that more and more bypasses the traditional constitutional and democratic institutions. This is being brought about by the establishment of appointed government bodies which increasingly take over functions and authority that have until now rested with elected bodies.

"Thus we have the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the F.B.I. and a host of other agencies and committees, set up by the executive branch and Congress and operating secretly, without control or check. These bodies, whose existence is based mainly on the

cold war and whose secrecy is justified on grounds of 'national security,' are steadily creeping into control of ever greater spheres of government affairs and public life. They are more and more becoming the instruments through which the monopoly imperialist forces control and dictate the policies of government. The countless billions of dollars involved in war contracts, tax exemptions, etc., are passed on to the monopolies through these special governmental bodies.

"This process vastly increases the powers of the executive, and moves in the direction of giving the monopolies ever greater and more direct influence and control over the decisions and policies of the state. This is the structural form of the development of state monopoly capitalism in the U.S.A."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960,  
pp. 12-13.

## 6. Democratic Centralism

"At a meeting held on November 14, the Westchester Club of the Communist Party, of which Alexander Bittelman had been a member, voted unanimously to expel him from the Party."

"In the Spring of 1959, Bittelman informed the Party leadership that he had written a book..."

"...The book appeared in September, 1960... By this action Bittelman has brazenly violated the Party principles of democratic centralism and taken the path of anti-Party struggle, together with the revisionists who left the Party previously, and has thereby forfeited his right to membership...."

"Like any other Party member, Bittelman has the right to express his views, either orally or in writing. But such views must be in accord with Party principles. A member of the Party cannot use his membership to advocate views in direct opposition to the very principles of the organization which he joined to uphold. Differences and criticism on tactical questions are entirely permissible--indeed, indispensable. But no one can write books directed against the Party and retain his membership."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 10.

"... Bittelman... has departed from Marxism-Leninism and Party principles..."

"The time is past when established Party policy and principles can be defied with impunity, making a shambles of democratic centralism and harming the unity of the Party."

"On the Expulsion of Bittelman,"  
Political Affairs, December, 1960,  
p. 52.

## 7. Free Medical Care

"THE MEDICAL care question is today one of the biggest scandals of capitalism--especially in the United States, the foremost capitalist country...."

"Today there is mounting evidence, much of it from sources very loyal to capitalism, that 'free enterprise' in medical care--the concept that it is the individual's own problem--is more and more degenerating into 'legal' and criminal rackets. Before long we will



face so serious a crisis in medical care that very drastic steps towards a federal health care program will be urgent and inevitable."

"To comprehend how retarded our American civilization is on health and the brutal ethics behind our system, you have to visit the socialist countries....

"In those countries, including China, all medical care is ENTIRELY at state expense....

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that unions cannot really solve the mounting health problem through collective bargaining. The real need is for an all-inclusive health care plan for ALL at government cost and under federal supervision...."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 4.

"...In the German Democratic Republic, a small country and relatively poor, compared to the United States, full and complete medical care insurance is taken for granted. Even citizens who do not see eye to eye with the government on some other points of its program would never again relinquish this health insurance."

"There are still economic weaknesses and problems to be overcome in the GDR, to be sure. But in providing medical care for its citizens, old or young and without regard to income, this country has left west Germany far behind, not to speak of the United States. It would be good if some of our senior citizens could come here and see for themselves. Then they could go home and tell their reactionary Congressmen a thing or two how a socialist state takes care of the health of its oldsters."

The Worker,  
September 25, 1960, p. 9.

all..." "...more hospitals; free medical surgical and hospital care for

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

8. Slum Clearance

"...Slum clearance and low-rent, desegregated housing--with the clearly defined requirements that such housing first be provided for the slum dwellers."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

9. "Operation Abolition"

"An attempt to stem the rising tide of the movement to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee met with little success among the students at Northwestern University..."

"At a showing of the film 'Operation Abolition'...at least half of the 300 Northwestern students in attendance booed and hissed throughout."

"The hostility was apparently a surprise to the reactionary group of students who had expected the showing to combat gathering momentum on campus for support for abolishing the unconstitutional committee."

"...the impact of the film, showing the committee subjecting American citizens to inquisition-like humiliation, seemed...to

strengthen beliefs that the committee itself was Un-American and should be abolished."

The Worker,  
December 25, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. In order to make real progress in the fight for jobs and basic reforms, labor must join with its natural allies--the small farmers, small business, the Negro people--in the battle against the ruthless monopolies.
2. The present trade-union leadership is reactionary and supports the cold war policy.
3. Labor leaders are generally disregarded for important Government positions because the capitalist rulers do not encourage political representation of the working class.
4. Repressive, antilabor legislation should be repealed.
5. The General Electric strike resulted in a serious blow to labor when the corporation was successful in getting the workers to accept its terms without union intervention.
6. Automation, which leads to growing unemployment in capitalist countries, can be partially offset by the 30-hour week without reduction in pay.
7. Under the socialist system, automation is a "blessing."
8. Disarmament and a peaceful economy, which would be the basis for tax reductions, expanded outlays for social welfare, and other measures, would enhance employment prospects.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Labor Unity

"...if labor is to make real headway, it must strive to unite behind itself its natural allies in the battle against the powerful, greedy trusts. These allies are the small farmers, the Negro people, small business--all of whom are in one way or another ground down by the ruthless monopolies.

"It is labor's task to bring all these groups together in a powerful alliance against monopoly, to curb it and to win basic reforms for the American people. Labor must move in the direction of uniting them in a new people's party led by labor and expressing their interests and not those of big business."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"The fight for jobs is not that of the working class alone, but is part of the general struggle against the monopolies by all sections of the people--small business, the working farmers, the Negro people and all others ground down by big business. These are the allies with whom the working class must unite in common battle."

"Whatever the precise turns which the economy may take in the months to come, it is clear that stormy battles lie ahead for the American working class. The outcome of these battles, directed against the powerful, grasping U.S. trusts and their efforts to force the working people to bear the brunt of the crisis, will be of profound importance to the masses of American people and to workers everywhere."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1960, p. 10.

## 2. Union Leaders "Cold War" Advocates

"Our working class has a glorious tradition and a wealth of experience, mainly in the economic field of struggle. This militancy of the workers, forces even the conservative trade union leaders to give at least lip service to economic struggles and take part in them. However, this militancy and understanding toward economic questions, this very positive characteristic has not extended to the political or foreign affairs area. Because of this serious weakness, the bureaucratic trade-union leaders have been able to continue giving their support to the worst of the cold-war imperialist policies. Very often they have spear-headed the anti-Communist crusades.

"However, what is new is a growing trend in the ranks of the trade union membership and of important elements in leadership towards breaking away from the positions of support to the cold war and imperialist policies."

"The struggle for peace is breaking through the cold war barrier set up by the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 21.

"UNFORTUNATELY, the men who profess to speak for labor today, like George Meany and William Green before him, have forgotten entirely the spirit and meaning of the Revolution. To listen to them on July 4, you'd think this is an occasion for thanking God for saving us from Communism. They have committed the labor movement officially to a course that allies it to those who have made the land of Washington and Valley Forge the seat for world reaction and the arsenal for suppressing the revolutions of the 20th century, where the workers are in the leadership."

"Fortunately, of late many voices have been raised within the American unions against this Meany...policy that desecrates the Declaration of Independence and the grave of American revolutionists. Let us hope that before many July Fourths pass, labor will get back to the spirit of the mechanics of 1776."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 4.

### 3. Labor Leaders Disregarded for Important Government Positions

"...the basic fact stands out that labor leaders are disregarded for government positions of importance.

"...basic reasons are:

"...the absence of class consciousness in the thinking among leaders of trade unions, hence a reluctance to recognize the idea that the labor movement should even seek representation;

"...reluctance by the ruling capitalist class of the country, whether through Republicans or Democrats, to encourage the idea that workers should have political representation even through their conservative officials;"

"...the absence of more independent political action by labor gives the ruling class a confidence it really can rule without a partnership at the highest level of government with men who may be subject to the pressure of the trade unions."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, pp. 4,9.

#### "'Labor' Man in the Kennedy Cabinet"

"...The man presumed to represent 'labor' is Arthur Goldberg, counsel for the AFL-CIO..."

"The selection of Goldberg apart from his personal merit, is fresh confirmation of the fact that those who rule America nurse an undying antipathy towards the labor movement, even for its very conservative pro-capitalist labor leaders. They don't trust their best friends in trade union leadership.

"Goldberg is in no sense a part of the labor movement...He is a lawyer who won the bid for some major legal business in the labor movement, and has made a very profitable career out of it...."

The Worker,  
December 25, 1960, p. 10.

#### 4. "Antilabor" Legislation

"Aided by such instruments as the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, the corporations are preparing a new assault against labor. The

situation demands all-out united action by all organized labor if it is to successfully defend its gains and its organization...."

"A clear need exists nationally for a massive campaign by labor and its allies to repeal forthwith the fascist-like Landrum-Griffin Act. It is important to remember that this bill was originally known as the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill. Today organized labor is in a position to bring pressure to bear upon presidential candidate Kennedy to pledge that the repressive feature of this legislation will be repealed."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

"SECRETARY OF LABOR James Mitchell chose to bring the National Maritime Union on the judicial carpet to test the government's new sweeping police powers over unions under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law...."

"No person who calls himself a unionist can look with favor on Mitchell's outrageous action, no matter how urgent it may be to take action to protect the rights of a union's members. Mitchell is clearly far less concerned with the rights of members, than with the fortunes of his party's politicians and the administration's coldwar policies...."

"The important lesson in the case of Mitchell vs NMU is that the most dangerous provisions of the KLG Law are those 'rights' sections that set up the government as the arbitrator, policeman and dictator over unions--all unions, including the most conservative. And in this undertaking the best cooperation to the government prosecutor comes from those labor leaders who arrogantly concentrate more power in the hands of the top bureaucracy."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 4, 9.



5. General Electric Strike

"General Electric moved for injunctions at all its major locations along the 54-plant strike front as the walkout of 70,000 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers neared the end of its second week."

"GE makes no secret of its aim to break the workers away from the union and set an example of new 'relations' with the workers...."

"GE's plan to front for the employers for a new 'labor relations' policy, may well develop into an issue superseding the bargaining issues that led to the strike. As in the big steel strike, when the bid by the companies to crack long established working rules became the primary issue, so GE's far reaching objectives may prove the greater mobilizing force in labor ranks in defense of unionism."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 2, 11.

"BIG BUSINESS executives studied with interest and unconcealed pleasure the ill-fated three-weeks' strike of General Electric workers and its settlement, with the signs pointing clearly to a fresh stiffening against labor."

"The strike, called by James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers, with not even an effort to get unity of action among the many unions in the giant chain, ended on the company's terms. Capitulation to the terms by the IUE's negotiating committee was foreshadowed three days earlier by the union's acceptance without a strike of a virtually identical pact for the Westinghouse chain."

"The pressure for Carey's resignation is...coming from IUE members who see the severe blow to labor as the end result of a course, under leadership of Carey..."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, pp. 3, 10.

"THE THREE-WEEK General Electric strike ended with the most serious blow suffered by labor since the organizing drives of the thirties. The real measure of the result is not the contract terms. Unions have come out of negotiations with no better terms but have not suffered nearly as serious a blow. The important fact is that one of the major nationwide corporations--second only to GM in number of employees -- refused to bargain with the union, simply laid down the terms, and said 'take it or leave it' and broke through...."

"...Unless the labor movement finds the way to restore true and full unity, and becomes aroused in true emergency spirit, the GE formula will spread like a plague."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 4.

6. Automation under Capitalism

"...In contrast with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist nations, where their economy is growing at a rapid rate, our rate of industrial growth has declined; our economy is unstable with a new economic crisis developing...To meet this situation, the people should fight to:

"Raise the purchasing power and living standards of the people; protect the people against automation and the encroachments of big business."

"...Establish a universal six-hour day, 30 hour week, without reduction in weekly pay."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"Today the steel industry finds itself in a new and much less favorable situation. This is manifested not merely in the low level of operation, but particularly in the absence of price increases...."

"The drive for maximum profits will, of course, go on, and the steel barons will strive to meet the new situation by stepping up their attacks on working conditions and jobs. They will seek to increase the already severe speedup all the more. The introduction of automation will proceed apace, and with it the drive to secure the maximum benefits from it in terms of elimination of workers through destruction of work rules and other such measures."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 4, 5.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs a 30-hour week with no cut in pay to offset the displacement of workers by automation and to combat the growing menace of unemployment."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

7. Automation "Blessing" under Socialism

"...Automation, which is a blessing in a socialist country, is a menace in a capitalist country, creating mass permanent unemployment. This is true today in the following American industries--steel, automobile, meat packing, mining, transportation and in office work."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"...The USSR's First State Ball-Bearing Plant on the outskirts of Moscow occupies more than eight and a half acres, and produces 70 million ball bearing parts a year. Fifty per cent of the working force of 10,000 are youth, and 50 per cent are women.

"THE SHOW-CASE part of this plant, from the standpoint of automation, is a so-called 'experimental shop' where every process in the plant is done by machines without the intervention of a single worker."

"THE EXPERIMENTAL shop here is one of many pilot plants--prototypes of industry under communism--set up in various industries in different regions of the USSR. These pilot plants were inaugurated by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party which set the goal of comprehensive automation of industry and agriculture as a requisite for building the material and technical base of communism.

"The trend from automation of certain production operations to the complete automation of technologies, shops and plants already has the upper hand. Given a world of peace, it is certain of realization in the next 10-15 years.

"Of course, you may say that the methods employed at the First State Ball-Bearing Plant are not feasible in the United States. And you would be right, But if American workers controlled their state and industry, as workers do in this country, so-called 'technological unemployment' in our country would not exist."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 5.

8. Fight for Jobs Tied to Fight for Peace

"The problem of jobs and job security is truly the number one problem for American workers."

"...the fight for jobs is tied to the fight for peace....What is needed...is a positive, militant campaign for disarmament and an economy of peace as a basis for tax reductions, considerably expanded outlays for social welfare and other measures which will greatly enhance the prospects of employment."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1960, pp. 9-10.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs a program which will guarantee world peace--a program to end the cold war, to settle differences through negotiations in good faith, to carry out disarmament and establish a peacetime economy with lower taxes and greater social welfare expenditures.

"It needs a program of greatly expanded social security--a program providing a much higher minimum wage, greatly improved unemployment compensation.."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"THE LATEST FIGURES on unemployment indicate that more than 5,000,000 people will be out of work by Jan. 1. Millions more are working part time. Immediate attention is needed, therefore, to amend the unemployment insurance laws so that the unemployed will not go hungry, so that they will be assured aid."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The communist farm program opposes driving farmers from the land, supports organization of all agricultural workers and a food stamp plan; wants enough Federal aid to assure every farmer a decent standard of living; and favors extension of credit by the United States through the United Nations for the purchase of our surplus farm production.
2. New legislation is needed for the protection of small farmers against the demands of the giant food monopolies.
3. The "farm problem" is inherent in capitalism and can ultimately be solved only under socialism.
4. The giant monopolies in the farming and food processing fields in American agriculture have reduced migrant farm workers to a colonial status.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Communist Farm Program

###### "THE PARTY'S TASK

"Our task... is to outline main objectives, and to win agreement on these main objectives by farmers and farm workers, organized and unorganized, by the organizations of farmers and farm workers:

"These objectives should include:

"1. We are opposed to driving farmers from the land, under whatever pretext; we support their right to make a decent living on the farms they now occupy; we believe that the main purpose of federal and state legislation should be to achieve this end. We oppose all programs for easing farmers off the land under deceptive devices. These devices include 'assisting the development of these (distressed) areas along industrial lines'; the 'education and training of young people to take their places in an industrial society'; and 'aid in placing persons displaced in rural areas in suitable jobs'...

"2. We oppose the campaign in the South to drive Negro croppers, and other farmers and laborers off the land. We support them against White Citizens Council oppression and brutality, and in their struggle for constitutional rights.

"3. We support the organization of all agricultural workers in trade unions of the AFL-CIO; the extension of minimum wage, social security, and other federal legislation to them.

"4. We favor the extension of the food stamp plan to ensure that everyone in the U. S. shall receive an adequate diet.

"5. We believe that the main and immediate goal for federal aid should be to assure every farmer at least a minimum decent standard of living. To this end we suggest that the basis for aid should be: (a) benefit payments to be limited to the first \$5,000 of sales and (b) the first \$5,000 of production for sale should be exempt from controls, cutback, or retirement...."

"6. We favor the extension of credit by the U. S., through the United Nations, for the purchase of our 'surplus' farm product on. (UN participation could help prevent the export of U. S. 'surpluses' from destroying existing markets of other exporting countries.)"

"There are two major aspects to our outlook as far as developing a farm program is concerned. One of them is to establish certain Marxist principles for our activities in the farming areas; to have a common understanding of what the farm crisis is; what the class structure is in agriculture; and to approach the problems of specific areas or crops with that as an essential part of our political makeup.

"Our other main task is to emphasize certain overall issues, overall objectives, overall class approaches. These would include the struggle for peace; the development of an anti-monopoly coalition; the

struggle for civil rights and civil liberties; and the effort to win an alliance of the working class and the toiling farmers."

Erik Bert, "The American Farm Crisis,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, pp. 39, 40.

## 2. New Legislation Needed for Small Farmers' Protection

"The main political objective of monopoly capital in agriculture is to speed the elimination of millions more farmers from the land. Big capital sees any and all ameliorative legislation as an obstacle that must be eliminated as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. And they employ all avenues to this end--the propaganda about 'handouts'; about the tax burden which farmers levy on the taxpayers; the high cost of food to the consumers as a result of farm legislation; the desirability of 'inefficient' farmers getting off the land and into useful jobs in the cities, and so on."

Erik Bert, "The American Farm Crisis,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 38.

"...demand new legislation to protect and aid the small farmer against the ravages of the giant food monopolies and the banker-controlled factory farms."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

## 3. U. S. Farm Problem Inherent in Capitalism

"Is it possible to 'solve' the farm problem...short of socialism' The 'farm problem' is built into capitalism. It is the contradiction of town and country, of self-employed producers and capitalist production; and, today, of self-employed producers and monopoly; contradictions whose origin coincides with the inception of capitalism.... The task is to arouse the working class and the small and middle farmers in a common struggle for the right of the farmers to remain on the land now. While that would succor millions who are now threatened, it would in no wise 'solve' the 'farm problem.' "

"On the Farm Question: A Discussion,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 40.



#### 4. Migrant Farm Workers

"THE ALL-OVER situation of domestic migrants in the U. S. today is different--and definitely worse--than in the 'Grapes of Wrath' thirties. The basic difference is that the overwhelming majority of the stateless, rich less, voteless persons making up the country's principal migrant streams are Negro and Mexican-American."

"...as what has been called agribusiness increasingly takes over, misfortune is helped along, the pattern is more deliberately set, all the forces of racial discrimination brought to bear.

"Through their absolute control and manipulation of the half million imported contract migrants...the big canners' associations, processors, food chains and corporate farms which dominate American agriculture, have been able to reduce both these foreign workers and the estimated 400,000 to 800,000 domestic migrants to a factually colonial status."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 6.

"WHEN WE TOSSED off the phrase...about documentaries lacking the courage of their advertisements we were forgetting Edward R. Murrow. This dean of the TV documentary is the honorable exception that strains the rule, as he proved...on a Friday night special entitled, 'Harvest of Shame,' about the nation's migrant workers."

"WE BROKE EVEN," said a worker interviewed by Mr. Murrow when asked how he fared after being hired in the Florida shape-up and after following the crops northward to New Jersey....

"And that...summed up the futile battle of the Negro, the Mexican-American and the other migrant families to get out of the rut into which they have been pressed by the nation's most powerful economic and political forces."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 7.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The struggle to end colonialism has reached a new level and should be supported not only within communist circles but on a united-front basis.
2. Latin-American countries, struggling against the grip of Wall Street imperialism, should be fully supported.
3. American imperialism should be defeated in its attempts to overthrow the Cuban revolution through economic warfare and preparations for military intervention.
4. The United States Government and its imperialist allies, who have returned the Belgian colonialists to power in the Congo, should get out and give the Congolese people real independence.
5. Puerto Rico would be much better off with full independence than as the United States State Department's showcase for underdeveloped nations.
6. The South Korean people are determined to get rid of the entire system of government remaining from the Rhee regime and achieve a unified Korea.
7. The Portuguese slave colony in Angola, Africa, which has the American Government's "blessing," is under attack from the free African peoples and the socialist nations.
8. The first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples indicates that the Soviet Union will expand its diplomatic activity on behalf of the national liberation struggles of colonial peoples and still-dependent underdeveloped states.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Communist Program on Colonialism

"The struggle to end colonialism everywhere has been raised to an immediate realizable issue by the world upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial people everywhere, dramatized by the heroic struggle of the people

of Cuba, the Congo, Algeria, South Africa and elsewhere. It is necessary for our Party to conduct an ideological campaign to clarify the entire membership on the full meaning of this and to bring this realization to as many Americans as we can reach. It is necessary to mobilize support for these struggles among the masses and especially to assume greater responsibility in connection with the struggles of the Cuban people and the people of Puerto Rico. Permanent committees have to be established to deal with Latin America and Africa both within the Party itself as well as of a united front character...."\*

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 13.

"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

"...And end of all colonialism."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"...since the opening of the 15th session of the UN General Assembly, we can safely say without any contradiction from anywhere, the UN organization will never be the same again. It is a new organization with the new African nations admitted. The total is now 99. The numerical increase in the UN is not the only change.

"The new approach to end colonialism and the struggle for Peace have reached a broader level than ever before."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

2. Latin America

"Washington, undeterred by the defeats Wall Street imperialism suffered the middle of June in the Far East and by the victories of the new African nations over colonialism, has now turned its force to Latin America where it seeks to maintain the grip of Wall Street imperialism. This, despite the signs that the nations of the Americas are straining to secure their independence."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1960, p. 1.

"...Hands off Cuba and the Congo. Full support to Castro and the Cuban and all other Latin American people struggling against U. S. imperialist oppression."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Important steps were taken last week-end to streamline the N. Y. State organization of the Communist Party and also to strengthen its mass work in a number of fields."

"MAJOR ACTIVITIES"

"...Giving more attention to the struggle...against colonialism, with major emphasis on support for Cuba and the struggle of the Latin American masses against Yankee imperialism."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 12.

### 3. Cuba

"Today, American imperialism strives to undermine and destroy the revolution of the Cuban people through economic warfare, accompanied by plots and preparations for military intervention.... The fight for peace, which is menaced by these aggressive imperialist policies, demands an unrelenting struggle by the American people against the actions of U.S. imperialism in these and other parts of the world. It demands their wholehearted support for all struggle of colonial and oppressed peoples for their freedom."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960,  
pp. 28-29.

"Raise the demand:"

"...That our government follow a policy of Hands Off Cuba..."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"If the Eisenhower administration and the powers-that-be had within them a single grain of the glorious American tradition, they would be hailing the Cuban Republic on this anniversary of the 26th of July Movement, instead of disgracefully, shamefully trying to overthrow it for Wall Street imperialism.

"We are sure that every forward-looking American wants the Cuban Republic to succeed. The best way to help is to write or wire President Eisenhower at the White House, Washington, demanding that the government keep its hands off Cuba, halt all economic aggression and end the planning of subversion and military invasion of the brave republic in the Antilles."

The Worker,  
July 24, 1960, p. 1.

4. The Congo

"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

. . . . .

"...That U.S. government and its imperialist allies and colonialists get out of the Congo--and leave the riches of the Congo for the Congolese peoples."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Real independence for the Congo...requires that Belgian imperialism get out of the country; even more, it requires that U.S. imperialism get out. The Congolese people must be free to build their industries and develop their economy for their own benefit."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 10.

"...In the Congo, Wall St. allies itself with Belgian imperialism, with the aim of taking into its own hands control of the country's resources and depriving the Congolese people of their hard-won independence."

The Worker,  
August 21, 1960, p. 5.

"THE WORLD is horrified by the fascist and sadistic treatment accorded illegally-arrested Premier Patrice Lumumba of the Congo. The world must act at once...."

. . . . .

"Manacled, his head shaven, beaten to the point of torture, the statesman is the prisoner of President Kasavubu and his military

partner-in-crime, Col. Mobutu. They cannot deny complicity. Behind them... is Western colonial might spearheaded by the U.S. State Department. They have brought the Belgian colonialists back into position of power."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 3.

5. Puerto Rico

"... Full independence for Puerto Rico."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Now that the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, by polling less than 10 percent of the total vote last election day, lost its right to participate officially in future election, it is imperative for all of us to show this independence movement that it has friends in the U.S. This is a 'must' for all of us-- Puerto Ricans and non- Puerto Ricans--who share the belief (not just based on blind faith or romantic sentimentalism, but on Marxist science and the experience of other new nations in the last few years) that Puerto Rico will be at least five times better off with independence than as the State Department's showcase for under-developed nations built by a Puerto Rican general contractor named Munoz Marin."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 4.

6. South Korea

"The collapse of the Rhee regime is the collapse of U.S. policy in South Korea. An effort is being made to stem the tide by replacing the deposed regime with a carbon copy, disguised by some formal changes in the constitution and some minor concessions. None of the basic popular demands have been met. The repressive laws on political parties and the press remain. The police force is preserved, with its former head replaced by his assistant. Rhee himself, carrying suitcases stuffed with dollars, has been removed to Honolulu, out of reach of the people's wrath.

"But these efforts to create an illusion of change will not work. Demonstrations and protests are continuing. The South Korean people are determined to get rid not only of Rhee but of his entire system. They are determined to achieve a unified Korea. And they will succeed. Like the Japanese events, the Korean uprising heralds the approaching end of U.S. rule in Asia. It is serving as an example and a stimulus to other oppressed Asian peoples."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 9.

7. Angola

"AMERICAN diplomats are harassed by fears of another African revolution.... The rumbles come from the Portuguese Congo, officially known as Angola, on the African west coast.

"This is an enormous slave colony. It is 10 times the size of Pennsylvania. It has rich diamond mines and a railroad, in which Wall Street is interested. Mines and railroad are worked with forced labor. And this slavery has the American Government's blessing."

"This slave system is directed by the colony's Governor General, who is appointed by Salazar, the fascist dictator, who is Ike's 'tremendous friend and ally.'

"This 'friend and ally' is America's partner in the NATO anti-Soviet military alliance. And he is regarded by all the imperialist rulers as a pillar of the 'free world' and the capitalist--colonialist way of life.

"But this pillar of slavery is very shaky today. The Portuguese slave system is under heavy attack from the free African peoples and the Socialist nations. And the iniquities that Portugal has practiced since 1482 must come to an end."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, pp. 6, 7-9.



8. Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples

"Economic and technical aid far exceeding the 10 billion ruble credit (\$2.5 billion) already extended for trade and construction of 383 enterprises underway in 20 underdeveloped countries can be expected from the Soviet Government in coming months. Moreover, the USSR will expand, rather than relax, its diplomatic activity on behalf of national liberation struggles of colonial peoples and still dependent underdeveloped states.

"This is the meaning of the actions taken at the first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples..."

"Essentially the Soviet foreign aid program is a projection on a global scale of Lenin's principles under which the Great Russian nation, which before 1917 was an oppressor of other nations in the Czarist empire, has assisted these other peoples since the revolution to overcome their heritage of Czarist exploitation. For four decades this assistance has been reflected in greater proportional expenditures by the Soviet Government for economic and cultural development of these former backward peoples-- a fact which helps to explain why all these central Asian republic have far outstripped their nonsocialist neighbors in per capita production of power, machinery and food."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, pp. 6, 7, 9.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Labor needs strong, effective civil rights legislation guaranteeing full democracy for all Americans, Negro and white.
2. A whole series of restrictive laws and anticommunist statutes which prevented the Communist Party from entering the elections under its own banner should be repealed.
3. The Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act and the Taft-Hartley Act restrict labor's organizing and bargaining power and should be repealed.
4. Henry Winston, "railroaded" to jail under the Smith Act, is the victim of white chauvinism and should be granted executive clemency.
5. The imperialist nature of American capitalism has resulted in the abandonment by the United States Government of "rule by law" as evidenced by its policy of vindicating actual physical aggression into another's territory.
6. The House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee are unpatriotic and must be abolished.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Civil Rights Legislation

"Restore full democracy for all our people by revitalizing and enforcing the Bill of Rights, and repealing all restrictive and repressive legislation."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6-7.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs strong, effective civil rights legislation to guarantee to Negro Americans the full exercise of those democratic rights which are supposed to be assured to all Americans.

"It needs measures to end the McCarthyite erosion of democratic rights--repeal of the police state Smith and McCarran Acts, abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the outlawing of witch-hunts."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"Republican and Dixiecrat forces, encouraged by added strength in Congress, gave clear indication last week that they plan to block all economic and welfare measures pledged by President-elect Kennedy.

"Kennedy was being pressured from all sides for concessions to the Dixiecrats on the civil rights issue and to name an assortment of businessmen and other conservatives to cabinet posts. As yet, however, he has not had a meeting with AFL-CIO leaders who are reportedly set to insist on full-speed ahead for bills to meet the recession, bills blocked by the Dixie-GOP coalition in the last Congress."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 2.

"Important steps were taken last week-end to streamline the N. Y. State organization of the Communist Party and also strengthen its mass work in a number of fields."

"MAJOR ACTIVITIES"

"...Concentrating immediate attention on the struggle for peace, civil rights, civil liberties and social legislation..."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 12.

2. Anticommunist Legislation

"Our Communist Party, which lives and works inside the eye of that typhoon (U.S. imperialism) which is so menacing to the peace, security and social progress of the peoples of the Americas in particular, and of the world in general, has suffered many blows in recent years.

"Electoral laws and anti-Communist statutes have prevented our Party from entering the elections under its own banner.

"Even now our Party is facing a court ruling on the infamous McCarran Act whose aim is to take away even the limited legality we have secured and to repress all other militant labor and peoples organizations."

James E. Jackson, "To the First Party of the Americas," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 33.

"Our Party would have preferred to have its own candidates for president and vice president this year. That is not possible, only because of a whole series of restrictive laws--laws which violate our nation's Constitution and its Bill of Rights--specifically designed to keep government power in the hands of the capitalist two-party system, and to keep Communists and other minority parties off the ballot. Such anti-democratic laws as the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley, the Landrum-Griffin Act, etc., work to the detriment of all labor, Negro, peace and other progressive organizations, as well as to our detriment. We urge all progressive forces to repeal such restrictive and oppressive laws."

"The 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 25.

"... Repeal the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Walter-McCarran Act."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

3. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs to be freed of the shackles of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the 'right-to-work' laws and all other anti-labor legislation."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"Repressive legislation, notably the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin law, has put the unions under government supervision and control and robbed them of many hard-won rights...."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"Using the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act as its lever, the United States Steel Corp. has employed sinister new strike-breaking tactics against workers in the National Tube Co.'s Lorain mill. The Landrum-Griffin Act, supposedly a law against racketeering, is clearly going to be used by the big corporations in a new assault upon the American labor movement."

"...A new pattern of strikebreaking is being fashioned which can bring disaster to the ranks of organized labor if the challenge is not quickly met."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

"...Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, the Kennedy Landrum-Griffin Act and all so-called 'right-to-work' laws. Restore labor's organizing and bargaining power by reenacting the Wagner Act."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

#### 4. Amnesty Appeals

"The United States is notorious for being the home of the frameup of prisoners. For many years this country carried on a continual fight to free innocent victims from death sentence or very long terms in prison. The fact that in every case the prisoners were not guilty did not make it any easier to free them from the clutches of the law. Henry Winston is in jail for no crime at all. He was railroaded to jail by reactionary officials, with the help of stoolpigeons. Even the so-called crime with which he is charged, violation of the Smith Act, is an insult to American justice and should have long since been thrown into the waste basket.

"Undoubtedly, the fact that Henry Winston is a Negro fighter, has served to facilitate his imprisonment, to glut the white chauvinism of his heartless jailers. His case should be made to ring not only throughout America and the Socialist countries, but especially throughout Africa as well. Just freeing themselves from the terrors of white chauvinism, the Africans would not permit this outrage to be perpetuated upon Winston without making the sharpest protest."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 8.

"People who hate cruelty and injustice should protest the cruel treatment of Winston to the Department of Justice, and call upon President Eisenhower to grant Winston executive clemency."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 3.

"HENRY WINSTON, Smith Act victim, who has already spent four and a half years behind bars separated from his wife and two children is totally blind following an operation for a brain tumor."

"The government, which has kept him in jail for so long solely because of his ideas, is also directly responsible for his blindness. He was subjected to prolonged neglect after his first complaint of illness.

"Simple humanity and justice would dictate that Henry Winston be returned to his family without delay. It is hoped that all who feel this way will inform both the Parole Board and the President without delay."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 14, 1960, p. 3.

##### 5. Rule by Law

"The bourgeois system of law developed in large part out of the struggle against feudalism. In that progressive effort many humanistic elements became part of that theory of law, and mass democratic efforts conducted since the appearance of capitalism also furthered the potency of such elements. But with the maturing of capitalism, it has found increasingly obstructive the forms and ideas and traditions developed in its youth; not least among these obstructive forces--as Engels pointed out some eighty years ago--are the traditions of objectivity and righteousness in the law. Indeed, the whole concept of 'rule by law' becomes more and more distressing to capitalism as it becomes more and more monopolistic and imperialistic. Internally, the ultimate manifestation of this process

is fascism; its domestic program of unbridled reaction made it the enemy of all 'legality'--even the system developed by the young bourgeoisie. And its foreign program of aggression made it contemptuous of international law--made outlaws, in fact, of the fascist powers.

"This abandonment of 'rule by law' is an increasing pattern in the United States, domestically and internationally. This is one of the most dangerous elements in the unprecedented American policy of vindicating 'spying' and justifying actual physical aggression into another's territory...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 55.

6. House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

"...End the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Subversive Activities Committee."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

"...the time has come for democracy minded Americans to reclaim our national traditions and challenge the self-appointed arbiters of 'Americanism'--the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Eastlands, and the cold-warriors who seek to destroy the essence of the First Amendment under a guise of spurious patriotism."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 9.

"The Eastland-Dodd internal security subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee 'seeks to smash all struggle for peace,'..."



"Instead of defending the Negro people against the 'violence and terrorism' of the white supremacists, the subcommittee attacks the peace movement, endangering 'the peace of the world,' and the 'lives of all people, including all Americans.' "

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 3.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The United States Government should enter into an agreement with other nuclear powers to end nuclear tests, ban nuclear weapons, and destroy all nuclear stockpiles.
2. The Soviet Union has striven persistently for total disarmament, while the United States has been the chief stumbling block against its realization.
3. Universal disarmament would result in an enormous saving to American taxpayers.
4. The United States Government should ground all spy planes and dismantle its military bases abroad.
5. The United States Government should refrain from arming West Germany with nuclear weapons and prevent its re-Nazification.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"...Nothing is more consequential than the cause of peace, and for the enhancement of that cause nothing is more important...than that a real program of general and complete disarmament get under way. In that connection, immediate priority must be given to the stopping of nuclear-weapons testing forever, and to the banning of the continued manufacture of such weapons, and the destruction of the existing enormous stockpiles of those instruments of catastrophe."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 35.

"Raise the demand:"

"...That our government enter an agreement with other nuclear powers to end all nuclear tests, ban all nuclear weapons and destroy all existing nuclear stockpiles--and that nuclear energy be used exclusively for peaceful purposes."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"...the permanent banning of the bomb tests and the defeat of threats to renew underground tests remain the most important concrete immediate issues around which big movements already exist and actions on an even wider scale can be set in motion\*...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 12.

## 2. Disarmament

"The central issue in the struggle for peace remains disarmament. The monopolists obviously will not accept disarmament voluntarily. The struggle for disarmament is, however, an integral part of the struggle to end the cold war, for peaceful coexistence. The cold war is not an alternative to war. It is accompanied by increased armaments of the most destructive character and the struggle to end it is unthinkable without the struggle for disarmament. The dogmatists who say that disarmament is impossible are actually repeating what the most die-hard imperialists say. If this were true, then ultimately a third world war could not be avoided. But it is also clear that only the people will impose disarmament on the imperialists. Any step they will be compelled to take will be as 'voluntary' as their granting of freedom to the colonies.

"That is why we must undertake a long-range, systematic and persistent campaign on all levels and through every medium possible to fight for disarmament...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, pp. 11-12.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"...study leads to the conclusion...that the United States Government, since 1945, has resisted all efforts and proposals looking towards effective disarmament and has been opposed especially to limiting or prohibiting the production of nuclear weapons. Study also demonstrates that the leadership in disarmament efforts and proposals since World War II belongs--as it did during the period between the two World Wars--to the USSR. Such study also shows that the Soviet Union has led in our era--as she did in the 1920's and 1930's--in urging general and complete disarmament.

"...True it is that the opposition to disarmament mirrors a deeper policy of imperialist expansion, hostility to national liberation movements, and fierce antagonism to Socialism...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 35.

"The history of the struggle for disarmament since the end of World War II makes clear...that the Soviet Union has striven persistently for the adoption of a program of significant disarmament, and that the U. S. Government has been the chief stumbling block against its realization. The fact is that both in words and more decisively in action, the U. S. Government has thwarted disarmament and has made impossible the elimination of nuclear weapons; it has been, in fact, the main source for the backbreaking armaments race that has plagued the world in the present epoch and which threatens momentarily the destruction of most of mankind."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 15.

### 3. Armament Costs

"Raise the demand:

"...That our government support a policy of universal disarmament, and thus forestall a nuclear catastrophe, and relieve the peoples of the crushing burden of armaments taxes."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"The peace of the world, as well as our own national interests, urgently demand that the government order the Pentagon brass to take our atomic shotguns out of the windows of the Soviet Union and China, and to put an end to the maintenance of the ring of 300 military bases on the territories of their neighbors."

"To force a retreat from these outposts for war is vital to relieving world tensions and creating the atmosphere for securing peaceful relations and real progress toward universal total disarmament. Besides, the savings to our taxpayers would be enormous if we liquidate these dangerous vanity outposts which atomic rockets have already rendered militarily worthless."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 3.

#### 4. Ground Spy Planes and Dismantle United States Military Bases Abroad

"U. S. imperialism has now some 250 overseas war bases in seventy lands. These bases are tied together and enmeshed in numerous military alliances, many of them with various reactionary puppet governments. This was part of the master plan of U. S. world domination and enslavement launched after World War II. The contradiction between this grandiose scheme and the hard realities of the present-day relationships of world forces is beginning to show up more and more acutely."

"Developments in South Korea and Turkey give indications that the network of bases is not very effective even as a political deterrent. In fact, because of the rise of the movement for peace, democracy, and independence, these bases and alliances are turning into their very opposite--into points of weakness instead of strength. They are becoming obsolete military outposts which are significant mainly as symbols of U. S. imperialism. The demand for dismantling and scrapping these nests of war has become a cry of the forces of peace throughout the world."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 20.

"...let the people deluge the White House with the demand that President Eisenhower as commander-in-chief order at once

"that all military planes on the perimeter of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries be grounded!

"that immediate steps be taken to dismantle U. S. military bases in the territories of other countries!

"Halt the war-plane provocations against the Soviet Union and China!

"Ground the spy planes and the strategic bombers all over the world!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 3.

"Raise the demand:"

. . . . .

"...That our government enter an agreement with all other nations for withdrawing all foreign military bases, from which aggressive U-2 spy flights are made and which are used to violate the sovereignty and independence of other nations."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

5. No Nuclear Weapons to West Germany

"...Prevent the re-Nazification of Germany; no nuclear weapons to Adenauer's army."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

"Raise the demand:"

. . . . .

"... That our government refrain from arming Adenauer Germany with nuclear weapons, that it demand the full denazification of Western Germany, that it prevent Western Germany from once more igniting the flames of world war to be quenched by the blood of American and other youth. "

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

## **VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS**

1. Only a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination can smash the "jim-crow system" in the United States.
2. All minority groups including the Negro people, the Puerto Rican Americans and the Mexican Americans should be allowed full and unrestricted voting rights.
3. Anticommunist attacks weaken the fight for Negro rights in America.
4. The arrest of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the resumption of the student "sit-ins" in the South are classic examples of extraparliamentary intervention in the elections which helped shape the course of the 1960 presidential campaign.
5. A struggle against anti-Semitism should be directed not only against its economic and social roots, but also against its ideological forms and traditions.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Presidential Proclamation Needed To End Discrimination**

"This is...the time to demand that the next President must issue a Presidential proclamation to end all discrimination to establish equality now for the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people and all oppressed, an end to all forms of second-class citizenship now! Such a proclamation can cut through the political buck-passing of Congress and can be enforced."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 3.



"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

"...That President Eisenhower issue a proclamation ending all Jim-Crow, segregation, and discrimination in the U.S. as being in violation of the U.S. Constitution."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"...The failure to smash the jim-crow system, particularly in the deep South, threatens and victimizes the whole nation. Nothing less than a second Emancipation Proclamation promulgated by the incoming President instantaneously outlawing all jim-crow and nullifying every law and practice of jim-crow, segregation and discrimination, can meet this danger...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, p. 8.

2. Minority Groups Should Be Allowed Full Voting Rights

"...many millions of other American citizens, the Negro people in the South, the Puerto Rican Americans in New York and other eastern States, and the Mexican Americans of the southwest will not be allowed to register and thereby exercise the right to vote. They are barred by force and violence, including murder, or chauvinist language qualifications."

"President Eisenhower recently sanctimoniously repeated his proposal for a vote by the people of the world on the question of 'democracy'

versus communism. This was obviously a cynical hypocritical attempt to hide the truth on the situation in our own country, where millions this year are denied even the right to vote for a town councilman or a county sheriff, much less on the basic question of what economic system they prefer."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 3.

"DELEGATES to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, including the representatives of the newly independent African states, will read a great deal about our election campaign.

"Much of what we do will no doubt seem strange to them....

"But most of all, they will no doubt be shocked to learn that millions of our Negro citizens in the South are not allowed to vote, almost 100 years after the Civil War, and despite the guarantees of equality contained in the amendments to the Constitution which were enacted after the abolition of slavery."

"There should be an outcry and protest and a demand that the federal government not just go through the motions, but prosecute those guilty and guarantee that all Negro citizens desiring to vote will be able to vote in this year's election. If there is a will to do this the government has ample power to enforce this, both under the Constitution and the recently enacted civil rights legislation."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 25, 1960, p. 3.

### 3. Anticommunist Attacks Weaken Fight for Negro Rights

"...labor...must come forward in full, militant support of the heroic fight of the Negro people for equal rights...And it must combat and repudiate anti-Communism as a deadly weapon of big-business reaction against...the democratic rights of all Americans."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 4.

"The eighteen million Negro Americans have a proud history of struggle. They are a militant and a well-organized people, and are putting up a brilliant fight for equal rights as citizens of the United States. In broad terms, there is an identification of their struggles with the anticolonial explosions in all corners of the world.

"However, here again, this level of understanding and militancy does not extend into the fields of peace, world affairs, and the aggressive role of U.S. imperialism. Hence, very often militant speeches for equal rights are weakened by expressions of support for policies of the U.S. State Department and the use of the big lie--anti-Communism."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After," Political Affairs,  
August, 1960, pp. 21-22.

### 4. "Sit-in" Movement

"THE OUTRAGEOUS sentencing of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., requires the protest of all decent Americans.

"...Demand that the persecution of the sit-inners be halted. Demand that the federal government protect those who exercise

their Constitutional 'right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'

"In attacking Dr. King the white supremacists hope to behead and disrupt the sit-in movement for equal rights and the welling movement for the right to vote.

"The cause for which Dr. King speaks is the cause, not of the Negro people alone, but of all democratic America.

"Let, then, labor speak out. Let all organizations of the people speak out. Let all right-minded Americans speak out."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 1.

"...The dramatic personal intervention of Kennedy to secure the release of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.,...coupled with Kennedy's unequivocal statements of support for the student sit-ins--just about clinched and consolidated Negro support...

"Kennedy's public initiative against the brutal jailing of Rev. King, made in defiance of Dixiecrat pressure, has received the bulk of the orchids, although the test of whether he will pursue a consistent policy of politically outlawing the Dixiecrats and of smashing the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition is still to come.

"The real hero of that incident is Reverend King and the Negro people's movement he represents...The arrest of King and 75 other young Negroes in Atlanta, the resumption of the student sit-ins in New Orleans and Jacksonville--are classic examples of mass extraparliamentary intervention in the elections which helped to shape the course of the campaign..."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, pp. 5, 6.

5. Anti-Semitism

"...a struggle against anti-Semitism, as against all chauvinism and racism, must be directed not only against its economic and social roots, but against its ideological forms and traditions, which seem to be purely 'of the mind,' or 'custom,' or 'psychology.'..."

Preface by 'the Editors to "The Jew Among the Thorns" by Arnold Zweig, Mainstream, September, 1960, p. 1.

## **IX. EDUCATION**

1. The broadest united action is needed to attain school desegregation both in the North and in the South.
2. American education is owned by Big Business and geared to the production of a standardized corporation man.
3. All community and labor organizations should protest the action of the Board of Education in New York which threatened to invoke the "anti-labor strikebreaking" Condon-Wadlin law.
4. The recently opened Friendship University in the Soviet Union is a Soviet foreign aid project, and its students are "beneficiaries of the government's policies of peaceful coexistence and aid to under-developed countries."
5. The New York School for Marxist Studies has demonstrated that there is a wide interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. School Desegregation**

"A CLEAN BREAKTHROUGH on school desegregation in New Orleans or a retreat endangering the present meager steps, that is the issue in the Louisiana crisis.

"The five hard core states in the Deep South with their strong Black Belts areas are determined to prevent any integration whatsoever."

"Two things are at a minimum required on the part of democratic forces. First, that President Eisenhower speak out and act on the issue.

"Another issue which must be increasingly raised is the placement acts which permit token integration. These acts should be declared unconstitutional."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 3.

"The Dixiecrats' resistance to integration in Louisiana dramatizes the need for the broadest united action to enforce the Supreme Court decision and to end racial discrimination immediately."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

"...More and fully desegregated schools--North and South..."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

## 2. American Education Owned by Big Business

"A HUNDRED faults will undoubtedly be found and corrected in American education. But the main fault...will never be examined, the fatal fact that our education is owned by, and geared to, the business system...."

"Many colleges have already become training barracks for the production of a standardized corporation man. This tendency will be intensified, until the final day of doom when the monopolies have merged into one giant monopoly that owns the nation and its culture."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 6.

3. Condon-Wadlin Law

"The Board of Education is committing an outrageous, undemocratic affront to the people of New York by threatening to invoke the Condon-Wadlin law against the city's teachers....

"The anti-labor strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin law has been like a noose hanging over the heads of all city employes, including teachers, who are faced with low pay and bad working conditions and are denied the democratic right to act to improve their conditions."

"All community and labor organizations should demand that Mayor Wagner and the Board of Education withdraw the Condon-Wadlin threats and reaffirm the collective bargaining rights of all city employes, including the right to strike.

"All community and labor organizations should support the teachers in their efforts to obtain their rights."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 12.

4. Soviet's "Friendship University"

"Friendship University Opens--A Soviet Foreign Aid Project"

"ALTHOUGH this university is not a government institution--being sponsored and subsidized by Soviet social organizations such as peace committees and friendship societies--the students are beneficiaries of the government's policies of peaceful coexistence and aid to underdeveloped countries...."



"In point of fact, Friendship University may be considered a projection on a world scale of policies and method with which the USSR in four decades eliminated backwardness and created an intelligentsia and skilled working class among each of the 196 nationalities and nations formerly exploited by the British and benighted Russian bourgeoisie and landowners."

"...But today, Friendship University is already getting applications for admission during the 1961 school year."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, pp. 6, 9.

#### 5. New York School for Marxist Studies

"The first sessions of the N. Y. School for Marxist Studies were held this past week. On Oct. 14 the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE), the Youth section of the School, met at its first classes, and on Oct. 17, the general studies section of the School began its work. In both, the attendance was good, demonstrating that there is a wide and growing interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

"Of particular interest were several new courses, especially those dealing with Africa. today, taught by William L. Patterson, and with the Cuban Revolution, taught by Jesus Colon, and with the Civil War in the United States: A Centennial Survey.

"A new departure in the School was the instituting of several seminar classes, in economics, political theory and aesthetics."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 12.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. Art for art's sake is considered impractical in America; here, art is produced primarily for profit.
2. Socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union produces great artists, scientists, educators, and healers.
3. Cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union should be expanded.
4. The Soviet "mass approach" toward training athletes will overtake the individualistic approach practiced in capitalist countries.
5. Religious bigotry is one of the principal weapons of capitalism for dividing the working class and the "popular masses."

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Art under Capitalism Is Subservient to Big Business**

"...the 'freedom of the arts' in our country is suffering from a blighting disease. It is full of unsolved contradictions, which are part of the very way of operation of 'free' or marketplace society, and reach a crisis when the 'market-place' represents an immense concentration of money and power, with control over the very arteries through which art works flow. It is the freedom to abandon theory and so fumble in the dark; the freedom to advance any thought or notion without the disturbance of having it tested against real life, or of such questions as to whether there is any truth there, or any illumination thrown on life; the freedom to control for one's private interest and gain the immense institutions which provide the main artistic experiences of society, and to pour anything through these channels that will sell and show a profit. There is also the freedom to say what one wants, provided one foregoes the need to make a living out of art, and foregoes the excitement and growth which comes out of a two-way reaction with the public, the people of the nation. It is plain that while Marxists have to cope with and solve the question of artistic freedom, they cannot accept this way of operation as a fundamental solution."

Sidney Finkelstein, "The Critics Have Problems," Mainstream, September, 1960, pp. 39-40.

"As American business merges itself more rapidly into the monopoly stage of capitalism, the cultural things will be more and more pressured to assume the pattern of the owners.

"Many colleges have already become training barracks for the production of a standardized corporation man. This tendency will be intensified, until the final day of doom when the monopolies have merged into one giant monopoly that owns the nation and its culture.

"Advertising then will become our most treasured form of literature with some Madison Avenue bard of Ex-Lax taking the throne once occupied by the impractical Shakespeare. Commercial art will be deemed superior to the profitless work of a Van Gogh or Cezanne, art that never sold a cornflake or cigarette...."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 6.

## 2. Soviet Culture Produces Great Artists and Scientists

"...HUMANITY--whatever its color, creed or politics--must wish the USSR happy birthday...."

"Nobody can ignore the...fact that it produces a culture giving rise to artists like Svyatoslav Richter, the pianist, whom every critic in New York praised to the skies, without any eye to political difference.

"As observers of the USSR know, Richter is but one of a whole class of great artists, great scientists, great educators, great healers.

"These attest to the presence of a new power on earth, one that unlocks the might of humanity, the genius present in the overwhelming majority of mankind, which only a society can encourage, that is freed of capitalism, freed of the philosophy of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

"These are some of the things mankind will celebrate this November 7th. These are the things that make socialism inevitable."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 3.

3. Cultural Exchange Between Socialist and Capitalist Nations

"...in connection with the fight for peace, most thinking people understand that our people and the people of the Soviet Union must live in peace and friendship if world peace is to be preserved. Normal trade and cultural relations have to be established and expanded. Much progress has been achieved in the cultural exchange involving the arts, the sciences, the professions and lately some trade union delegations, consisting of both rank and file and some leaders, among them Joseph Curran. Hardly a day passes but that some outstanding figure is astounded by the great achievements of the Soviet people. The National Council for Soviet-American Friendship which is reaching many Americans and promoting knowledge about the Soviet Union, and which is working for exchange and promotion of friendship, should receive the support of all who wish this work to continue and expand."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 14.

"...Insist upon policies of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition among all nations, with the extension of trade and cultural relations."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

4. Superiority of Soviet "Mass Approach" Athletic System

"AS TO...Soviet and American athletes...Coming to the fore is recognition that the Soviet do not put their emphasis on 'kings of the stadium.' They train a nation of athletes, en masse, from whom come the top medal winners. Their emphasis is on team-work, on a collective approach to the

matters, as in all things else. They shy away from delimiting this sport or that sport as the major sport, insist that all forms of physical training have their valid place. They do not glorify this star or that star above all others. The American way, on the other hand, it is said here, woo the individual star, seek him out while he is still in high school, court him throughout college, and accentuate the individual, as well as individual sports, relegating most forms to a secondary spot.

"Unfortunately, baseball, and our brand of football, are not universal sports, are not reckoned in the Olympics. But even there the same generalizations above would hold, in the long run. After a time, the system of mass approach, of creating a nation of athletes, would overtake and surpass the individualistic approach...."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, pp. 5, 9.

#### 5. Religion a Weapon of Capitalism

"...the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the deep South for human dignity and equality has strengthened and extended the grass-roots frontiers of democracy in the country, and redounded to the benefit of all victims of discrimination--whether Jew or Catholic, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican-American or other minority groups. But this battle is far from won in the United States, not only from the point of view of religious tolerance, but also from the point of view of the right of a citizen to have no religion at all, without which there can be no freedom of religion as guaranteed in the federal Constitution. Religious bigotry is still one of the principal weapons of capitalism for dividing the working class and popular masses...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, p. 4.

## **XI. WOMEN**

1. Women have made tremendous progress under socialism and have been freed from the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism.
2. Women's rights should be protected through appropriate legislation for nursery schools, medical and financial care during illness, and the provision of decent homes on a mass scale suited to modest incomes.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Women under Socialism**

"Forty-three years ago the women were 'slaves of a stove.' Drudgery and misery was their lot. Nowhere in the whole wide world have women made such progress as in the U.S.S.R. Long ago in its Far Eastern Republics, on International Woman's Day, they tore the age-old veils from their faces and buried them in front of the statue of Lenin. Today they are free and equal. They run factories, hospitals, schools, are judges and lawmakers. More and more in the new housing centers, the burdens of domestic tasks are being socialized. The women work, study, bring up beautiful children. Special care of mothers, guarantee of their jobs, care of the aged, medical care and vacations for all, remove the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 2.

"...if the general educational progress is spectacular, the development of an intelligentsia among the formerly trebly oppressed women stands as a challenge not only to other lands still backward in these respects, but to many countries of the industrialized 'West.'..."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 4.

## 2. Legislation Needed To Protect Women's Rights

"We need to insure the protection of mother's rights through appropriate legislation for clinics, creches, kindergartens, nursery schools, etc. To release women from the financial burden of illness, we need medical and financial care (with full pay) during the pre-natal (two months) and post-natal (two months) periods. Through effective social legislation we must gain family allowances for each child and free medical care and drugs; build decent homes on a mass scale suited to modest incomes, and provide large housing schemes for social and cultural services to fulfill the desires of the woman and the family."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1960, p. 9.

## XII. YOUTH

1. The Communist Party in the United States proposes the adoption of a Federal Youth Act which would provide free education, the guarantee of a job after education is completed, and a federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational, and cultural program for youth.
2. Communist youth have special contributions to make to noncommunist youth, including propaganda for socialism, which is the only real solution for youth's problems.
3. Under the Soviet system, children will grow up to develop their full capabilities.
4. All progressive adults and youths must do everything possible to increase the ranks of communist and organized youth.
5. A labor-youth alliance is an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."
6. Today child labor in agriculture is on the increase, and every attempt to alleviate this situation has been defeated by the farm lobby.
7. The student demonstration against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco was a "humanist" battle for free speech and democracy and perhaps a prelude to political action.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Communist Youth Program

##### "PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

"...With the ending of the school term, tens of thousands of young people are thrown on the labor market with no hope of jobs. We propose to:

"Adopt a Federal Youth Act that guarantees the right of every child to a full and free education in his chosen field or profession, with free tuition and a stipend where needed.

"...Guarantee a job to every youth when he leaves school or college.



"...End military conscription.

"...A federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational and cultural program for youth."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6-7.

## 2. Special Contributions of Communist Youth

"...Communist youth especially and other Left youth have special contributions to make based on their class and world outlook. These include: (1) the possibility and need for the widest unity; (2) the need for struggle within that unity for an orientation toward labor and basic sections of youth, for a policy of consistent mass struggle, for political action and against divisive tendencies; (3) showing who are the enemies and who are the friends of youth's needs; (4) more radical immediate solutions when the situation requires; (5) propaganda and agitation for socialism which offers the only lasting full solution for youth's problems."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 32-33.

## 3. Youth under Socialism

"Never in the history of humanity has so much attention been given to the care of children, as here under Socialism. Nurseries and boarding schools, child-care centers, recreation places for older children, summer camps, give all children a happy life in the Soviet Union. These citizens of the future, who will live in a Communist society, are growing up in an atmosphere of loving kindness. All their capacities and capabilities will be unfolded; selfishness, envy, greed, will be foreign to them. They will be a new type of human being."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the  
U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 2.

"Children, don't give up the ship. You are confused because your teachers failed to teach you the central fact of our time...."

"'This central truth of our time is the undeniable fact that the world is passing from the system of capitalism into the system of socialism. All the moral decay you see and loathe isn't metaphysical or eternal, but has a realistic base. It reflects the decay of capitalist society. Children, learn to distinguish between what is dying and what is being born... Our country has a wonderful future, humane, noble and beautiful....'"

The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, p. 6.

4. Act To Increase Number of Progressive Youth

"All progressive adults and youth must make it their responsibility to act boldly to increase rapidly the number of Communist and organized progressive youth. It is possible to do that today. Every adult must think over all the youth he or she knows and put them in contact with the organized youth. Where that is not possible, adults should aid in formation of new study groups, classes, action groups, etc. Financial and all other kinds of support by adults is needed for the many progressive youth activities now in existence. This is a crucial matter for the future of our movement and of our country."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 33.

5. Labor-Youth Alliance

"...mass movements of youth for their needs are already an important factor in the developing anti-monopoly people's coalition and can become even more important. More and more youth are becoming aware that it is Woolworth's monopoly in the sit-in field and other big monopolies in the jobs and peace fields that are the obstacles. The support of union locals for the Youth Marches and sit-in picketing and the few examples of union concern for job training and education begin to teach youth that labor can be their best ally. More activity by unions and special youth forms of organization like sons and daughters clubs, apprentice clubs, are needed to strengthen the labor-youth alliance and positively influence the direction of youth's rebellion. While building strong alliances, youth must also have their own independent organizations if they are to develop most rapidly as a part of the anti-monopoly coalition."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 32.

6. Child Labor in Agriculture

"Through their absolute control and manipulation of the half million imported contract migrants...the big canners' associations, processors, food chains and corporate farms which dominate American agriculture, have been able to reduce both these foreign workers and the estimated 400,000 to 800,000 domestic migrants to a factually colonial status."

"PERHAPS the most chilling evidence of this status are two facts relating to the estimated 350,000 to 500,000 children involved in the migrants' plight. One is that, contrary to all American traditions, their educational achievement is rated as lower than that of their parents. The other, that today, in America's modern, highly mechanized industrialized agriculture, child labor is on the increase, with the farm lobby so far beating down every effort to eliminate the exemption excluding children in agriculture from the protection of the child labor laws, using precisely the same arguments advanced by the exploiters of child labor in industry in the last century, in today's terms of its saving children from juvenile delinquency, and the joys of family togetherness in the bean field."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 6.

7. Student Demonstration against House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...the great faith the youth of the world share is the belief that nuclear war is the chief enemy of their hopes and dreams. Abroad, they have political parties through which they have organized their protest. In the United States, however, peace is a nonpolitical movement. Humanism is its only party. The students of San Francisco...have passed through three stages--first and uppermost has been the fight for disarmament and peace. Then came the fight for the abolition of capital punishment. The demonstration against the Un-American Committee was a humanist battle for free speech and democracy, but perhaps a prelude to political action."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 6.

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

The numbered summations which begin each section of this study have been put, as nearly as possible, into the language of the communist press. It is felt that this technique immediately reveals not only the line itself but the anti-American and sometimes vicious way in which the line is propagated.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

Each issue of The Worker includes a section entitled Midwest Edition. In the documentation of certain quotations in this study, the initials MW preceding the page number refer to the Midwest Edition.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, claims that the foreign policy of the United States is one of overt and covert imperialist aggression. It states that the danger of war emanates from aggressive forces within the United States. Because of the United States plan for inspection and control of arms with no mention of disarmament, its arms buildup program, its refusal to recognize the reasonableness of the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, and President Kennedy's interest in para-military warfare, the Party wonders if the United States really wants peace. It calls upon all Americans to demand that nuclear weapons not be given to member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), that nuclear tests be banned, and that nuclear weapons be outlawed. It establishes as the primary duty of all Americans the fight for peaceful coexistence with the socialist world.

The Party describes the United States stand on Communist China as ridiculous.

Communists contend that the United States has no right whatsoever to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba. It maintains that the Cuban people were justified in stopping United States military

aggression and that the American people should demand the repudiation of such an interventionist policy.

The Party labels the United States Government's interest in the underdeveloped nations of the world as imperialistic, aggressive, and motivated solely by the demands of capitalist monopolies. Calling the United States the heart of the hideous and desperate colonial system that blights the world, the Party indicts it and its allies for colonial oppression of small nations struggling for freedom. It describes President Kennedy's interest in Latin America as hypocritical and accuses the "Kennedy Administration" of striving to keep Laos in the pocket of "Wall Street imperialism."

The Party repeats its accusations that "Wall Street monopoly" has revived Hitlerism and German militarism in West Germany. It states that the United States intends to use the German Army as possible mercenary troops for war against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party blames the recent establishment of a military dictatorship in South Korea on the "Kennedy Administration."

In domestic affairs, the Party is concerned with the fascist trends of emerging right-wing organizations and with spreading anticommunist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Negro sentiments. Asserting that history has sounded the knell of capitalism, the Party insists that it will lead the American people in the "irresistible march towards socialism" and out of the nightmare of

unemployment, rising taxation, and declining standards of living. The Party maintains that only socialism can end the shame of capitalism.

The Party insists that the huge monopolies and the "chronic crisis" in agriculture are slowly but surely ruining the small farmers. It equates their problems with the problems of the workers and advocates a solid united front of workers and farmers in the struggle to better their existence.

Monopoly power in the United States, according to the Communist Party, has become so strong that it has evolved into state-monopoly capitalism. In defense against this crushing power, and against automation, built-in recessions, and resultant unemployment, the Party recommends a united front of all ranks of labor against the "dominant bureaucracy."

The shorter workweek is considered second to no other economic demand. The Party, adopting it as a point of exploitation, defines it as the means of leading the country out of economic distress by increasing employment and purchasing power.

Communists demand that President Kennedy, through Executive Order, immediately abolish discrimination against the American Negroes, the American Indians, the foreign born, the Jews, and the Puerto Ricans. According to Party publications, the Communist Party has no interests alien to the Negroes' struggles. Communists seek to present constructive

measures, to build unity, to educate the Negro working class, and to continue their unyielding ideological struggle against racism.

The Party continues its attacks on the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and calls for their abolishment. It labels the United States immigration and nationality policy as a "brutal assault" not only on the liberties of the foreign born but on the liberties of all Americans.

The Party contends that American education is in a degenerative state. It demands that the Government stop financing segregated schools; that racial discrimination be eliminated from the educational system; that teachers' salaries be adequate; that tuitions be lowered; and, that government encroachment on the free status of state universities and colleges be halted.

According to communist writers, American culture, science, and religion are marred by the overpowering influence of big business.

The Party claims that women suffer discrimination in a capitalist society in that they are barred from the high-paying jobs in the professions, the government, the foreign service, the judiciary, and in labor.

For the past six months, communists have placed a great emphasis on youth's awakening to its social responsibilities, as evidenced by its "willingness to join hands with the communists in the struggles besetting American society." Youth, says the Party press, has felt keenly the impact

of unemployment and the burden of military service. The Party has called on communists to give high priority to work among youth because American youth is the hope of the Nation and a "guarantee of a future different from the past."

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, insists that aggressive forces in the United States, motivated by selfish interests, are working constantly towards World War III. The United States is designated as the very heart of the hideous and desperate colonial system that blights the world. As a champion of "peace and peaceful coexistence with the socialist world," the Party attacks every decision and move the United States makes in international affairs. Using such descriptive words as ridiculous, machinations, intrigues, aggressions, hypocrisy, strangulation, invasion, and militarism, the Party casts the line. The socialist lands are, of course, portrayed as the forces of righteousness and peace. The purpose of such tactics is to create a defeatist attitude in the minds of all Americans and one of skepticism and distrust of Americans in the mind of the world. Once the notion is accepted that the United States Government is unreasoning, inefficient, blustering, and incapable of leading its people onto any path but nuclear war, all of the forces in the West will be split one from the other. The United States will find itself isolated from its allies, its friends, and even its own people.
2. Similar "splitting" tactics are used on the domestic front. The Party places great stress on the historical inevitability of socialism. If the forces of history are bringing about a socialist America, then it matters little what action is taken against it. To show how these internal forces of "fate" are working to accomplish socialism, the Party strives to point out corruption and decay that it claims is inherent in every aspect of American life. Communists attempt to reach the people in all areas and convince them that corrective measures and programs are a hopeless waste of time. There is only one cure for such serious maladies, and that is socialism. Only socialism can "end the shame of our civilization."

3. The picture of conditions in American labor and industry, as reflected in Party publications, is a frightening one indeed. The employed face unemployment. The unemployed face starvation and banishment to the "human scrapheap." All talk of recovery is just so much ballyhoo, for recessions are inevitable under capitalism. These terrible conditions have been brought about by the crushing advance of monopoly power, by the failure of organized labor to take steps to halt the cold war, and by the interference of the Government in the affairs of labor. Such problems are unknown in socialist lands, where all workers face a happy and prosperous future. Communist attacks on labor and industry are designed to demoralize the workers, disrupt the ranks of labor, enhance the class struggle, and provoke conditions which would literally cripple and eventually disable American industry, leaving it ripe for communist manipulation and control.
4. Great stress has been laid on "automation" (the adoption of technology by industry) in the Soviet Union as a means of gaining economic and military supremacy over the world. It is one of the silent battles in the war without war, for it is a potent, effective method for increasing production. Knowing this, the Communist Party, USA, tells the American workers that automation in a capitalist society is a dreaded word and its application will create fear and distrust with the hope that the workers will bring pressure on their employers to halt the installation of new technological devices, thereby enabling the Soviet Union to forge ahead in production and win the campaign of "peaceful coexistence."
5. Communists try to propagate the idea that legislation in the United States is a tool to exploit specific groups and deny them their civil and human rights. In the case of civil rights legislation, they bemoan the need for it and lack of it. Antilabor legislation, anti-communist legislation, the immigration and nationality policy, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee are all exploited to the full by the communists. Such attacks are devised to create dissension and further the idea that the Government of the United States is oppressing its citizens and its noncitizens. Reeling from the impact of the recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the membership clause of the Smith Act and requiring registration with the Attorney General under the



requirements of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Party cries that the Government is persecuting political views and the rights of organization and that in doing so is severely limiting the democratic rights of all Americans.

6. Using the "band wagon" technique, the communist press tries to persuade its readers that American youth has seen the light of day and in ever-increasing numbers is awakening to its social responsibilities. The Party has called on its members to give high priority to work among youth, for American youth is the hope of the Nation and a "guarantee of a future different from the past." By emphasizing the emergence of socialist- and Marxist-oriented groups on campuses throughout the United States, the Party hopes to influence campus groups to form such organizations. Such youth is looked upon by Party officials as a source of potential Communist Party members and leaders.

## I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The fight for peace by all levels of American life should be loud and clear. Because the war danger emanates from aggressive forces within the United States, it is the primary duty of all Americans to fight for peace and peaceful coexistence with the socialist world.
2. More and more people in the United States are beginning to see how ridiculous is the United States stand on Communist China.
3. The United States has no business trying to retwine the tentacles of monopoly around Cuba. The organized reaction of the Cuban people to the Dulles-planned, U. S. -backed invasion speaks their dissatisfaction with American interference and bares the imperialist intentions of the United States. The people should demand the repudiation of the policy of intervention.
4. It is the imperialist aggressions and intrigues of the United States against the independence and sovereignty of Laos that for the past seven years have disrupted this small country and turned it into a hotbed of world war.
5. The ruling circles of the United States have on their hands the blood of Patrice Lumumba and his aides who were murdered for the sole purpose of assuring the survival of Wall Street imperialism in Africa.
6. Long the oppressors of Angola, the United States and its allies would do well to remember that, although the blood of patriotic martyrs in Angola is being drawn by United States weapons in the hands of the Portuguese dictator, Antonio Salazar, time is running out for the imperialists and their friends.
7. Canada is now added to the list of nations struggling against American economic strangulation.
8. The President of the United States is not interested in the freedom and independence of the nations of Latin America. His real interest is in gaining dictatorial control over the Latin-American peoples and their governments in order to facilitate exploitation.

9. Wall Street monopoly has revived Hitlerism and German militarism in West Germany, has intentions of using the German Army as possible mercenary troops for war against the Soviet Union, and has created a running sore in the heart of socialism which could lead to a disastrous third world war.
10. The secret or open support given by the Kennedy Administration to antidemocratic forces in South Korea contributed to the recent establishment of a military dictatorship in that country.
11. Because the Soviet Union has so consistently emphasized a sincere desire for negotiation, the success of the meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev rested on President Kennedy. Although at its conclusion the President declared it as "immensely useful," he immediately resumed his toughness.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Peace and Peaceful Coexistence Must Be Won

"The crusade for peace must enlist the support of every public official, local, state and national. The call for peace must be heard in union halls and at shop gates, in the press and from the pulpit, on radio and television. The cry for peace must echo from the city and the countryside, from the young and the aged, from people in every walk of life. It must become so powerful, so irresistible, that it will change the course of our government to one of peace."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 26.

"Peace will not come of itself. It is not inevitable. It must be fought for, by dedicated people. It is the supreme task of our period. And because so much of the war danger emanates from aggressive forces within the U. S. A. It is primarily a duty of us Americans to fight for peace as a

live foreign policy by our country. People all over the world look to us to do this."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 7.

"Demand that President Kennedy pull the fangs of the CIA, apply his call for 'discipline' to the war mongering Pentagon brass, and take our country's foreign policy out of its present dead-end situation and on to the open road of peaceful coexistence, negotiation to settle amicably all outstanding questions making for international tensions--in respect to Cuba, Berlin, South Viet Nam, etc."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 10.

"THE KENNEDY-KHRUSHCHEV meeting in Vienna..."

"For us, the people of the U. S., this meeting should be another unmistakeable demonstration that there is another pathway open for our nation. We need not necessarily follow the disastrous course of tensions and brinkmanship and aggression, as demonstrated by monopoly--by the evil coalition of 'big industry and big military brass.'..."

"The road must be kept open, and our country's course must be set along this path. This means constant vigilance and action by all democratic and peace forces of the people. Democracy has to be defended against reaction here at home, and peace has to be defended against the cold-warriors. The task is not to win the cold war--a line that leads to more aggression and to new tensions and war dangers. The very life and security of the nation, and of humanity demands that we win the battle for peace--for peaceful coexistence with the socialist world..."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 3.

## 2. Communist China Must Be Recognized

"In our own country more and more people are beginning to see how ridiculous is Washington's stand on China. The latest evidence of this is last week's conference of 130 leaders in industry, education and science, which urged U. S. recognition of People's China.

"President John F. Kennedy can wipe the slate clean of the mess Truman and Eisenhower got us into, by putting recognition of People's China high up on the agenda for 1961.

"Every American desirous of promoting the interests of his country can help Kennedy make up his mind by writing himself and getting his organizations to write to the new President at the White House, urging him to recognize People's China."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1961, p. 3.

"PEACE MARCHED joyfully through the streets of N. Y. last week-end...."

"Thus New York City's Councilman, Stanley Isaacs, called for abolishing the bomb, and cementing Peace by recognizing the People's Republic of China."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1961, pp. 1, 11.

"More than 800 delegates at the Methodist Church conference of Detroit groups backed a recommendation that People's China be admitted to the UN..."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. MW 3.

### 3. Cuba Must Be Let Alone

"THE PEOPLE of our land suffer from exploitation and oppression by the same small group of millionaires and billionaires who have for years plundered the Cuban people. It is these monopolists who plot invasion because they have now been deprived of their privilege to plunder."

"Let us urge the Kennedy administration to resume normal diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba as a true good neighbor. And, of course, no good neighbor plots invasions against a neighbor. A good neighbor policy towards Cuba demands abandonment of all invasion plans. This, in turn, demands the curbing of the Pentagon and Allen Dulles' C. I. A. It requires, finally, the withdrawal of U. S. forces from Cuban soil and the restoration of Guantanamo Bay to its rightful owners--the Cuban people."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 3.

"The time is now when the voice of the people must be heard in Washington, demanding: President Kennedy reverse his course in regard to Cuba--Hands off Cuba! Stop the 'war by proxy' against Cuba! Break up the training camps of mercenaries who are poised for invasion of Cuba! Arrest and deport so-called 'government in exile' of Miro Candona for violating the U. S. neutrality laws by organizing and outfitting armed forces for invasion of Cuba!

"Dismiss CIO chief Allan Foster Dulles whose 'cloak and dagger' acts of war against Cuba are a detriment and menace to the security of the United States!

"Demand President Kennedy retract the White Paper on Cuba, repudiate the policy of intervention, and respect the integrity of Cuban national sovereignty and right of self-determination as guaranteed by world law and justice!"

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 3.

"...the time that elapsed between the issuance of the State Department White Paper on Cuba and its dramatic refutation on the beaches of Bahia de Cochinos was unprecedented in its brevity.

"The White Paper based its entire argument for military intervention in Cuba on the assertion that the Cuban people were groaning under the tyranny of Castro, who had betrayed the Revolution, and that the mere appearance of a few Cubans on the territory of Cuba itself would suffice to spark a universal uprising of the people, as it did when Castro came down from the hills.

"Instead, the Cubans rose, in disciplined and organized fashion, as one man, and put down both the internal and external forces of the rebellion with decisive speed. This was their true answer to Washington and to the script-writer for the counter-revolution, the curious historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

"The result of this sorry misadventure is that American imperialist policy stands naked before the world. Even its faltering fig-leaf in the U. N., the tattered liberal, Adlai Stevenson, has been blown to the winds, and there is nothing to hide the sordid, shameful truth."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream, May, 1961, p. 3.

"In the aftermath of the intervention fiasco in Cuba, the crisis of foreign policy becomes sharper, with wide repercussions on the home political front. It cannot be otherwise, for the defeat of the invasion struck home more directly than previous set-backs to the cold war policy initiated under Truman, carried forward by Eisenhower, and taken over by Kennedy.... the victory of the Cuban republic is a striking confirmation of the historic fact that imperialism is on the way out in Latin America as in the rest of the world. The victory hits at the heart of U. S. imperialism, which is now being challenged in its home precincts..."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 1.

4. Laos Must Be Independent

"In any event the demand of the peoples of the world is for U. S. to cease its aggressions and intrigues against the independence and sovereignty, and to liquidate this dangerous hotbed of war. "

"Demand the reconvening of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to affirm the legal government of Prince Phouma and to safeguard the peace and independence of the country. "

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 1.

"It is precisely the imperialist intervention in Laos by the U. S. since 1954, the violation by Washington of the agreements worked out at the Geneva conference that year, and the double-cross of the democratic elements in Laos by the U. S. and its Laotian forces that set off the civil war and has kept that peace-loving country in turmoil for the last seven years. "

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 1.

"The Kennedy Administration is doing everything possible to make a Laos cease-fire impossible. This was behind the sudden appearance in Luang Prabang, the royal Laotian capital, of Kennedy's roving ambassador, Averell Harriman, after the cease-fire had been called for by the governments of Britain and the Soviet Union. These two nations were the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva parley.

"Some observers believe Harriman's purpose in coming to Laos was to put pressure on the King to block the Geneva meeting. . . ."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 2.



"The opening of the 14-nation conference on Laos last week in Geneva was an outright repudiation of efforts of President Kennedy's administration to tie Britain and France to the Wall Street colonialists' objective of stalling over Laos while seeking to apply a stranglehold to the rest of Southeast Asia.

"At the NATO conference of foreign ministers a week and a half ago in Oslo, Norway, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and his aides devoted most of their behind-the-scenes parleys with the other 14 nations in arm-twisting moves to force the 'allies' to back Washington's aggressive activities in Cuba, Laos, South Vietnam and other areas far from Europe, the ostensible jurisdiction of NATO."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 2.

#### 5. The Congo Must Be Freed

"The United States, the most powerful imperialist country in the world and the dominant NATO power, stands guilty before world opinion of doing everything possible in creating the conditions which led to these barbarous crimes."

"It is for this reason that the hands of U. S. imperialists and monopolists are dirty with the blood of these African patriots, even as they are soiled with the blood of thousands of Negroes lynched and brutalized in our country."

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, p. 3.

"The present role of the United States in the Congo is one designed to advance the interests of the Rockefellers, the Morgans and other top financial groups in this country. But such gains can be sought by imperialism today only at great cost, and that cost is borne by the American people....

"The interests of the American people, therefore, coincide not with those of Wall Street but with those of the Congolese people. They call for the scrapping of the present policy of the Kennedy Administration in the Congo and for its replacement by a policy of full support to the forces of national freedom--forces which no amount of terror and assassination will deter."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1961, p. 21.

"... President Abraham Lincoln had to lead the patriotic forces of the nation against the Southern white-supremacists who wanted to dismember the nation to preserve slavery of the Negro people--just as the late Premier Patrice Lumumba sought to preserve the Republic of the Congo from dismemberment by the Western colonialists, led by Wall Street imperialism.

"Just as Lincoln was assassinated, so was Lumumba murdered. And Stevenson's proposal would be the same as giving our nation over to the assassin, John Wilkes Booth, and his fellow traitors. Because Stevenson is proposing to turn the Congo over to the treasonous Moise Tshombe, who murdered Lumumba, and to the army of 4,000 South African white supremacist mercenaries, who are suppressing the Congolese people."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1961, p. 3.

"... The CIA, it is now perfectly clear and widely affirmed, was decisive... in the murder of Lumumba..."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream,  
June, 1961, p. 4.

#### 6. Angola Must Be Relieved of the Lash

"... the U. S. is one of Angola's biggest slave masters..."

. . . . .

"...its men, women and children are sweated under a forced labor system.

"American mine barons take part in this sweating...."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 6.

"The Angola people are asking when the United Nations will help them.

"The colonialists may block UN action. But time is running out on the African slavemasters. That is something for Kennedy and MacMillan and Salazar's other NATO allies to remember. And for the American diamond and manganese mine exploiters, who use forced laborers in Angola, to think over well."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 5.

"... Many thousands more Africans are being butchered in Angola, the big West African colony of Antonio Salazar, the fascist Portuguese dictator...

"And much of the blood is on American hands. For Salazar's victims are butchered with weapons supplied by the United States, Great Britain and Portugal's other allies in the NATO military alliance."

"The United States has been a major arsenal of the Portuguese fascists...."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, pp. 4, 9.

## 7. Canada Must Be Economically Independent

"RECENTLY, lead articles in Fortune Magazine and in Harper's have been devoted to the 'problem' of Canada. What troubled the editors of these publications was their awareness of the mounting opposition to official U. S. policy among our Northern neighbors....

"All most certainly is not well; and what is essentially troublesome is a developing movement in Canada in opposition to mounting U. S. monopoly stranglehold over its economy and consequently more and more decisive influence over its politics. As it is to be expected in any national-liberation effort, the Communists in Canada have been in the forefront of the battle for real national freedom and full sovereignty."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 9.

"The issue between Canada and the U. S. is one of economic independence for Canada. This is the heart of the matter. Everything else--culture, science, education, sport, depends in the end on economic independence.

"So, to the list of countries which are fighting for their independence from the U. S. A., add the name of Canada, second largest country in the world in area, a developed capitalist country, with more than three thousand miles of common border with the U. S. A., and now entering the epoch of its great battle for real national independence--the prelude, for Canadians, of a socialist Canada, in which the gigantic resources of the country will be developed for its own people."

Leslie Morris, "Canada and the United States," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 52.

## 8. Latin America Must Not Be Exploited

"To our sister republics of the south, we have pledged a new alliance for progress--Alianza Para Progreso. Our goal is a free and prosperous Latin America...."

"But he (President Kennedy) countered this with the threat to determine the kinds of governments the Latin American peoples should have with the doubletalk about freeing them 'of all such foreign domination and all tyranny.' "

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 3.

"...while the President talks blithely about the need to 'support all economic integration which is a genuine step toward larger markets and greater competitive opportunity,' Wall Street imperialism has used its power to fix prices paid for raw materials and continues today to extort even greater superprofits from Latin America.

"Having squeezed the Latin American nations into financial desperation, the U. S. government tightened the grip of Wall Street through the international financial agencies it controls."

"A basic prerequisite for progress in the Latin American nations, it is obvious, is to get the Wall Street bankers off their backs. But instead it is reported in Washington, that at least half the funds to come from the U. S. to 'aid' Latin America will be from 'private investors.' "

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 10.

"WHAT IS REALLY new in the Kennedy program is the proposed creation of a western hemisphere consortium in which Washington will dictate the economic and social policies of the Latin American countries even more completely than in the past. In his speech to the Latin American diplomats Kennedy made it clear that U. S. aid--such as it is--will be conditional on the Latin Americans 'doing their part,' but they have had no say as to what their part should be.

"It is Kennedy who announces that he will request a ministerial meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to plan the

program which he and his advisers have unilaterally projected. It is the President of the United States who tells 20 allegedly sovereign governments in language that leaves no doubt as to who is boss that 'each Latin nation must formulate long-range plans for its own development--plans which establish targets and priorities--insure monetary stability--establish the machinery for vital social change--stimulate private activity and initiative--and provide for a maximum national effort.' "

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 9.

"... Kennedy, like Eisenhower and Truman before him, is hard at work on bigger 'aid' programs, for example, the so-called 'Alliance for Progress' for Latin America and on other schemes. These are represented as plans for economic development of the dependent countries.

"ACTUALLY, most of the funds will go for military purposes. Some will be for mining, road building and other means of transport and communications, and for minimal education in order to facilitate the better exploitation of the natural resources in the interest of the foreign monopolist owners...."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 9.

#### 9. West Germany Must Be "Democratized"

"... The German question is still the key to world war. Hitlerism and German militarism are having a shameful re-birth in West Germany. The plague is fattened by millions of dollars stolen by Wall Street from the American taxpayers. Wall Street monopoly is again using Germany as its mercenary army against the Soviet Union. The democratization of West Germany, the expulsion of the Nazi murder-gang that again rules there, has to begin in the halls of the American Congress, in the trade unions, meeting halls, picket lines of the American people."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 6.

"And the running sore of West Berlin will probably be talked about. The German Democratic Republic and the socialist countries have been extremely patient, and unlike Washington's aggressions in Korea, Laos, Lebanon and Cuba, have sought by long negotiations to clean out the imperialist pestilence that now afflicts West Berlin in the very heart of a socialist country."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 10.

"West Berlin... is not the 'showcase for freedom' which it is proclaimed to be, but a flammable outpost of imperialism within the territory of the German Democratic Republic, within the world of socialism."

"... The Western armed forces in West Berlin are the means by which all Germany, Europe, the world could be thrown into a conflagration as the result of some mad enterprise incited by the Pentagon, by Adenauer's Nazi cohorts, or by Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, p. 6.

"... Bonn and Washington want no peace treaty. The latter wants to use West Germany's army as possible mercenary troops for war against the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the costly lesson that the German militarists can face their armies two ways, and go westward before they try their luck with the East.

"The U. S. imperialists are also using West Germany as their chief ally in the struggle for domination of Europe, though here too the U. S. monopolists are playing with a two-edged sword...."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 12.

10. South Korea Must Not Remain an Imperialist Tool

"THE MILITARY JUNTA which has established a dictatorship in South Korea under the benevolent view of U. S. officials consists of officers trained by the Japanese militarists during Japan's 40-year occupation of Korea. Many of them fought on the side of Japan in World War II....

"These treasonous generals and admirals were first hired by Gen. Douglas MacArthur and the U. S. military government after World War II, supposedly 'for the maintenance of internal security' in South Korea, a polite phrase for suppressing the people's political parties, unions and organizations."

"The only doubts that now appear to afflict Washington officials are whether the military dictatorship will jump the traces and not remain under the thumb of the U. S. command for the main purpose of providing the largest armed force for imperialist plans in the Far East.

"There are circumstances regarding the putsch, which indicate that Allen W. Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency may have inspired the generals...."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, pp. 2, 12.

"THE USE OF anti-Communism to destroy democracy and muzzle the people is now the normal state of affairs in the entire Western world. The same week a bare majority of the Supreme Court gave the go-ahead signal for the suppression of democratic rights in the U. S. with its McCarran Act decision, anti-democratic moves were undertaken in... South Korea, with either the direct or hidden support of the administration of President John F. Kennedy."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 2.

11. Meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev at Vienna

"THE MEETING between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev in Vienna June 3 and 4 can help relieve world tensions or



aggravate them. The responsibility will rest primarily with President Kennedy."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 10.

"The Soviet press, in its daily reports of foreign comment on the Khrushchev-Kennedy meeting, has followed its usual overall policy of accentuating the positive...."

"Not least among the causes of Soviet optimism is the USSR Government's attitude, as reflected in recent statements of Khrushchev."

"...he has consistently emphasized the Government's desire for normal relations with Washington and its intention to strive for an agreement to negotiate all outstanding differences."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, pp. 1, 11.

"PRESIDENT KENNEDY, in his report to the nation last Tuesday on his Vienna talks with Soviet Premier Khrushchev, declared the meeting was 'immensely useful' because the channels of communication between the two world leaders were now clearer...."

"But this was weakened by his stress on a military buildup and his belligerent approach to the West Berlin question.

"This tough attitude was emphasized earlier... by Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric..."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 1.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The Communist Party, USA, faces the future calmly, for it is on the right side of history. The communist movement in the United States has survived persecution through the years, and it will continue with its task of leading the American people in the irresistible march towards socialism.
2. History has consigned capitalism to the ash can. Ever-increasing millions of people throughout the world have found that only socialism can end the want and suffering that capitalism has brought to our civilization.
3. Anticommunism must be opposed on grounds of democracy. All who are against communism are viciously against the Bill of Rights, peace, and progress. They are fascists and enemies of democracy.
4. The United States is headed toward fascism. Anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and anti-Soviet organizations, embracing Members of Congress, military and government officials, industrialists, and plain fanatics, are leading this country down a sure road to fascism and war.
5. The colossal proportions of corruption in the United States--which have played a large part in its history--have evolved into a major national catastrophe. Our government, our press, our industry, and our schools are mottled with decay.
6. The vaunted American standard of living has never been what its glorifiers have claimed. And now, with unemployment, rising taxation, and the shortage of schools, teachers, doctors, and hospitals, the standard of living is falling still lower.
7. The National Centennial Commission set up by Congress to mark 100 years since the Civil War is a true masterpiece of capitalist hypocrisy. In this land where the Negro is still struggling desperately to obtain his civil and human rights, the celebration of one hundred years of his "freedom" is an anachronism, to say the least.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Communist Party Is Here To Stay

"...The new epoch places a heavy responsibility on our people, our working class and on all forward-looking Americans, but especially on our Party.

"We accept this task and responsibility in the firm conviction that we are on the right side of history. The world marches irresistibly towards peace, freedom and socialism.

"We are a small party now but the future is with us. We represent the best national interests of our people--the noble aim of peace. And we will work to realize the age-old dream of the American people of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness on a new plane--on a plane that matches the level of social advance which distinguishes the new epoch."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 61.

"...In the last analysis what will be decisive in the coming four years is the role of our Party as a foremost force stimulating, organizing and influencing the development of mass united front struggles, in the first place from below, on the key issues confronting the working class and other democratic sections of the American people."

Robert C. Thompson, "The Struggle for Peaceful Co-Existence and Party Mass Ties," Political Affairs, March, 1961, pp. 29-30.

"...we Communists face the future calmly. Neither the Palmer Raids of the World War I period nor the persecutions of the McCarthy era succeeded in destroying the Communist movement. Nowhere in the world has fascism, terror or repression accomplished that aim. The Communist

Party of the U. S. A. will survive and the struggle for peace, security, democracy and a socialist order ending the exploitation of man by man will survive--and grow."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 5.

## 2. Socialism Is Better than Capitalism

"... The camp of imperialism revolves around the decaying and disintegrating system of capitalism, the economic system that history has clearly consigned to the ashcan.

"The new, rising, opposite camp--the coalition of the socialist, peace, and democratic forces--revolves around the new, dominant system of socialism, an economic and political system that has opened the gateway to a future of undreamed-of social advance."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 11.

"... it is time to ask, 'Why not try Socialism?'

"Capitalism does not provide security in employment--food, clothing, housing, education, health, to millions. What good is it, except for the few? Socialism can and does. The proof is in the deeds. I have seen it with my own eyes."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 7.

"They do not hate the people who live in capitalist countries. If anything, they are increasingly sorry for us as they hear of unemployment, depressed areas, sit-downs for right to equality for the Negro people, and all the insecurity and worries living under capitalism.

"IT IS HARD for them to understand how we continue to accept capitalism. To them the attractability of Socialism is becoming greater every day. But they are not trying to force it on us. To them it is a better way of life. They want peace to conserve and expand it for themselves. They hope we will become aware of the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, some day. They like it."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 7.

"On this May Day, the working people of the world are more powerful than ever. They live under socialism in countries with a billion people and are building an abundant and cultured life. Our working class--which raised the banner of socialism in the first May Day 75 years ago--will also establish socialism in the not too distant future. For only socialism can end the shame of our civilization, where a handful of multimillionaires live in fabulous luxury while the mass of people who produce the wealth live in insecurity and barely get by, and many suffer extreme poverty and even starvation."

The Worker,  
April 30, 1961, p. 8.

"THE undeniable fact is that Communist parties have come into existence--and continue to come into existence where they have not existed before, as in some countries of Africa--and develop without any contact with a single Russian, or Chinese. Communist Parties appear because of objective social needs, no sooner and no later; the concept of 'international conspiracy' is the essence of Hitler's Big Lie which filled so many graves in Europe. The bond which all parties that are Marxist-Leninist have in common is the bond that is implied in sharing common ideas..."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream, June, 1961, p. 5.

"THE WORLD Communist movement has become the most influential force of our time," declared the 81 Communist and Workers

Parties in their profound statement assessing world events adopted in Moscow in November 1960. Facts and figures recently published abroad give vivid testimony to the correctness of this statement. In 1935 at the time of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, there were 67 Communist Parties with a membership of about three millions. Now there are 87 with a total membership of 36 millions."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 8.

### 3. Anticommunism Is Anti-Americanism

"In the name of anti-communism, Communists, militants and progressives have been eliminated from the labor and other organizations only to the detriment of these organizations. The fear that Communists seek to control organizations by devious tactics is absolutely false. They seek solely to serve these organizations in every possible way. The screening of organizations, the establishment of bans, is undemocratic and harmful. Anti-Communism must be opposed on grounds of democracy..."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's  
World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 32.

"...In the height of the McCarthyism plague on liberty in our land, the law was amended to outlaw local unions which employer could call 'Communist-infiltrated.' The law scraps the Bill of Rights not only for Communists but for all Americans."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 3.

"Unity can be achieved if the people fight the vicious campaign of 'anti-Communism.' This is directed not only against the Communists, who are persecuted because they are front-rank fighters for the people. 'Anti-Communism' is a Hitler-like weapon against all progressive fighters, against democracy itself...."

The Worker,  
April 30, 1961, p. 8.

"An examination of the attack on the democratic liberties of labor and the Negro people, the Jewish people, the peace advocates or the foreign-born, on the academic liberties of the professor, the student, the researcher, the skilled artist or scientist will show that every such attack on liberty has been accompanied or preceded by an attack on Communists. When Communists are under attack from any source, all democratic forces are endangered. When rights of Communists are curbed or the content of Communist program is slandered, the road is paved for the destruction of rights and the slander of program of all democratic forces. The reverse is likewise true."

Arnold Johnson, "Civil Liberties and Democracy," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 22.

"...anti-Communism raised to the level of program and policy leads in the direction of fascism...."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 3.

"...we say to all our fellow-Americans, irrespective of political faith: The bell tolls not for the Communists alone but for the hard-won rights of all Americans. All must act together to save American constitutional liberties."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 5.

#### 4. Right Groups Are Leading America to Fascism and War

"...Moral Rearmament.... pamphlet..."

"THE BASIC THEME of this pamphlet is that peace with the socialist countries would mean the destruction of the West...."

"The main idea of the pamphlet is to scare off the reader from any moves seeking world peace, and to frighten them into a belief that a Communist revolution is imminent...."

"...by the middle 1930's, with the capitalist world in crisis and fascism taking over the stage as its most reactionary form, the chief of Moral Re-Armament shifted from 'soul-saving' to saving the world from communism. Hitler became his idol...."

"PERHAPS THAT IS what MRA is calling for...a new type of Hitler..."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, pp. 6, 9.

"Young Americans for Freedom...is about as youthful as Tammany Hall. Its youthfulness is merely a front for the Old Guard of big business, pro-war, pro-Pentagon politicians."

"Uniting the hundreds of hysterical McCarthyite, super-patriotic segregationist and anti-semitic groups the campaign aims at giving a responsible and businesslike facade to what has been thought of as the 'lunatic fringe' in political life. What is especially dangerous is that this 'lunatic fringe' is being openly supported and directed by those in high positions in big business and government circles.

"It represents a desperate attempt by these big business and government circles, at present in a minority, to destroy the hopes of peace and the promise of peaceful co-existence."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 9.



"THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY is perhaps the best known secret society in America.

"It is a group believing in 'the Fuehrer principle,' whose aim is the seizure of political power in order to achieve its fanatical goal, which is war with the Soviet Union."

"The John Birch Society has set up a semi-secret, gestapolike national network to achieve these aims. It has sought to build a nefarious united front of conservative industrialists and racist fanatics, who working behind-the-scenes, hope to seize control first of local governments, then state and national political power, and to do so by a carefully selected 'elite.' "

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 6.

"One assault was launched by the so-called Independent American Forum, which has just concluded another of its racist gatherings in Chicago, with representatives of more than a dozen states, mostly Southern, as its main participants.

"Earlier the National Military Industrial Conference hiding behind its innocent sounding name, organized as dedicated a group of military men and big business tycoons who ache for war with the Soviet Union as can be found anywhere."

"...we will take the reader through some of the nauseating sessions of the Independent American Forum...."

"The conservatism that pervaded this convention was of the anti-Semitic, anti-Soviet and anti-Negro stripe, judging from the bulk of the discussions taking place on the conference floor."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. MW 2.

"IT CAN BE SAID that the infamous ruling of the Supreme Court's 5-4 majority on June 5th which would ban the Communist Party and nullify basic Bill of Rights protections for all Americans, is a result of and a service to, a growing ultra-rightist, pro-fascist formation in the political life of the country.

"For months, The Worker has been printing exposures of the machinations of the various elements of this fascist regroupment in the United States. The John Birch Society, The Institute of American Strategy, the White Citizens Councils, their less known counterparts and the exponents of their views in the Congress and high administrative offices of the federal government-- here in this fascist-oriented cabal is the real danger to Constitutional government and the democratic processes."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 3.

#### 5. The United States Is Corrupt

"Connected with this relative material abundance, and with the fearfully unjust nature of its distribution, there has appeared in the United States a moral and ethical breakdown without a peer in the major capitalist countries. The colossal proportions of corruption in the U. S. is a matter of notoriety and has always characterized American history.

"... the corruption in our time, however, has reached the point of a major national catastrophe. Today, at first glance, everything in our land would seem to be fraudulent from underweight chickens to aerated gasoline, from coached 'experts' to ghost-written graduate theses, from general business practices to the price-fixing of the trusts, from bought-and-paid-for state legislatures to 'reached' federal agencies and corrupted Presidential Assistants."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs,  
January, 1961, p. 37-38.

"Truth is being mangled in the mass media. The liars get the biggest headlines. The cheats and beasts have the best public relations. As a peace-loving people, we have been abandoned by our press, by our politicians,

by our art. We favor no national purpose. How could we? Our presidents have counseled homicide, our poets suicide. We can not be concerned for a country and a culture which apparently is not concerned for us, its peaceful, truth-desiring, human inhabitants."

Stanley Silversweig, "To Young Radical Humanists," Mainstream, March, 1961, p. 59.

"For a nation whose past is steeped in the African slave-trade and is indelibly stained with two hundred years of chattel slavery, whose land was usurped from its original possessors through campaigns of systematic extermination, conducted for over three hundred years, whose order has been characterized by fanatic racism--to cut the catalog short--for such a nation to conceive of itself as the embodiment of nobility is another tribute to the distorting powers of nationalism."

"It is immorality, not morality, that characterizes the traditions of the United States Government especially since the days of slavocratic domination and the new control by monopoly capitalism. But traditions, too, are class things; and while there is the tradition of perfidy and oppression forged by ruling classes, there is the tradition of integrity and love of freedom forged by their opponents. These are the traditions of Thoreau and Garrison, Douglass and Debs, Du Bois and Foster--everyone of them slandered and vilified and arrested. Traditions forged by the struggles of such as these have given what glory there is to the name, 'American'; those who seek that righteousness which really exalts a nation need but continue in the path they have made."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, May, 1961, pp. 35-36.

## 6. Living Standards Are Falling

"The American working people are already suffering growing inroads on their living standards. Of course, the vaunted American standard of living has never really been what its glorifiers have claimed. . . .

"Now, with the rise in unemployment and short hours, the gap between the living standards of American and European workers is narrowing. And we may rest assured that the American ruling class, to protect its profits in a period of decline, will do its utmost to drive the living standards of American workers down all the more."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, pp. 16, 17.

"... They have shattered illusions that the workers can play the cold-war game and make gains... To list some of the results of the coldwar apparent even to the naked eye:

"The burden of military and other coldwar expenditures fell in the final analysis on the workers and other small-incomed people. The fact that in the last five years REAL wages on an average have not increased; the frightful shortage of schools, teachers, hospitals, doctors, are among the forms through which the cost of the coldwar burden was borne.

"Rising taxation, hitting mainly those who need their entire income to live, is siphoning off mass purchasing power to the tune of a fourth to a third of nominal incomes.

"With government orders and purchases the decisive influence on prices, the coldwar economy and the monopolies who reap its super-profits, are pushing prices and the living standard uninterruptedly upward."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 4.

"For something oppressive has happened to our street during the past couple of years. The simplest way of saying it is that people have been getting poorer....

"It shows from the outside. The repairs that aren't made, the unused car standing in the driveway with last year's license plates, the unkempt yard. It shows a little more on the inside. The floor, bare of carpet or even linoleum. The sparse table and chair, the uncurtained window."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. MW 2.

7. Civil War Centennial a Masterpiece of Hypocrisy

"THE OFFICIAL and quasi-official Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War is conducted in a characteristically chauvinist manner. Not only is not a single Negro on the Centennial Commissions, not only is the relationship of the Negro masses to the war ignored, not only is their decisive role in the war omitted; in addition, the Centennial is seized upon, by Dixiecrat and KKK elements, as an occasion for a carnival of racist propaganda slandering the Negro people."

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, p. 8.

"One of the true masterpieces of U. S. capitalist hypocrisy is the official National Centennial Commission set up by Congress to mark 100 years since the Civil War. Financed out of public taxes--drawn literally from our blood, sweat and tears--the Commission seems bent upon winning the Civil War for the Bourbon South, and insulting the Negro people in particular."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 8.

"On Decoration Day in 1882, the honored speaker at Arlington National Cemetery in Washington was Frederick Douglass. (Has there ever been a Negro speaker at such a ceremony in such a place since?) Douglass said, having the recently concluded Civil War in mind:

"... if the American name is no longer a by-word and a hissing to a mocking earth, if the star-spangled banner floats only over free American citizens in every quarter of the land, and our country has before it a long and glorious career of justice, liberty, and civilization, we are indebted to the unselfish devotion of the noble army who rest in these honored graves all around us."

"How ironic sounds Douglass' 'if' in this centennial of that Civil War!..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, June, 1961, pp. 16-17.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The dreaded word "automation" in a capitalist society, such as the United States, instills fear into the hearts of workers because it means joblessness and exile to the "human scrapheap."
2. Monopoly power in the United States becomes stronger every day. Big business, well nourished by gobbling up little businesses and by biting large chunks out of the power of the state, has grown from monopoly capitalism to the portly state-monopoly capitalism.
3. Recession is a built-in part of capitalism. As long as capitalism lasts, the famines will follow the feasts. Socialism is the only lasting cure for unemployment and economic growth.
4. Millions throughout the United States are starving! Since the end of World War II, the rate of unemployment has been creeping upward. Unemployment in this country can no longer be considered an occasional problem. It is a chronic problem which will grow in seriousness as time goes on.
5. The lower the number of hours an American works, the less he will be exploited! The fight for a shorter workweek without reduction in pay is second to no other labor economic demand. Although the Administration is dead set against it, the shorter workweek would, by increasing employment and purchasing power, help the country out of economic stagnation. In the Soviet Union, where the shorter workweek is in effect, employment has reached at least 62 million.
6. Only in the union of the progressive and "left" workers, of the employed and unemployed, and of all the ranks of labor against the dominant bureaucracy is there strength. Nothing but the solidarity of labor led to the successful conclusion of the New York tugboat and ferryboat strike early this year.
7. The interference of the AFL-CIO in African trade-unions is merely a ruse for United States Government agencies, like the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, to penetrate Africa and embroil her newly freed peoples in imperialist American war plans.

\* American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

8. Only with the official participation of labor in the all-out struggle for disarmament and peace can they be assured. Even though there is evidence of a change of attitude inside American labor toward the cold war, a unity of the communist, socialist, and progressive trade-unionists could be a powerful incentive for a complete "change of climate" toward peace.
9. The high-powered "recovery" publicity is just so much ballyhoo.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Automation Means Starvation

"The employers convince too many people that the elimination of human hands through automation or other technological innovations, is 'progress.' It would be if we lived in a socialist society--in which production would be for use and under the rule of the people, and not for profit. But since we are still living under capitalism, every step the employers take to cut jobs, throws more people on the 'human scrapheap' of permanently unemployed and permanently starving persons who depend on relief and government surplus food handouts. Seven millions Americans are NOW on some form of relief. In the New York strike, for example, the issue was the plan of the railroad companies to cut tug crews of six or five to three men. That means the families of two or three men on each tug, thrown into the jaws of hunger."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 4.

"Automation, which is the cause of mass employment in many basic industries here, such as packing, steel, mining, automobile, railroads--is a curse under capitalism. It benefits only the employing class, who get a larger output of production, with a greatly reduced labor force. In Socialist countries automation is welcomed and developed, because it frees workers from drudgery and laborious toil, lessens tiresome routine tasks and increases output for public use. Automation makes work clean and easy and the worker becomes a trained technician or engineer, guiding the automated processes."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 7.

"...Automation has become a dreaded word in American industry. It has doubled, and sometimes tripled the lines of jobless workers in the Unemployment Insurance centers. Its victims are numbered by the hundreds of thousands in America's steel, auto, rubber, garment and other industrial centers. It has even invaded the building trades, where the craftsman has been master in a big way."

Louis Weinstock, "May Day and the Shorter Work Week,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 15.

"...the development of automation and other new productive techniques has given birth in the postwar period to a new technological revolution of growing proportions. The effects of this have likewise been temporarily obscured, but are now also becoming increasingly evident in the form of an accelerating growth of the industrial reserve army and in the persistent spread of depressed areas."

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of Growing Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, pp. 25-26.

## 2. Strangulation by Monopoly Power

"...large monopoly-run corporations and distributive chains are becoming more dominant than ever. When the 1961 recession runs its course, many thousands of businesses will be sacrificed to monopoly power."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 11.

"The vast increase in the power of monopolies in the life of the country is not the only new feature of American capitalism. A second new feature is the interlocking of their power with that of the state, creating a new phase of monopoly capitalism--state monopoly capitalism."

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.



"State monopoly capitalism means the complete subordination of the state to the rule of the monopolists...."

William Weinstone, "The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition," Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 24.

"MONOPOLY extends its control still further. It robs the public increasingly with rising price margins and taxes to pay for rigged prices charged government bodies.

"These government bodies, owned and controlled by big business, are used by it to assist and enforce its piratical arrangements. Oil proration, fair-trade laws, one-sided public utility regulation, multi-billion dollar subsidies are examples. The most effective monopoly builder is the \$25 billion going out this year to giant corporations for munitions.. Monopoly capitalism has graduated to state-monopoly capitalism."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 4.

### 3. Capitalism Breeds Recession

"THE LAYOFFS are increasing here, as elsewhere in America. Recessions come as a great shock to folks who have been coasting comfortably along. It stuns them to be so suddenly and crudely informed that the capitalist system is imperfect, gives nobody any real security, nor does it have a human heart.

"Uemployment, like war, strips the glittering robes off the Profit King, and exposes the diseased body underneath.

"This is the third recession in twelve years, with millions of Americans suffering as badly as they did in the great depression of the Thirties--if not on the same immense scale."

The Worker,  
January 15, 1961, p. 6.

"... The experience since the thirties should be adequate to show that no 'builtins' or 'safety valves' can change capitalism basically. During the same period the world has also received irrefutable evidence that there is no lasting cure for unemployment, but socialism.... The essence of the capitalist profit system is the anarchy it brings into the economy. It cannot be planned. A vigorous jump forward inevitably begets a violent fall back. And as even some of our prominent people concede, American capitalism has lost much of its earlier vitality. Some capitalist powers are now outpacing and outcompeting our capitalists. There is, of course, no more reason to expect that a shorter workweek or other new welfare measures will make a basic differences than have the measures enacted since the thirties. The workers however, have no alternative but to continually fight for new improvements or face even greater mass degradation--a fate that has already overtaken millions on America's human scrapheap."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 4.

"Every capitalist cycle that goes up will surely go down. If labor lets capital set the terms for recovery unopposed, its slight recovery gains will be more than wiped out in the next downturn. It will end up worse off than before."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 4.

"These inherent ills of capitalism cannot be remedied merely by artificially stimulating the creation of still more productive capacity. Nor can the anarchy of production and the tendency to overproduction be eradicated merely by a rise in the workers' purchasing power, which can at best effect only a partial and insecure reduction of the gap between productive capacity and demand. Least of all does militarization of the economy provide an answer....

"Targets for economic growth can be successfully set and fulfilled only in a socialist society, where production can be planned on a national scale and where growth is limited only by available manpower and productive facilities. But this is impossible under capitalism, where total output and consumption

are subject to no control other than the blind operation of economic forces and where the limiting factor is profitability for the individual capitalist."

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of Growing Unemployment," Political Affairs, June, 1961, p. 26.

#### 4. The Unemployment Crisis

"THE MOST damning indictment of American capitalism often comes from its most ardent defenders as, for example, did the recent report of President Kennedy's task force on the chronically depressed areas of the country and the mass starvation--OF MILLIONS--in those areas. In West Virginia, a sixth of the population of 1,800,000 is on surplus food. Ten or 15 years ago, a look on the depressed bituminous and anthracite areas was a look into the future of America in many textile, railroad, lumber, iron ore and other industrial areas now in a depressed area status. A look at the even more depressed areas today, gives us the likely picture of many a steel, automobile, or other industrial area already on the brink of such condition."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 4.

"Most disturbing of all is the spread of joblessness. Thanks to the displacement of workers by automation and other technological advances in our capitalist economy, the rate of unemployment has been creeping upward throughout the postwar period. Each downturn has left behind it a larger mass of unemployed than before. In the last two years the rate has practically never fallen below 5 per cent, even according to the ultra-conservative government figures. Now, with the impact of falling production added to the toll taken by automation, it is already approaching 7 per cent. Even if the rate remains the same, the ordinary seasonal increases will bring the number of unemployed up to well over 6 million by February. And there is little doubt that the rate will not remain what it is but will increase in the coming months."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 13.

"THE 'IDEAL' situation the Kennedy administration hopes to reach according to position set forth by the President and Chairman Walter Heller of his council of economic advisers, is a chronic unemployment level of four percent of the U. S. labor force....

"The position set forth by the administration--and it is the liberal side of capitalism--is as clear an admission of bankruptcy and capitalism's inability to even promise 'full employment,' as we have ever had from so authoritative a source...."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 3.

"...David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America..."

"...in discussing the problems of the steelworkers, said employment had not gone up 'even at the slow rate at which steel production has recovered,' and that there are still more than 300,000 unemployed in the basic steel plants.

"The giant steel corporations, he said, are 'operating profitably even at 50 percent of capacity, but their laid off workers are suffering.'

"Unemployment as of mid-April in the Gary industrial complex remained at the 8% figure despite the publicized steel 'upturn.' There are 16,000 out of work."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. MW 1.

"...unemployment will continue to grow in seriousness as time goes on.

"To be sure, it will continue to exhibit cyclical fluctuations. But it can no longer be viewed as an occasional problem, erupting for a time in periods of economic downturn. On the contrary, it has increasingly become

chronic in character, manifesting itself with ever greater urgency in all phases of the economic cycle. This character will become more pronounced in the coming years. At the same time, unemployment will become more aggravated with each new recession, and in the event of a major crisis it threatens to skyrocket to staggering heights. "

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace  
of Growing Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 23.

#### 5. The Shorter Workweek

"THE TRANSFER of the Soviet Union's entire working force, now grown to 62 million, to the six- or seven-hour day, has been completed, the Central Statistical Board of the USSR disclosed in its report on the results of fulfillment of the economic plan for 1960, published in the country's press.

"The average workweek in the USSR now runs at 39.4 hours weekly. The seven-hour (six on Saturdays) day is now standard, with six hours for workers in underground, chemical and other occupations dangerous to health. Youth below 18 work from four to six hours daily.

"The transition to the shorter workweek was accomplished along with a continual upward reclassification of wages, particularly in the lower categories, that resulted in an overall average wage increase of five percent for the entire working population.

"This was made possible by technological measures and better organization of production that resulted in an overall increase in labor productivity of more than five percent. . . . "

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 12.

"Can the big auto corporations afford to grant the demand now growing in the United Auto Workers for a thirty-hour week at forty hours'

pay? Their propagandists wail that this is a financial impossibility. At the same time, their finance managers are busily scheming to conceal and divert the huge profits which could pay for this next great advance by American labor."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. MW 3.

"Marxists always point out that the struggle for a shorter work day is not merely a defensive fight against unemployment, although many workers think of this struggle only in that way. It is however, much more than that. The shorter day struggle is an offensive against capitalist exploitation as well. It lessens the hours during which the worker is exploited by his employer. It thus reduces what Marx called the 'surplus value' that is extracted from the toiler's sweat each day. The shorter work day also gives the worker more leisure and rest, more time for study and recreation; for building a happier and fuller life."

Louis Weinstock, "May Day and  
the Shorter Work Week,"  
Political Affairs,  
May, 1961, p. 13.

"American labor, like Soviet labor, is interested in disarmament. It is not interested in sacrificing to fill munition makers' pockets under the guise of closing the 'missile gap.'"

"American labor is vitally interested in closing the workweek gap, and in reestablishing its traditional pioneering role in setting new lows in working time and new highs in workers' leisure."

"That is why the economic and legislative fight for a shorter work-week without reduction in pay is second to no other labor economic demand. And labor's organizing efforts, should strive to extend equal maximum hours protection to all wage and salary workers without exception."

The Worker,  
May 7, 1961, p. 4.

"THE ADMINISTRATION is, of course, dead set against the shorter workweek, as the President and his secretary of labor, Arthur Goldberg, have stressed repeatedly....the emphasis continues to be on more billions for military objectives. But unless such measures are taken, we won't be able to hold unemployment even to its present 7 percent level. It will rise and by 1962 we will be facing another recession. The leaders of the AFL-CIO have pointed out this fact but they are bound hand and foot to the Administration they have endorsed and won't go beyond a whisper in their criticism."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 4.

6. Labor Unity Means Strength

"NEW YORK's striking tug and ferry boat workers won their fight against crew-cutting--for at least a year--after a two-week strike..."

"The ability of the workers to win this important strike despite the efforts of the governor and the railroad monopolists and the strongly biased press, was made possible by the unity of the rank and file and their local union leaders. The strike was seen as an opportunity to demonstrate opposition to the callous layoff policies of the railroad companies."

"...the decisive factor for the successful conclusion of the strike was the militancy of the strikers and the many thousands who stood with them."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, pp. 1, 10.

"...though restrictions still exist, it has been shown that it is easier than before for progressive and Left workers to be active in the unions and in strikes, and to play an important role in cementing the unity

and determination of the workers and to influence events in their unions, provided only that they work correctly.

"The most important thing is to build, unite, and enlarge the family of active, progressive unionists who display independent initiative towards influencing others and affecting events and policies...."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 5.

"When leaders are orientated towards unity with the employers for a class-collaboration, no-strike plan; when they foster division between unions and the Negro people; when, as Secretary of Labor Goldberg told the National Association of Manufacturers, the cold war between employers and labor must be ended so united support can be given to the cold war against the socialist world; when employers are offered cooperation for a technological re-armament of their plants and, therefore, more job elimination--when such thinking dominates the minds of leaders, they certainly cannot be inclined towards real labor unity, for an all-out militancy on a wide national front, for the shorter workweek, for organization of the still unorganized, and for serious tackling of the automation problem. Unless, however, labor takes a new approach and mounts such an offensive--as proved so successful in the late thirties--it will not get out of its crisis and the days ahead will only spell more decline."

George Morris, "Recent Strikes  
and Their Lessons,"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1961, p. 46.

"A N. Y. Times editorial, titled hypocritically, 'In union there is strength,' sheds tears over what it fears is a possibility the AFL-CIO is 'in danger of breaking up.'..."

"UNITY WAS always labor's watchword. But unity is not something abstract. It has a meaning only in terms of united ACTION in defense of the welfare of the workers and for new advances...."



"... The real significance of the struggle now breaking out into open is that for the first time since the coldwar began a sizeable section of the labor movement, with possibly half the membership, is challenging the dominant bureaucracy. The last time the reactionary clique over U. S. labor was challenged, an upsurge of labor brought with it the then militant CIO and the greatest advance U. S. workers had experienced until that time. Frankly, I don't see a 1935-type John L. Lewis on the scene today. But if the pressure continues in the AFL-CIO for a REAL change, the challenge that is only beginning to take shape can break through for a new advance by labor and bring the needed leadership to the fore."

The Worker,  
May 7, 1961, p. 4.

"... The labor movement must recognize its responsibility for helping to organize the unemployed and joining with them in struggles for the common interest."

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of  
Growing Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 31.

## 7. Labor Is Ruse for American Imperialism

"A SECRET BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE document that fell into the hands of African union leaders unfolds an amazing chain of intrigues and plots in the struggle between British and U. S. labor leaders, on behalf of their contending governments, for imposition of a neo-colonial rule over the newly-liberated African lands."

"The document shows that behind the lofty statements against colonialism in Africa, often heard from certain leaders of the AFL-CIO, is a cynical effort to pave the way for American 'interests' into areas once ruled by other powers. Also revealed is the hypocrisy behind the frequent demand for use of 'labor' people in missions and diplomatic service in

Africa. This demand is nothing more than missionary work for the penetration of American capital and influence in areas that have become independent recently, and the imposition of a less open type of colonial rule. Even several Negro trade unionists, have lent themselves to such 'missionary' work in Africa."

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 2.

"Nor is Meany's coldwar position distinct from his position on Africa. The same forces who, with Meany's support, refuse to reduce world tensions, are those trying so hard to continue their domination over Africa through more concealed 'non-political means,' to embroil the peoples of Africa in their war plans rather than to help them build a new life.

"Do the weak, struggling unions of the lands of Africa need aid? They certainly do and they should get it in line with labor's best solidarity traditions."

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 3.

"THE PUBLIC spotlight on the Central Intelligence Agency because of the disastrous consequences of the criminal intervention in Cuba carried out under its direction should draw attention to the role of the CIA in the labor movement of the U. S. and other countries. While many people have been aware in the past 15 years of the FBI's operations in the unions in search for persons with 'dangerous thoughts,' few know of the CIA's role in the unions. A number of times facts broke through to the public showing that the much talked of 'participation' by the AFL-CIO in foreign policy affairs consists of providing a labor coverup or trade union channels for espionage and other type of subversion to advance what some like to call U. S. 'leadership' in the world."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 4.

"THE DECISION of delegates of 45 unions of 38 countries of Africa at Casablanca, Morocco, to set up an independent All-African Trade Union

Federation... is a big step toward building a future in Africa along progressive lines, hence a blow at the forces of imperialism... The blow is equally hard at the leaders of the AFL-CIO, especially George Meany, David Dubinsky and their chief operative in the field of international intrigue, Jay Lovestone, because their plans to use trade union channels for U. S. penetration into Africa have been frustrated."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 4.

#### 8. Labor and Peace Are Related

"It is absolutely necessary to stress the weakness of labor in the peace fight, which hurts the entire struggle.... Meany and other labor leaders..."

"...support bigger armaments programs, appealing to the workers on the grounds of jobs. There is, however, the beginning of a turn, of a breakthrough in labor's ranks on the peace issue. There are labor leaders who oppose the viciously hostile stand of Meany, who would like to see a relaxation of tensions, and who have gone themselves or aided others in the sending of labor delegations to the Soviet Union.... It is both necessary and possible to win the rank and file and all realistic peace-minded labor leaders away from the disastrous prowar policies of Meany and Company."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in  
Today's World,"  
Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, pp. 30, 31.

"THE JOINT initiative of the American Friends Service Committee and a group of top labor leaders for a labor conference on 'Peace, Jobs and Freedom' in Chicago April 14-15, is evidence of the change of attitude beginning inside the unions toward the coldwar....

"Each one of those sponsoring leaders has been a supporter of the coldwar, and certain of them have been rabid or began to develop exceptions to coldwar policy only of late. But the important element in the

picture is that these people have come around to joint action and are doing so publicly, in apparent defiance of the 'official' position of the AFL-CIO. . More-over, as the program of speakers and topics before the Chicago conference indicates, there is a realization that the problems of jobs and freedom--civil rights and civil liberties--are related to peace."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 4.

"THE AMALGAMATED Clothing Workers will officially participate in the Washington and Chicago peace and disarmament conference next week sponsored by labor and other organizations, with its top officers and members to attend both, according to Advance, official paper of the ACW.

"Hitherto, certain leaders of the ACW as of some other unions, have personally identified themselves with peace movements in statements and speeches. The significance in the ACW's announcement is the start of a trend of OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION of major unions like the Amalgamated in movements for peace...."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1961, p. 1.

"Most important is the role of labor, whose leadership in the main supports the cold war, armaments, and imperialism, though differentiations are taking place at all levels. Unity of Communist, Left, socialist, and progressive trade unionists in behalf of a program of change, in fact united action by the more advanced elements, generally on the political and trade union field, would be a powerful spur for change.\* The Communist Party must play a far more resolute role in achieving the widest possible unity."

William Weinstone, "The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1961, p. 32.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"More than 275 union leaders, national and local, meeting here last weekend, opened a drive throughout the ranks of labor for peace, jobs and freedom."

"Frank Rosenblum, the windup speaker, urged the delegates to help 'create an awareness of the threat of nuclear warfare' and help 'change the climate so that some things can be done' for peace. A 'groundswell' for peace was needed, he said."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, p. 1.

"Last week, important spokesmen from organized labor joined in pressing for a peace policy in world affairs...."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 3.

"In recent months, a number of important developments have occurred, indicating the rise of a new current within the labor movement. It is a current of growing resistance to the paralyzing policies of George Meany, based on total subservience to Wall Street's cold war. Its emergence is shown in the blossoming of trade-union delegations to the Soviet Union. It is shown, too, in the position taken by Emil Mazey, Patrick Gorman, Frank Rosenblum, A. Philip Randolph, and other leaders on the question of disarmament at recent peace conferences in Washington and Chicago--a position which moves toward rejection of the arms race and which sees the interests of labor as lying in disarmament rather than more arms."

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of  
Growing Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 31.

9. "Recovery" Is Ballyhoo!

"WITH THE much ballyhooed 'recovery' showing no employment beyond the seasonal pickup, the AFL-CIO called on the Kennedy administration to put its full effort for passage of the Clark-Reuss Bill calling for a billion dollars in federal grants to set local public works into motion within 90 days."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 12.

"UNEMPLOYMENT, according to Labor Department predictions, will hit a new post-war high this month as 1,100,000 graduates from colleges and high schools pour out to seek permanent jobs...."

"The latest government figures on unemployment again refute the high-powered 'recovery' publicity...."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 10.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The common problems of the workers and farmers should bring them together in the struggle to better their existence.
2. Land companies and cattle, food processing, and retailing monopolies are crushing the "little man" of agriculture.
3. The chronic agricultural crisis continues to cut down the number of small farmers in the United States.
4. The feudalistic conditions under which migrant workers toil can well be described as sweatshop factories in the fields.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farmers and Workers Unite

"The labor movement must become more keenly aware of the problems facing the farmers, area by area, and make a determined effort to overcome the division that exists, to work together on common problems.

"Workers and family farmers have so much in common that unity can be built!"

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 8.

"Faced with falling farm prices and ever higher productive costs, the family farmer is being driven off the land. In Minnesota, as in the rest of the nation, thousands of small farmers have been forced off the land, to join the growing ranks of the unemployed. Increasingly, the small farmer is extending his hand to labor, for help and solidarity in the struggle."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 8.

## 2. Monopolies Crush Agriculture

"Roundup camps are not much different from the camps of migrant workers. Worse perhaps. The camps of migrants are at least near cities where they can be seen and inspected, but the cowboys live far from the eyes of the curious and the tourist."

"Huge land companies and cattle monopolies lavish excellent care on their livestock. A lamed steer or a bruised animal is worth less than a healthy one and these outfits which have millions of dollars invested in vast herds and even vaster land holdings have no intention of jeopardizing their profits. But cowboys--they come cheap."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1961, p. 6.

"The monopoly forces of reaction have launched their drive. If there is no counter force, if... the farmers... do not find the pathway to unity and action, reaction will make headway because of a vacuum by default."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 7.

"Working people are especially hard hit by the price chiseling of the food processing and retailing monopolies. While prices received by farmers fell 11% between 1947-49 and December 1960, retail food prices went up 21% according to the official index, and considerably more in actual fact."

Victor Perlo, "The American Economy," Mainstream,  
April, 1961, p. 10.

"...the...farmers...have felt the increasing weight of monopoly oppression...."

William Weinstone, "The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition," Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 26.



### 3. Chronic Agricultural Crisis

"...the chronic agricultural crisis continues unabated. After a temporary upsurge during the Korean War, the condition of farmers steadily worsened in subsequent years and remains at a low level. From a peak of \$15.2 billion in 1951, net farm income has dropped to an average of roughly \$11.5 billion in recent years. The parity index, which measures the ratio of prices received by farmers to the prices they pay, fell from 107 in 1951 to an average of about 80 during the past several years. Unsaleable surpluses of farm products continue to mount from year to year. Small farmers continue to be driven off the land in growing numbers. And there is little prospect of anything more than momentary improvement."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 15.

"THE American people, first of all...the dwindling numbers of 'family-sized' farmers, are the main victims of America's economic decline...."

Victor Perlo, "The American Economy," Mainstream, April, 1961, p. 13.

"In the five-year period between 1954 and 1959, the number of farms declined by 847,000. This marks a 17.8% rate of elimination, the fastest ever recorded for a five-year intercensus period."

William Weinstone, "The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition," Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 26.

### 4. The Migrant Workers

"AROUND SALINAS the earth became a rich, vital black and we rushed through miles upon miles of growing lettuce. We had entered the region of the

immense ranches owned by big corporations--the sweatshop factories in the fields--socialized farming whose profits were stolen by a few individuals.

"We saw some of the one-room shacks in which whole families of field workers must live--with no water or sanitation, without heat or light or a human status. The cattle on these vast baronies get better food, better housing and medical care than the humans.

"It is the shame of California and the nation, the treatment given our three million agricultural workers.

"Forty years ago when I came into the workers' movement the brave and persecuted Wobblies were bleeding or even dying like Joe Hill to bring better conditions to the field slaves. But Wall Street finally crushed them in the unequal battle.

"So the shame is still here, a hangover of brutal feudalism persisting into the Atomic Age."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 6.

"The lot of the migratory agriculture worker has improved very little over the conditions that prevailed when the IWW\*led the famous strike in Wheatlands, Cal., before World War I. Mexican workers are brought in by the hundreds, to work in the fields and shipped out when the harvest is over. Hardly a good neighbor policy."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, p. 7.

\*Industrial Workers of the World

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The United States is the very heart of the hideous and desperate colonial system that blights the world.
2. All of the acts against Cuba, from the breaking of diplomatic relations to the United States-sponsored invasion, reflect the brutality of an angry, roaring giant who will stop at nothing in his senseless revenge. But his anger is heightened by socialist influence and the reaction of the Cuban people which have made him out a fool.
3. United States monopoly capitalism and its NATO allies have done everything to thwart the march of Africa's colonial masses toward freedom.
4. The Kennedy Administration, like its predecessor, is striving to keep Laos in the pocket of Wall Street imperialism.
5. American colonial oppression is not relegated solely to foreign lands. The American Negro and the American Indian welcome the winds of freedom as they blow from Africa and Asia.
6. The imperialist giant, while giving a terrifying show of force and wildly waving the tattered banner of anticommunism, is actually entering into its final throes.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. United States, Center of World Colonialism

"The U. S. . . . is now the arsenal of the hideous and desperate colonial system, whether against the Congo in Africa, Cuba in Latin America, or the Republic of China in Asia. . . ."

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, p. 3.

"...U. S. imperialism is indeed the biggest international exploiter. \*

"...The American finance tycoons and monopolists have been the initiators of joint action by the imperialist powers in the underdeveloped countries, U. S. imperialism is the hub, the driving force and leader of neo-colonialism."

James E. Jackson, "The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens," Political Affairs, April, 1961, pp. 54, 55.

"NEO-COLONIALISM is an attempt to gain the usual imperialist aims-- the subjugation, exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the newly freed nations and also the dependent countries by direct, more elastic and more disguised ways and means. U. S. imperialism is an old master at this game..."

"U. S. IMPERIALISM is the chief exponent of neo-colonialism..."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, pp. 4, 9.

## 2. Cuba

"'PRESIDENT Eisenhower's decision to break diplomatic relations with Cuba is a monstrous attack upon the independence and freedom of the Cuban people and seriously endangers the whole cause of world peace,' declared Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, general secretary and national secretary of the Communist Party, last week."

"'This act against Cuba exposes the stark brutality of the colonial policy of the Administration and the U. S. monopolies. It violates the national interests and the anti-colonial sentiments of the American people. It poses the imminent danger of military invasion against Cuba and war in this hemisphere.'"

The Worker,  
January 15, 1961, p. 3.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"The most powerful of the imperialist powers is the United States; in its own bailiwick--the Western Hemisphere--the system of imperialism remained unbroken. This was no small part of its own strength, economically, militarily and diplomatically. The Cuban revolution is the first really profound and successful shattering of this homogeneity; it shatters not only concepts of 'geographic fatalism,' but also theories of American exceptionalism. Revolution is not only something for Asia or even maybe Europe--especially eastern Europe; no, here it is in America, and--ninety miles from the United States. Here it is in a little country, owned lock, stock and barrel by U. S. monopolies and having on its territory a huge naval base, with air and ground forces actually present. The contagious quality of the Cuban upheaval is not the least of the worries it entails for the United States ruling class; hence to undo that upheaval represents a major interest and commitment of that ruling class. No one should be under any illusions as to the lengths it will be willing to go--if it feels it can get away with it--to destroy that revolution."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1961, p. 48.

"Were it not for the influence of socialism on the world arena, little Cuba could hardly have withstood the U. S. attacks. But as things are, the situation in this area is no longer determined solely by the state of affairs and the correlation of forces on the American continent."

James E. Jackson, "The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens," Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 51.

"... The entire experience shows that a policy of imperialist intervention is bound to produce the opposite results of those intended. In place of a popular uprising in Cuba, the invasion produced additional evidence of the strength and popularity of the Castro government. Instead of rousing support among wavering Latin American regimes, the attack on Cuba raised the prospect of new Cuba-type revolutions in the Hemisphere. Far from impressing the world with the strength of the United States, the invasion made a shambles of the prestige of this country, virtually isolating it even from its allies...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 4.

"...in the same way that the press and other publicity channels in the U. S. are trying to stay the world wave against colonialism, monopolies and exploitation, the same big trusts and corporations that used to exploit the Cuban people--Kings Ranch, United Fruit, Texaco--and whose main offices and base of operations are in the United States, will spend the necessary money for propaganda to stop action against the monopolies from reaching this country.

"'Stop communism, in the name of western civilization. Stop communism in the name of the American way of life.'"

"...since the corporations cannot tell the people the simple truths... they use the poison of anti-communism to cover the real truth of what is happening in Cuba..."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 8.

### 3. Africa

"The tentacle that blocks the unity of the people of the Congo and thereby holds back the ending of colonialism... attached to one body, that of U. S. monopoly capitalism."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 8.

"From Washington to Brussels the NATO imperialists have long conspired for the political death of Patrice Lumumba and the cause which he symbolized--that is, the total emancipation of the peoples of Africa and the unfree peoples everywhere from the political and economic domination of the foreign imperialists. The resultant murder of Patrice Lumumba with two other ministers of the legitimate government of the Congo--Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, constitutes but one bloody deed in the grand scheme of the imperialist powers to thwart the march of the colonial masses toward freedom and independence. From Cuba to the Congo the arch-imperialists are trying desperately to shore up their crumbling colonial holdings. Unable to retain

the old forms of empire they are striving to mask the old robbery system of colonial plunder under a fraudulent facade of 'independence.' This new pattern of 'neo-colonialism' has a 'built in the USA' cut about it. . . ."

The Worker,  
February 19, 1961, p. 1.

"Thus, the aim of American policy remains the institution in the Congo of a semi-colonial status under U. S. control. And toward this end the intention is to inflict on the Congolese people puppet governments of Kasavubus and Tshombes, and to destroy by force, if need be, that government, headed by Gizenga, which alone represents the true interests of the people."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
March, 1961, p. 19.

"The Angola people are asking when the United Nations will help them.

"The colonialists may block UN action. But time is running out on the African slavemasters. That is something for Kennedy and MacMillan and Salazar's other NATO allies to remember. And for the American diamond and manganese mine exploiters, who use forced laborers in Angola, to think over well."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 5.

"...leaders of the British and U. S. trade unions, reflecting the rivalry of U. S. and Britain in Africa, are in a struggle within the ICFTU\* for control of its African machinery because the unions are viewed as excellent channels through which the new imperialist designs can be most effectively concealed and given a look of 'benevolence'. . . ."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 4.

\* International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

#### 4. Laos

"...the Eisenhower administration is resisting. It does not want a neutral Laos. It wants a country tied to American imperialism.

"Involved in this is more than \$300 millions of the American people's money which the Eisenhower administration has poured into Laos in the form of armament and bribery of puppets. This was supposed to insure for Wall Street monopolies control of Laos by the Wall Street monopolists...."

The Worker,  
January 8, 1961, p. 11.

"MANEUVERS in places as far apart as Oslo, Norway, and Luang Prabang, Laos make it clear that the Kennedy administration is still trying to keep Laos in the pocket of Wall Street imperialism...."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 2.

"...President Kennedy's actions in... Laos... show him to be an aggressive imperialist who is seeking to maintain and extend the American empire by improved neo-colonialist methods."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 4.

#### 5. Colonialism within U. S. Borders

"The history of our government's treatment of the American Indian is the sordid history of colonial rule.

"And this colonialism has existed, and still exists, in the heart of this bastion of the 'Free World.' How can the government speak against colonialism in the United Nations when it sanctions and maintains this policy within our own borders?"



"THE WIND of freedom blows into the Indian lands. Surely as the winds of the winter blizzards does it blow.

"It is the wind of colonial liberation, come from Africa, from Asia, from far away. No historical accident is it that the American Association of Indians Affairs has summed up this new spirit as one of 'Self-Determination.' "

The Worker,  
January 15, 1961, pp. 5, 9.

"As we know, colonial oppression and discrimination against Negro Americans are very close relatives. The oppressors are one and the same: U. S. monopoly capitalism. Hence the slogans: 'End Colonialism Now in the World' and 'End Jim Crow Now in the United States' are inseparable, twin slogans. The latter corresponds to the balance of forces in the United States, and is therefore a proper and realistic outlook."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 33.

"... Fourteen years ago, William Z. Foster, now chairman emeritus of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., declared that 'the Negro question in the United States has become an international question.' The colonial liberation movement in Africa in particular, but also in Latin America and Asia, have a positive affect upon the struggles of nineteen million Negroes in the U. S. for their free and equal citizenship rights. Finally, breathing down the neck of the Kennedy administration and of U. S. imperialism in general is the challenge of peaceful competition from the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, where the national question has been solved, while under U. S. monopoly capitalism the national question is its Achilles heel."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1961, pp. 5-6.

## 6. Imperialism Dying

"Imperialism, the unrestrained world bully of yesterday, has lost its unchallenged dominance. It is torn by ever sharpening contradictions within the imperialist lands themselves, and on a world scale. To be sure, imperialism is still strong and capable of great harm. It continues on the path of war and repression, opposes disarmament, and insistently seeks to intensify the cold war. It is still a vicious foe, and this is particularly true of our own imperialism, our own greedy multi-millionaires and billionaires who have coined fabulous fortunes out of the blood of countless victims of war. But it has lost its position as the pace-setter of industrial growth and technological advance, and its dominance in the field of science. It can no longer arrogantly and brutally crush all movements which oppose its policies of oppression. Imperialism lost a potent economic weapon when it lost its monopoly over the world's markets and raw materials. The deadly weapon of economic boycott lost its teeth when the socialist world opened up an alternative market for products and an alternative source of raw materials, of funds for investment at reasonable rates of interest, of machinery and technical assistance."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 10.

"The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party USA, under the signature of Gus Hall, general secretary, issued the following statement last week:"

"'Anti-Communism is today the tattered banner under which the imperialists seek to maintain colonialism. The Pathet Lao forces, which are supporting the only legitimate government of Laos, the Souphanouvong government, are fighting for the independence, peace and well-being of the Laotian people against the U. S. -led SEATO\*interventionists.'"

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 3.

\*Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

"The disintegration of the colonial system is bound to have far-reaching repercussions in the internal development of the imperialist countries. Although it will not lead to the automatic collapse of imperialism, it is bound to create new and insuperable difficulties for it. The independent economic development of the young national states aggravates the problem of markets in the capitalits world and make it more difficult to exploit the underdeveloped countries by exporting capital. U. S. imperialism, for instance, with its production capacity inflated beyond all reason on the assumption that its global economic expansion will go on forever, is faced with the by no means distant prospect of market difficulties that will severely shake the economy...."

James E. Jackson, "The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1961, p. 52.

"...Any policy directed towards containing, rolling back or reversing the vast national liberation movements of our time will meet defeat. It has now been shown by Cuba that this is just as true in the Western Hemisphere as in Asia and Africa. It has been demonstrated again that imperialism is on the way out. This means all imperialism, of the 'old' colonial type as well as of the 'new' kind associated especially with American imperialism--monopoly expansion abroad, cloaked with democratic and anti-colonial pretenses."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 1.

"...In contrast to the 'classical' colonialism at the height of its power, neo-colonialism today is not a sign of economic and political strength but of weakness--of imperialism in decline. The camouflage wears thin these days... A decisive factor in this exposure is the socialist world, which gives moral and political support to anti-colonialism and offers real aid to their development without any strings or restrictions. That is why the Socialist world is the best friend and ally of the new nations."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 9.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. The antismubversion laws are nothing more than conspiracy and dragnet weapons against organized labor. Behind these legal shields, the United States Government arrests those union leaders who fight against such infringements on the rights of labor.
2. The House Committee on Un-American Activities and its ill-famed companion the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee are under attack by all liberty-loving people throughout the United States who recognize them for the monstrosities they are. Both must be abolished!
3. The United States Government must fulfill its responsibility to the people by enacting urgently needed laws to grant civil rights to the Negroes, the Indians, the foreign born, and others whose rights have been denied them.
4. Millions of people in this country live under the sickening fear of sudden deportation and denaturalization proceedings. The machinery of "justice" is being reassembled by Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy and readied for the brutal assault not only on the liberties of the foreign born but on the liberties of all Americans.
5. The Communist Party, USA, will fight aggressively in the courts and in the arena of public opinion to maintain its legal right to existence as a political party. Anticommunist legislation endangers not only the Communist Party but the very foundation of democratic liberties.
6. Legislation which persecutes political views and the rights of organization also persecutes democracy. As each atom of freedom is chipped away legally from the communists, the freedom of every American citizen is lessened equally.
7. The Negro Smith Act victim, Henry Winston, totally blind and incapacitated due to the neglect of Federal prison authorities in Terre Haute, Indiana, must be released from prison.\*

\* Henry Winston was released from prison on June 30, 1961.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Legal Harassment of Labor

"THE SUPREME COURT decision that saved Maurice F. Travis from an eight-year prison term was an important victory for trade union rights and civil liberties. Travis... was indicted in 1954 on the trumped-up charge that he was a member of the Communist Party when he signed a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit."

. . . . .

"... Former President Truman, when he unsuccessfully vetoed the Taft-Hartley Law, condemned the affidavit provision. That provision has been repealed for almost a year and a half. But the government still clings to the law, determined to put more trade unionists behind bars.

"Will this practice continue under President Kennedy? How can prosecution and imprisonment on T-H affidavit grounds be consistent with his own pledges to the trade unions? President Kennedy can demonstrate the sincerity of his pledge by marking finish to the shameful chapter on T-H affidavits, and order the release of those still imprisoned under the repealed law and an end of the cases still pending."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 3.

"THE U. S. SUPREME COURT last Monday refused to grant a hearing to seven past and present Clevelanders who had been convicted in a frameup trial on the faked charge of 'conspiracy' to violate the Taft-Hartley antilabor law. As a result, the seven will have to serve terms of 18 months in prison and \$2,500 in fines."

. . . . .

"The Cleveland Taft-Hartley trial marked the first use of the conspiracy charge as an antilabor weapon in more than a quarter of a century.

"Lumer, one of the frameup victims, who is now the Communist Party's national educational director, upon learning of the decision, declared:

"'The court's action is a severe blow against civil liberties and dangerously extends the use of the conspiracy weapon against organized labor....'"

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, p. 1.

"The use of the 'conspiracy' charge against labor... is one of the oldest devices of the bosses--and their government--against workers. Since the trial of the... Seven in Cleveland... leaders in the Textile Workers Union in North Carolina, of the International Garment Workers, Local 25, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Denver, and of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis have suffered similar 'conspiracy' charges. In the Cleveland case, the section of the law for which the defendants were tried has been repealed--as manifestly faulty--since their conviction; they were convicted on the testimony of one government stool-pigeon, proven to have perjured himself on three significant counts, including the fact that he was an untried deserter from the U. S. Army."

"To Our Readers," Political Affairs,  
March, 1961, p. inside of front cover.

"When a U. S. marshal slapped the handcuffs on Archie Brown as Brown was leaving Pier 50, the action touched off the first constitutional test of the 'anti-Communist' provision of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy act. This provision says that no Communist (or anyone who has been a Communist within the preceding five years) may hold union office...."

"The union's stake in the Brown case was emphasized by ILWU\* president Harry Bridges.

\*International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

"Brown's indictment, said president Bridges, 'is a direct attack against the ILWU and every other American trade union which insists upon the right of its members to elect anyone to office they wish.' "

"Brown also sees his indictment as primarily an attack upon his union and its democratic structure."

"'The attack upon me,' he says, 'will give aid, comfort and encouragement to such sinister forces as the John Birch Society, the House Un-American Activities Committee and others seeking a full-blown revival of McCarthyism in this country.' "

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, pp. 1, 11.

"The truth is, as labor leaders discovered, that 'anti-subversion' laws and decrees are deliberately worded in vague, double-talk and sweeping language because the REAL objective is to use them as dragnet weapons. Even if those laws are not used to prosecute non-Communists, they are regarded more useful as a weapon to scare non-Communists away from ALL union activities...."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 4.

2. The House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Must Go

"Other actions for the abolition of the House Un-Americans are being taken by student groups across the nation. A petition drive was initiated by groups on 10 West Coast college campuses, under the leadership of the California Intercampus Coordinating Committee.

"Similar action has been taken by students at Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., and the New York Youth Against the House UnAmerican Activities Committee."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1961, p. 10.

"Spearheading the attack are the un-American Activities Committee and its Senate counterpart, the Internal Security Committee, both of which wage an increasing assault on the liberties of Communists and all other Americans. Both are monstrosities which must be abolished...."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 47.

"Never before has the truth that 'freedom is indivisible' been demonstrated so dramatically as today. The Supreme Court, in upholding the Un-American Activities Committee, upholds the right of the committee to harass and jail anyone whose activities are opposed by the committee's members.

"This decision and the Attorney General's list of 'subversive' organizations make it clear that only those citizens and organizations who engage in no activities nor have any thoughts or views that are in disagreement with the members of the Unamerican Committee, are safe from victimization and persecution. Such people are not safe unless they are willing to support the activities and views of the committee and of those individuals and organizations that stand behind it; unless they are ready to become informants against their fellow citizens."

"The danger is here and now. The enemies of democracy, of labor, of the Negro people, of peace, are becoming bolder. It is necessary for the popular forces to be heard in the halls of Congress, in the office of the President, and of the Attorney General. Even the courts do not ignore the people's sentiments if they are unmistakably proclaimed."

The Worker,  
March 12, 1961, p. 3.



"...the American people are sick and tired of this terror-committee in their lives, and it is heartening to note that among those who have fought it openly are many youth, like the San Francisco students, whose entire lives were spent under its ominous shadow. A whole generation in America has come to manhood without ever having known a time when it was possible to think and speak openly and freely on matters like peace, trade-unionism, coexistence, etc., without being dragged before a government organization, and thereby risking jobs, reputation and their very liberty.

"It is ridiculous to speak of freedom of thought or conscience in the United States as long as the Un-American Activities Committee continues to exist. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we join with the great majority of the American people, like those represented by the 250 American professors from 79 leading colleges and universities who signed a statement which demanded the end of the Committee as a 'threat to our liberties.' We call upon our readers to raise their voices in similar protest."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream,  
April, 1961, p. 8.

"THE DAMAGE to liberty and the havoc caused to individuals by the House Un-American Activities Committee can never be measured by the number of court cases and persons imprisoned...."

"...the fight for Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee is an important part of the fight against racism, anti-Semitism bigotry and slander in our country. It is part of the fight for the Bill of Rights for all Americans."

"...persons may use desperate means to keep their... committees, but the American people will see these facts as reasons to

rally to the abolition movement. It is said that more than 100 Congressmen are privately against the House Un-American Activities Committee...."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 10.

"Seventeen Negro and White Southern leaders have initiated a petition to President John F. Kennedy denouncing the House UnAmericans and Sen. James Eastland's Senate group as instruments of destruction of the forces working for integration in the South.

"This denunciation was included in a plea to free Carl Braden, Southern integration leader.

"Braden and Frank Wilkinson surrendered to the U. S. Marshal... May 1 to begin serving a year in prison on a charge of contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee."

"The petition states: 'The House Un-American Activities Committee, Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee, and various Southern state committees modeled after them claim to look for subversive activity, but actually they seem to be used in the South to try to destroy people and organizations working for integration.' "

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 12.

"... The House Un-American Activities Committee has harassed people of all walks of life--workers, students, preachers, professors. The victims are not only Communists but eventually the whole American people."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 7.

### 3. Civil Rights Legislation Is Urgently Needed

"ARE WE TO BEGIN the march to the 'New Frontiers' with the same old abandonment of the civil rights struggle, for 'practical' reasons, that has occurred in congress after congress?

"Is not civil rights a real emergency in view of what is taking place in New Orleans, Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee, and 1001 other places in the U. S. A. ?

"Is it not high time we realize that appeasement of the Southerners is anything but 'practical' ?

"They were appeased in the last Congress, in which their strength was relatively less, but they defiantly held up or emasculated every piece of legislation that may have provided some relief against the recession that was approaching.

"'New Frontiers' need boldness, vigor, and defiance of those who would drag us backward! They will never be reached with America hobbled by the ball and chain of Southern racism."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1961, p. 3.

"... The fight against racism is however a people's fight. Had the President spoken out, progressives in the Supreme Court would have been strengthened. In the immediate future that Court will be confronted by legal actions demanding new interpretations of the Constitution in the interests of democracy and the Negro people. Had the President spoken out liberals in Congress who stand ready to fight for an effective Civil Rights program... would have been fortified."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 7.

"All decent-minded human beings must demand that the Administration, the Government power of the U. S., must take up this burden

now borne on the shoulders of our valiant youth, and by Presidential Executive Order and supplementary urgently-enacted civil rights laws accomplish the total eradication of the Southern states' Jim Crow laws and segregation system...."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 3.

"GUS HALL...discussed the future of the American working-class and its political vanguard..."

"...The defense of freedom, like charity, must begin at home."

"We seek," he continued, "to expand the coverage of the Bill of Rights to the eighteen million Negro people, who have been denied their rights from the beginning. And we are demanding full coverage for the American Indians and the foreign born and others, who are denied rights, as well."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, pp. 1, 10.

"...What is needed is a determined campaign to force civil rights legislation through this Congress and to insist that the President vigorously use his great Executive powers. What is needed is protests from State legislatures against Alabama's violations of the rights of citizens--for instance, if the Governor of Mississippi can wire Governor Patterson words of praise why can't the Governors of New York and New Jersey and Illinois and Michigan and California wire him words of condemnation?"

"The voice of democratic America must make itself heard, individually and collectively and persistently...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 16.

4. Immigration and Nationality Laws Are Brutal

"THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE for the Protection of Foreign Born has launched a campaign for a Five-Year Statute of Limitations against deportations."

"... Petitions to Congress for an amendment to the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Law for the five-year statute of limitations are being circulated by the committee. The petition points out that 'millions of American families' are now being subjected to the 'fear of sudden deportation and naturalization proceedings throughout their lives.'

"Some fantastic cases of unjust persecution, under the Walter-McCarran Act, were presented..."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1961, p. 3.

"A MASSIVE assault on the liberties of all Americans--native as well as foreign born--is underway in the form of far reaching bills introduced into Congress, principally by Congressman Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House un-American Activities Committee and chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization.

"... Worse of the Walter bills is H. R. 6..."

The Worker,  
May 7, 1961, p. 6.

"... Rep. Francis Walter, head of the House Un-American Committee, is again pushing a 'package bill' which seeks to undo all the favorable interpretations of the Supreme Court in recent years in relation to foreign born an denaturalization of foreign born citizens.

"All Americans... are imperiled by this move."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 12.

"...the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act... At the outset one should dispense with the approach that this legislation is merely business as usual... The law is actually a giant step forward in the exercise of dictatorial control over legal residents and naturalized citizens.

"By the terms of this statute a non-citizen can be arrested without a warrant and then detained without bail. He can be denied a fair hearing: the 'judge' (hearing officer) in his case is an employee under the thumb of his superiors in the Immigration Service and cannot exercise independent judgment; he permits gossip and hearsay evidence and credits the wildest tales of professional informers on the Service payroll. Membership in a legal organization is made a ground for deportation by a vague charge that the organization is or was affiliated to the Communist Party. Conduct innocent when engaged in becomes, many years later by a change in the law, a ground for deportation. A non-citizen can be deported to any country the Immigration Service (and State Department) can get to take him. After being deported the social security payments due him, which were deducted from his own wages, are confiscated. Deportation in many cases is actually a most grievous punishment, exile from family and friends to a strange land. Moreover, unlike most criminal and civil matters, there is no time limit, no statute of limitations, on starting a deportation proceeding. A non-citizen remains perpetually in danger. If the Service is unable to get a country to accept the deportee, he is placed on 'supervisory parole.' Though he has committed no crime, for the rest of his life he is on 'parole' and must periodically--as often as the Service chooses--report to their offices and submit to an inquisition on his activities.

"These provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act make a shambles of the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of association, the Fourth prohibiting arrests without a warrant, the Fifth protecting life, liberty and property, the Sixth guaranteeing jury trials in criminal cases and in suits for over 20 dollars, the Eighth barring cruel and unusual punishment, and Article I, sec. 9 prohibiting retroactive punishment and punishment by legislation which pre-judges guilt (a bill of attainder)...."

Charles Klemm, "The Foreign  
Born and the Nation,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, pp. 33-34.

5. Anticommunist Legislation Is against Democracy

"The next major and the decisive case for constitutional liberties is the impending Supreme Court decision on the McCarran Act. The case is Communist Party, USA, versus Subversive Activities Control Board. The law under review is the 'Internal Security Act of 1950' passed in the 81st Congress over the veto of former President Harry S. Truman."

"... Any adverse decision against the Bill of Rights in the McCarran Act case or the Smith Act membership cases which the Court is also now considering must meet with a similar protest resulting in a crusade to abolish or nullify the pro-fascist laws. Every advocate of democratic liberties has a responsibility in this fight. Any court decision to outlaw the Communist Party can only find our Party fighting more aggressively in the courts and in the arena of public opinion for democratic liberties. Nobody is going to fold up or close up in such a fight. Rather we must and will strengthen the fight and our Party."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 3.

"... there is good reason to conclude that the major danger to the liberties of the American people are coming from two bills that still await Supreme Court decisions.

"Those are the McCarran bill, with its registration provisions, and the Membership Section of the Smith Act.

"Meanwhile Nelson Rockefeller continues his drive towards the White House, over all the liberties of the people that he can trample upon."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 11.

"By a bare majority of five to four, the Supreme Court today struck a crushing blow at democracy and the Constitution of the land. It

did this by upholding the membership clause of the Smith act and the McCarran registration act, both based on the Hitlerite big lie of the Communist menace....' "

"If the bare majority of the Court and the reactionary forces for whom they speak think that in this way it can intimidate the Communist Party of the United States and prevent it from carrying on its clear and present duty to defend democracy and peace, it is seriously mistaken. The Communist Party is a legal political party operating within the framework of the U. S. Constitution, and it would be derelict in its duty to the American people if it did not fight vigorously for its full legal rights and existence.

"It will continue to do its duty to the American people by alerting them as sharply as it can to the dangers inherent in this court action--dangers to the very base and fabric of democracy in our country. If this decision is permitted to stand, all the gathering fascist and anti-labor forces will consider it a green light for them to push their fascist revival and their effort to drag the country into a catastrophic nuclear war.' "

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 1.

"The Communist Party will defend its right to a legal existence under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as a legitimate current in American political life, a movement that can trace its existence back a full century into our history, from the Communists who supported Lincoln and the Union through the old Socialist Party. The Communist Party has taken legal steps to request a re-hearing by the Supreme Court and will exhaust every resource to halt the oppression of these iniquitous laws and their dire consequences for the liberties of all Americans.

"At the same time the Communist Party will place its case before the highest court of all, the bar of public opinion...."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 5.



6. Political Persecution Limits Democracy

"It is not too late to speak out against the unamerican activities of the Unamerican committee. And it is certainly timely to speak out against the infamous McCarran (Internal Security) Act and against any persecution of political views and the rights of organization, including membership in the Communist Party. Unless the warning of Justice Black is heeded it is certainly correct to say to every American: the 'liberty you lose will be your own.' "

The Worker,  
March 12, 1961, p. 3.

"Political persecution enters a new area in this country with the Supreme Court's refusal to review the Cleveland Taft-Hartley conspiracy case, a cowardly act which sends to prison seven victims of a frame-up...."

"THIS CASE stands with other cases involving civil liberty in our land. The number of political prisoners in this country is on the sharp increase at the moment when big speeches are being made about our country's role in strengthening freedom and democracy. Such hypocrisy and double-talk must be exposed.

"When advocates of peace, freedom, economic security, and socialism are imprisoned, the ruling class seeks to intimidate all who participate in the struggle. They imprison some to silence many...."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 12.

"...the case of the Communist Party challenge of the Internal Security Act directly affects thirteen other organizations which are in the courts fighting against the charge of being Communist fronts, and one international union which is before the Board as Communist infiltrated. In addition to the Scales and Noto cases, there are sixteen

other membership cases. The Denver Smith Act conspiracy frame-up is in the Court of Appeals. Communists and others are victimized by special election laws in 37 states, by rulings of boards, committees, and courts, by contempt citations, deportation, and denaturalization proceedings. Teachers are fired; books are burned; art is scrapped. The repression includes, but is never limited to Communists. Nobody really knows the full extent of the repression. It is only indicated by the lists of millions in the hands of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is those millions who are jeopardized in their jobs and liberties by the... cases now in the Supreme Court. No democratic, progressive, peace-advocating American is safe...."

Arnold Johnson, "Civil Liberties and Democracy," Political Affairs, May, 1961, pp. 22-23.

"Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, in a public statement pointed out...

"In the name of anti-Communism, the high court opened the door to the victimization of Communists and non-Communists alike who are fighting for defense of democratic liberties, the rights of the Negro people and of labor, and for the cause of peace."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 11.

"It is not for ourselves alone that we speak. For we know full well that reactionary laws like the McCarran and Smith Acts have an evil purpose and a relentless logic and that in nation after nation the destruction of the democratic rights of all began with the attack 'only' on the Communists...."

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 5.

7. Release Henry Winston

"NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS of Henry Winston, imprisoned and blind Communist Party, leader, urged President Kennedy last week to 'grant executive clemency' to Winston...

"The appeal... said, in part:

"This Open Letter is an urgent appeal to you on behalf of a man who has been struck by disaster--his life broken due to the miscarriage of justice in our country...."

"His five-year sentence was vengefully extended to eight years, contrary to all precedents....

"At Terre Haute prison he developed dangerous symptoms of grave illness... But no help was forthcoming from the prison authorities... until it was too late... And now he is totally and irrevocably blind."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 10.

"ON BEHALF of Henry Winston, blind Negro Smith Act victim now serving his eighth year in a Federal penitentiary, a Mother's Day delegation visited the White House and Department of Justice a week ago to ask for executive clemency...."

"Winston is totally blind and incapacitated, due to the neglect of Federal prison authorities in Terre Haute..."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 12.

"HENRY WINSTON, blinded last year by a brain tumor as a result of prison negligence, is now undergoing serious medical tests because of recurring dizziness and head pains."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 3.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Only when the United States is sincere in its efforts at total disarmament can world peace be obtained. Its plan for the inspection and control of arms with no mention of disarmament, its childish name-calling, its refusal to recognize the reasonableness of the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, its arms buildup program, and its aggressive foreign policy make one wonder if the United States really does want peace.
2. Behind the big myth of the threat of world communism, President Kennedy arms the United States for imperialist warfare against the little nations struggling for independence and against the socialist nations.
3. The American war lords, whose businesses grow bigger on war, and the American warriors, whose business is war, are leagued in a conspiracy against peace.
4. The spread of nuclear weapons to member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will put humanity on the very brink of a holocaust. Money spent on such superarms would be better spent to bring the American people back from the brink of depression. Nuclear tests must be banned! Nuclear weapons must be outlawed!
5. Through swirling snow, high winds, and all kinds of weather, thousands of American peace lovers in all sections of the United States joyfully marched in a huge demonstration to alert America to the danger of atomic annihilation.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Disarmament

"While Kennedy's call in his inauguration address for beginning anew met with general approval, there was puzzlement over his plan for 'serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms' instead of

projecting the idea of general and complete disarmament. It was precisely this line established by the Eisenhower administration that met with dissatisfaction not only in the socialist countries, but in practically every nation of the world."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 10.

"If Kennedy wants to expand the 'disarmament effort,' it certainly won't come to pass by establishing as a condition:

"'Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.'"

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 3.

"Peaceful co-existence of different social systems appeals to all right minded people as sensible. Then there can be peaceful competition. Disarmament is the first necessary step, which will ban the bombs, end the bases on foreign soil, stop the arms race. More and more these ideas are welcomed throughout the world. The war makers must be contained and stopped, they cannot be allowed to destroy the human race."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 7.

"...while Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders have continued to hail the Vienna talks as a good step forward, the Kennedy administration has been leaking out inspired stories declaring that while the talks had proved 'useful', Khrushchev had been 'tough' and had refused to budge an inch on disarmament, nuclear test bans or Berlin....

"The emphasis on Khrushchev's 'toughness' is apparently being used by Kennedy to create support for his aggressive foreign policy and for

increased military buildup. Abroad, its aim is to control Washington's reluctant allies behind its aggressive policies."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 10.

"Washington never wanted the moratorium on tests which it was compelled to accept by world demand when the USSR unilaterally announced tests cessation in 1958. The policy of Washington has been one of endless negotiation to create the impression that it wishes agreement and that obstruction comes from the Soviet Union. Its tactics have been the same as that taken as far back as the Baruch Report on Nuclear Weapons in 1946--to use the issue of control to avoid agreement by pressing for a type of inspection which could only bring the Soviet rejoinder that not a ban but espionage is the object of the proposals.

"To insure against such a result the Soviet Union has proposed a veto-protected inspection, i. e., a three-man control with a veto vested in all three representatives, a proposal based on the Security Council setup which was formed on Roosevelt's initiative and which, despite all reactionary whinings, has safeguarded world peace. However, to avoid a break-up on this issue, the Soviet Union has now proposed that the test question be merged with the disarmament talks and that the question of control be removed as a controversial issue.

"... The Soviet policy is for disarmament with control, not for control without disarmament. What is unreasonable in that?"

The Worker,  
June 25, 1961, p. 12.

## 2. United States Prepares for War

"The immediate arms buildup that Kennedy proposed... certainly won't have the result of priming the pump of the wavering economy, if that is one of the thoughts behind the move. The building of a few hundred more

planes, missiles, and submarines won't re-employ many workers. But it will pour billions of dollars more into the coffers of Wall Street."

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 3.

"IN HIS DEFENSE MESSAGE to Congress, President Kennedy proposed a big arms program greater by two billion dollars than the Eisenhower military budget. . . ."

"... Kennedy seeks to justify the arms buildup by the supposed threat of aggression, and the need to survive the 'first blow' in order to inflict upon the enemy the illusory victorious final blow.

"Along this path lies national suicide. The first requirement of any defense budget is to recognize that in a thermo-nuclear war all combatant nations will be devastated."

"TODAY, the peoples fighting for freedom from imperialism will not be passive recipients of exported counter-revolution, and in this they will be supported by the socialist countries and by the peace movement the world over. Kennedy should know that the same lesson he learned in Laos applies elsewhere."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, pp. 5, 8.

"Kennedy is obviously preparing for open and direct military intervention with soldiers, sailors and marines in these lands which are now breaking the fetters of colonialism.

"In pursuance of such objectives, the President is preparing to pursue the kind of 'dirty' war the French imperialists carried on in Indo-China and in Algeria. That is the meaning of the phrases about training for paramilitary action and 'unconventional' wars. . . ."

"Another objective of this 'para-military' and 'unconventional' war training of the armed forces is to overthrow the governments of the Soviet Union and other Socialist nations...."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, pp. 2, 11.

"President Kennedy in his May 27 address also called for the retraining of U. S. troops for guerilla warfare and for strengthening the Marine Corps which has always been the colonial arm of U. S. imperialism. It is a policy of desperation and madness--of massive subversion, infiltration, assassination and warfare--all done under the deceitful cover of fighting world communism."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 9.

### 3. War Lords and Warriors Have No Use for Peace

"... The Pentagon, the munitions makers, and those who fatten their purses in war goods seek to determine our domestic policy and our relations to other lands. They deal lightly with threats of suicidal nuclear war. They rob the public purse. They force conformity to cold war objectives. Civil liberties are suspended. Labor unions' rights are curbed. Social welfare programs are scrapped. Health and housing are forgotten.

"All this and threatened nuclear suicide, and military rule, are on the program of the war makers. It is high time that the peace-makers--the great majority of the American people--recognize and repudiate the monstrous military superstructure which dominates American life and serves only the interests of a very small few--the financial warlords--that section of monopoly capital, with an unending lust for power."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 6.



"The hope for peace expressed through the disarmament and nuclear test ban conferences has so frightened the military that some high ranking officers appear willing to ally themselves with... racist elements to sabotage peace negotiations. Peace is the enemy of warriors."

The Worker,  
May 7, 1961, p. 8.

"The American generals and monopolists supported by scientists like Edward Teller, were always, and are now, opposed to ending the nuclear arms race."

"These men have a powerful influence on the U. S. Congress and the Government--irrespective of the party label of the President."

"That is the basic reason why the Geneva conference on ending the tests came to a standstill and why it is now in grave danger."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 6.

"On the eve of Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna, the American Security Council announced through its newly formed National Strategy Committee that it is calling for a nationwide campaign for the U. S. to resume underground nuclear bomb testing and walk out on the Geneva disarmament parley."

"The ASC was founded by the Sears, Roebuck management under the aegis of former America First Gen. Robert E. Wood...."

"Rear Admiral Chester Ward, Retired... is 'Director of Education' for the blacklist agency.... He is joined by Lt. General Edward M. Almond, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Admiral Felix R. Stomp, General Maxwell Taylor, and General A. C. Wedemeyer."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. MW 4.

4. Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

"'ONE HUNDRED DAYS for Peace' literature and petitions will be passed out among shoppers in more than a dozen N. Y. neighborhoods this weekend."

"The petitions urge President Kennedy to refrain from giving A- and H-bombs to the NATO countries. The message to the President declares that the spread of nuclear weapons would 'hopelessly complicate the problem of agreement on disarmament.'"

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 11.

"Of most immediate importance in the struggle is the movement to ban nuclear tests and outlaw nuclear weapons. This must be pressed with the greatest vigor, because it is the most terrible hazard to life and health."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 29.

"THE APPEAL to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons. . .

"...is now being circulated by thousands of peace workers and volunteers of all ages, men and women of the most diverse political views, united by the common aim of saving humanity from a nuclear holocaust."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 3.

"To give away the nuclear weapon to NATO or other nations is to increase the war danger. To ignore or to cover up such facts is to add to the aggravation."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 7.

"Building up nuclear arms is no defense against nuclear war. What we need is more action for banning nuclear weapons and for general disarmament. . .

"We need a policy that will turn away from reliance on a super-arms program, use the defense money to help meet the gigantic problem of unemployment and fill the social needs of the people. We need a policy in Washington that will discard the cold war part of the Kennedy defense message and that will implement that portion of it which holds forth the prospect of reducing tensions, and working for peaceful solutions and disarmament."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, p. 8.

"...Economic dependence results in political dependence and it is this that the American monopolists count on to get De Gaulle to subordinate French forces to NATO. They hope to force his accepting NATO as a fourth nuclear power; this would give nuclear arms to West Germany, heighten the danger of war, and submerge France still further to West German hegemony since the latter is the largest country and the biggest industrial and military power in western Europe."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 7.

## 5. The Peace March of 1961

"THOUSANDS are marching for peace this weekend, from one end of the nation to the other.

"San Francisco predicts the biggest peace walk and rally in its history. Chicago, with friendly competition between the SANE\*committee and the American Friends Service Committee, will have two walks combining into one with a huge rally.

\* Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy

"In Maryland, the Witnesses for Peace... will hold vigils at Fort Detrick, at the Atomic Energy Commission installation in Germantown and at the Pentagon in Washington....

"One week of walks by the New Jersey SANE committees started March 25 at McGuire Air Force Base with 425 people mostly college and high school students in line....

"The New England Committee for Non-Violent Action is on a 340-mile peace march... picking up walkers on the route through Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut....

"New Yorkers... and other peace groups will join the New Englanders on this walk..."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 1.

"PEACE MARCHED joyfully through the streets of N. Y. last weekend. High school and college youths and young workers made up nearly ninety percent of the marchers in New York's biggest peace parade in years. And they were bounding with life....

"More than four thousand youngsters filed into United Nations Plaza after miles of tramping through rough wind and drizzle that Saturday afternoon.

"That march was directed by the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee, that is alerting America to the danger of atomic annihilation.

"But the streets were alive again with Peace lovers the next day. A far more significant Easter Sunday parade than the bonneted display on middle Fifth Avenue was under way...."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1961, p. 1.

"One hundred and twenty Peace Marchers, more than doubling the number in last year's group, walked for almost two days in the chill spring,

the final lap in a swirling snowstorm, to be greeted at the Water Tower by a burst of sunshine and hundreds of others who joined them there from all parts of Chicago."

"The spirit of hopefulness and new confidence that pervaded the rally was matched by a much more positive reception by those on the side lines, according to many marchers."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1961, p. MW 4.

### VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The pen with which President Kennedy could once and for all annihilate the odious "jim-crow" lies idle. Moderation and compromise will not work. The people should demand that the operations of the Office of President of the United States be put into action immediately against racial discrimination.
2. It is the shame of America that her Negroes, simply because they are Negroes, are not only denied their rights as citizens but are denied their right to be human.
3. Communists have no interests alien to the Negroes' struggles. They seek to present constructive measures, to build unity, to educate the Negro working class, and to continue their unyielding ideological battle against racism. The Communist Party is indeed the friend of the American Negro!
4. The long-abused American Indian, whose civil rights and political liberty have been completely denied, must be drawn into the popular front against monopoly.
5. Deportations, denaturalizations, harassment by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and immigration authorities are examples of the heartlessness of bureaucratic measures against the foreign born.
6. Anti-Semitism is more the rule than the exception throughout the broad expanse of the United States and has fathered such offspring as Norman Rockwell who, untormented by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, heads the American Nazi Party and calls for the mass-murder of the Jewish people.
7. Many of the Puerto Ricans in the United States are unable to obtain employment. Those who are "lucky" enough to obtain jobs as seasonal workers find themselves forced to submit to beatings, disgraceful wages, and a concentration-camp existence.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. President Kennedy Must End Racial Discrimination

"THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the Communist Party, meeting over last weekend, mapped a program of action for peace, civil rights, and against the mounting impact of mass unemployment.

"The line of direction approved unanimously by the committee was advanced in the main report to the meeting by Gus Hall, general secretary."

"... The President should employ the military forces of the government to bar the violence against the Negro people. He urged executive action by proclamation to guarantee the Negro people the 'right to hold office and the right to vote,' and demanded that as long as the Negro people in the South are denied their civil rights, congressional representation from the South should be reduced, in accord with the Constitution, in proportion to the number of Negroes denied the right to vote."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 3.

"What is required is concerted militant mass action directed in the first instance to the government, with the demand that President Kennedy issue immediately appropriate EXECUTIVE ORDERS to enforce the outlawing of discrimination against Negro citizens in the exercise of their voting and political action rights; in defense of equal job, housing, educational and cultural rights."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 3.

"PRESIDENT KENNEDY could with the 'stroke of the pen' issue a 'proclamation declaring that on a given date all jimcrow practices are henceforth altlawned.' Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, last week told more than 100 City College students to heavy applause."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 12.

"The fury of the mob reaction against those youths in Alabama, which was promoted by the Governor of Alabama himself, is the measure of the failure of President Kennedy, as of his predecessors, to use the powers of his office to secure to the Negro masses in the South their court-ordered and federal law-given rights of equality...."

"All decent-minded human beings must demand that the Administration, the Government power of the U. S., must take up this burden now borne on the shoulders of our valiant youth, and by Presidential Executive Order and supplementary urgently-enacted civil rights laws accomplish the total eradication of the Southern states' Jim Crow laws and segregation system. And put into effect at once a federally policed system of controlled compliance with, and defense of, the rights of the Negro citizens in the Southern states."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, pp. 1, 3.

"How many lessons does President Kennedy need in the futility of 'moderation' and 'compromise?'..."

"The President has not shown 'solemnity and steadfastness'..."

"Steadfastness in this crisis requires more than phone calls... The President in the past has talked of the need for moral leadership from his office... The Presidential office is an Executive one, not a lecturing one. The President is endowed with more power than any other single person in the United States; let him use that power, and never mind the telephone. He is commander-in-chief of the armed forces; let him use those forces. He is chief initiator of legislation, let him initiate needed legislation; he is the chief administrator of the law, let him administer the law. \* These are the duties he has sworn to perform; the lectures are extracurricular."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, pp. 14, 15.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.



2. Treatment of Negroes Is the Shame of America

"For millions of people to be denied, in the land of their birth, the right to live wherever they please, to be educated, to vote, to work at any and all occupations or professions, to marry whom and where they please, to go to recreation and amusement places, to be hospitalized, to eat in public restaurants--because of their color--is the shame of our country and shocks and outrages millions of people in other lands. It is an insult and offense to peoples of color everywhere."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 9.

"...While the Negro workers are victimized with their white fellow workers because of the general economic crisis, they suffer special burdens because of racial discrimination. The proportion of Negro workers unemployed is in certain areas twice that of the white workers. Not only does this impose disproportionate hardships on the Negro families, but it further divides and weakens organized labor as a whole, and thus violates the self-interest of the white workers."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1961, p. 8.

"ALABAMA mud, red with the blood of our youth, has been spattered in the eye of the nation by Gov. John Patterson's Klu Klux mobsters.

"Heroic Negro youth, with courageous young white men and women by their side, are gloriously pushing the point of the developing general offensive of the Negro people and their white allies against the Southern segregation system with all of its barbarous dignity-destroying and life-destroying patterns of racist tyranny, unconscionable exploitation and human misery."

"How outrageous is the condition that prevails in our country! We behold a government boastful of its mighty powers, that flexes its military muscles and shouts in threatening tones before the world that it would order the lives of sovereign nations, from Cuba to Laos, yet has failed to secure the rights and defend the liberties of 15 million of its Negro citizens, 97 years after those rights were proclaimed. How fraudulent and mocking do the Government's 'democratic free world' pretensions sound to world public opinion."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, pp. 1, 3.

"The major feature of repression in the country is undoubtedly the continued brutal oppression of the Negro people with its terror, segregation, police brutality, and lynch mob rule. The use of dogs in Mississippi by the police to attack Negro men, women, and children on the steps of a courthouse is the latest demonstration of this.

"Any attention to political imprisonment or to other forms of the suppression of civil liberty must not take away from the fact that the struggle for full citizenship and equality of the Negro people in our country is the first and primary task of all Americans. That is number one...."

Arnold Johnson, "Civil Liberties and Democracy," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 19.

"... Among Negro workers, unemployment has in many areas reached the proportions of a major crisis.... in many major industrial cities the actual ratio is at least three to one and in some cases much higher.... These conditions are not new; they have existed for some time and have grown worse with each new economic downturn. In many a Negro community they have given rise to a pattern of human misery rivaling that in the worst of the chronically depressed areas elsewhere."

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of Growing Unemployment," Political Affairs, June, 1961, p. 21.

### 3. Communists Are the Negroes' Friends

"IT IS essential for the Negro freedom struggle and for America that more and more Communists be in that great battle. Communists help to bring clarity and direction where there is confusion as to the line of march. They contribute resoluteness and militancy where there is timidity and uncertainty. They bring unity--unity among the Negro people, unity of Negro and white, unity of the Negro people with labor and all democratic sections of the population.

"Communists have no interests that are alien to the Negro people's aims and struggles....

"Communists work to carry out the programs of the Negro people's organizations.... at all times, they seek to present constructive measures which aid the struggle and which build the Negro people's organizations and their unity.

"Communists seek to educate the Negro working class on the necessity for socialism, to bring to the Negro workers the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which has emancipated millions. The more such class conscious workers are, the better for the struggle.

"The Communists can be counted on for a continuous, unyielding ideological battle against racism, against every manifestation of 'white supremacy,' against all forms of white chauvinism, including its subtler forms which find reflection at times even in our ranks. We also oppose narrow nationalist views in the Party and thereby work for the firmest unity of Negro and White."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 11.

"...the all-round role of the Party... must aim at becoming a dynamic political force, defending the militancy, united action, and independence of the Negro people's movement and championing the fundamental principle of Negro-white unity. In helping to set masses in motion, the Party must become much more an instrument of change, a Party of action. In no way can the Party display its vanguard role more effectively

than by fighting for the immediate needs of the Negro workers, emphasizing the growing importance of the economic issues in the struggle for Negro rights, and in illuminating the path to wiping out once and for all job discrimination, and all other aspects of the Jim-Crow system, from the life of our country."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1961, p. 10.

"... Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party..."

"... said Communists will 'do their utmost to strengthen and unite the Negro movement and bring to it the backing of the working people.'..."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 12.

"Mildred MacAdory Edelman, national committee member of the Communist Party, held hundreds of listeners in a driving rain in Harlem for over an hour describing her long years of struggle in Alabama and the militant role of the Communist Party in the fight for Negro equality...."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 2.

#### 4. Abused American Indian Must Join Popular Front

"THE THREAT the Omaha Sioux warned of was the U. S. Government's policy to terminate our honored treaties with the Indians and the protection and aid of Federal law.

"Tribes were to be terminated The illiterate, ill-housed, and ill-abused Indians were to be thrown to the mercies of greedy and land-hungry state legislatures and real estate speculators who wished to carve up the Indian Reservations and force the Indians off their ancestral lands.

"Many tribes were simply abolished. By vote, it is true--legally and neatly--but abolished."

The Worker,  
January 8, 1961, p. 5.

"SUCH DIRE conditions of poor land, chronic unemployment, poverty, discrimination, and starvation have made the half of a million Indians the most oppressed and abused minority group in America.

"Civil rights and political liberty has been wholely denied to the American Indian.

"Never in our history has there been an Indian Congressman in the U. S. Congress to represent his people. There still is none. There is no Indian in any state or federal office. There never has been. Until recently the Indian people were not even permitted to vote."

The Worker,  
January 15, 1961, p. 5.

"A great number of the Indian people are beginners in mass struggle and they need the veteran experience and Marxist understanding of party people to help:

"1. To look to the working people for organizational stability.

"2. To have confidence in the working people instead of the petty bourgeoisie.

"As in many fields of life, labor needs to adopt the principle of organizing the unorganized and this means organizing a large majority of Indians who are seasonal workers and unorganized. Such a drive would have to be on the basis of nominal dues, based on ability to pay. The Indian people's movement must be drawn into the coalition to become a meaningful segment of the popular front against monopoly."

M. S. HARRISSE, "The American Indian Today," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 44.

5. Foreign Born Victims of Heartless Bureaucratic Measures

"Assemblyman. . .

"...introduced Assembly Resolution 20 to support 'a statute of limitations so that no person legally admitted to the United States shall be deportable after five years residence in this country, and that no naturalized person shall be denaturalized for any reason after five years from the date of naturalization.'

"...action was greeted by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born as a contribution 'toward curbing some of the heartlessness of bureaucratic deportation practices.' "

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 3.

"A second major field which stems from the same white-supremacist and chauvinist ideology is the whole series of attacks against the foreign-born. . . Deportations and denaturalizations are used for every form of political repression. Harrassment in investigation by F. B. I. and immigration authorities remind the foreign-born, including the naturalized citizen, that the rule of second-class citizenship prevails in fields other than as candidate for the Presidency. "

Arnold Johnson, "Civil Liberties and Democracy," Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 19.

"Today the rights of the foreign born are in limbo, the culmination of their erosion during the past three-quarters of a century. The arch expression of this process is the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, whose assertion of almost absolute power over non-citizens and naturalized citizens the courts have so far sustained. . . ."

"... The attitude toward the foreign born is also shown in the transfer in 1940 of the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Labor Department to the Justice Department, the police arm of the Federal government. Since 1954 ex-Lt.-General Swing has, with military efficiency-- and in denial of their constitutional rights--periodically rounded up and deported thousands of Mexican-Americans without hearings. Swing also boasts of his 'success' in wrenching, during 1950 to 1955, 184 'subversive aliens' from their families and sending them into exile....

"How can this despotism be explained, this ruthless trampling on the Bill of Rights and the most elementary civilized customs by the very nation which owes the most to the immigrant and proclaims itself the world leader and guardian of democracy? Compounding this paradox is another fact: the non-citizen population today is under three million--less than two per cent of the total population, the lowest percentage in the history of the United States. With such a small and declining target, why is there an intensification rather than a diminution of persecution of the foreign born?..."

Charles Klemm, "The Foreign Born and the Nation,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, pp. 33, 34.

#### 6. Anti-Semitism Prevalent in United States

"... Eugene Dennis unceasingly conducted a struggle against anti-Semitism. He challenged the legality of the racist, anti-semitic Un-American committee which is doing nothing now to stop the nazi Rockwell, who is calling for the Hitler-like mass-murder of the Jewish people...."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 5.

"No sooner than had the American Mercury begun to spew anti-semitism, vehemently and brutally as of old, than the Hitlerite propagandists, who had been 'laying low' since the war, such as Robert Edward

Edmondson and Edward Hunter, both accused of wartime sedition, emerged unto its pages. And now the American Mercury itself has passed into the ehands of one of Goebbels' favorite, and oft recommended, anti-semites, Dr. Winrod.

"So bold have these pro-Nazis become that in the May, 1960 American Mercury, the Reverend Richard Girder... asks whether it won't have been better if the U. S. had accepted the Nazi negotiated peace offered by Von Papen, in 1943, and joined with the Nazi in a holy war against the Soviet Union. The Nazis, Reverend Girder wrote, should have been our allies."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, p. 9.

"Discrimination in resorts, housing, higher education, jobs, and a score of other fields against Jewish people is more the rule than the exception in the broad expanse of our country. That so much anti-Semitic literature should be published and distributed in our country is one of the most damaging scars to democratic liberties. The fact that this is so often covered up adds to the damage."

Arnold Johnson, "Civil Liberties and Democracy,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 19.

#### 7. Puerto Ricans Are Slaves in United States

"Among... Puerto Rican... workers, the officially admitted rate of unemployment is two to three times as high as the national average, and the actual rate is in many cases four to five times as high..."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, pp. 13-14.

"An increasing number of Puerto Ricans are coming through the Holland tunnel after being picked up along the highway by a sympathetic driver.



There are others, not so fortunate, who by hiking day and night... cross the George Washington Bridge and enter the city. They come not from Chicago or Philadelphia but from one of those concentration camps in which the Puerto Rican seasonal workers are kept, for all intents and purposes in practical slavery, under the worst living conditions imaginable, getting beatings and very little pay when the 'deductions' are made against the pennies per hour they receive as wages."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, p. 8.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. When racial discrimination is admitted to the educational system, education becomes inadequate and inferior.
2. Low teachers' salaries, mounting tuitions, segregation, Federal financing of "jim-crow" schools, government encroachment on the free status of state universities and colleges, and lack of state aid all contribute to the prevailing degeneration of the American educational system.
3. Students and faculties no longer timidly sit back and watch academic freedom being trampled in the "cesspools of McCarthyism."
4. American universities, colleges, institutes, business schools, and even rightist student groups are backed and controlled by the business tycoons.
5. The rapidly growing liberalism on campuses throughout the country has been demonstrated in the attitudes of teachers and students on such issues as nuclear disarmament, desegregation, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the distorted film "Operation Abolition."
6. There is the stench of decay in the methodology of American education. The truths of the Negro and other minority groups, of fascism, racism, and tyranny over the minds of men are absent from textbooks. Instead, students are taught of the "destructiveness" of communism, and children are indoctrinated in the capitalist moral that good behavior now means good jobs later.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Discrimination Means Inferior Education

"During the past few years masses of whites in Northern urban centers have moved to the suburbs while the Negro population has increased,

expanding the ghetto. This development has seriously aggravated the school situation for the Negro people who have borne the brunt of a general deterioration in education."

The Worker,  
February 5, 1961, p. 12.

"MAYOR WAGNER'S proposed record budget of two and a half billion dollars is so handcuffed to the bankers and big realty interests that it continues the shame of the city, with its deteriorating social services and patterns of discrimination in housing, schools and jobs."

"Deterioration in education, resulting in the first place from the inferior and segregated education imposed on Negro and Puerto Rican children, will continue with the proposed inadequate education budget."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 12.

"What has been long known to Negro and white parents, that racial bias is rampant in Detroit schools, is being uncovered by a citizens' committee, one section of which would like to play down the startling facts gathered."

"Some of the shockers they will reveal are that almost half Detroit's 285,000 school children are Negro while less than one-fourth of the more than 10,000 teachers are Negro."

"Many parents have repeatedly protested to School Board members... that supplies in mostly all-Negro schools or inter-racial schools are often glaringly short while in all-white schools supplies are plentiful. The citizens committee has corroborated this charge."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. MW 3.

2. Degeneration in American Education

"THE U. S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION urged the federal government last week to cut off all federal funds to public colleges and universities that bar or discriminate against Negroes."

. . . . .

"The commission recommended 'executive or, if necessary, Congressional action' to put a stop to federal government financing of jimcrow and inferior education for Negroes."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1961, p. 1.

"In the fight for more substantial raises for Chicago's public school teachers, 4,200 members of the Chicago Teachers Union staged a 'protest walk' to the Board of Education and down LaSalle Street past City Hall.

"But the next day, in the final budget meeting of the board, the majority of the trustees turned a deaf ear to the teachers' plea and voted 7 to 3 for the small raise recommended by School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1961, p. MW 2.

"THE THREAT to free higher education, under the guise of 'college aid,' increased rapidly last week as Governor Nelson Rockefeller moved to railroad a \$400 annual tuition fee for students in the New York state university units, while proposing subsidies for the private colleges."

. . . . .

"The Rockefeller proposals... aims at a major expansion of higher education in New York through ending free higher education, using student fees to pay for the expansion, subsidizing private colleges, and using funds from payroll and other taxes falling heaviest on workers for these subsidies."

. . . . .

"Two traps are included endangering the free status of the New York City colleges, which are aiming for independent university status. The two traps include methods for state domination of the city-run colleges. The other would seek to curb state aid to the city colleges to force compliance with the state tuition scheme."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. 12.

"The new stage of the general crisis is particularly evident in our country, which shows extreme decay.

"...There is degeneration of our educational system..."

"The fight for desegregation in the schools remains a major task...."

"...the constantly rising tuition fees place college education out of reach of growing millions...."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, pp. 8, 39, 48.

"Rockefeller's latest so-called 'scholar incentive' program still bases itself on aid to the private colleges with cash awards falling far below the present inadequate Board of Regents scale for those most in need of scholarship aid.

"It rejects the proposal for expansion of the free state university; imposes tuition fees for the now free state colleges; rejects increases and expansion of regents scholarships; and threatens to smuggle tuition fees into the now free city colleges."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 12.

"THE FIGHT FOR increased state aid to New York City's public schools is expected to continue to the very close of the State legislative session, midst accusations against Gov. Rockefeller and the Republican majority of 'shocking and callous' disregard of the city's needs."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 3.

"Also under criticism was the undercover move of the Kennedy Administration to support a Dixiecrat amendment to the federal education bill to bar withholding of funds from state with segregated school systems."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, p. 10.

### 3. Witch Hunts on Campuses Are Failing

"An attempt to apply the 'Pittsburgh formula' of red-baiting and witch-hunting against a University professor has run into a storm of protests from all walks of steel city life.

"The simple act of signing a statement of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee last April by a University of Pittsburgh History Professor, has stirred up the cesspools of McCarthyism in Western Pennsylvania."

"University officials, faculty and student body spoke out quickly in defense of the academic freedom as well as expressing admiration and respect for Dr. Colodny as an able instructor."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1961, p. MW 1.

"Widespread support to Dr. Colodny from students, faculty, civil liberties groups, and the Pittsburgh Post Gazette and other forces centered around academic Freedom and a resentment of smear tactics."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1961, p. 10.

#### 4. Monopolies Control American Education

"The business tycoons have the over-riding control of universities, colleges, institutes, business schools, and other branches of learning. . . Billionaire Corporations\* notes that they control to a large extent the financial affairs of these institutions, and the appointment of professors, instructors, and staff members. The ultra-reactionary trend in education--loyalty oaths and other witch-hunts to which the schools have been subjected--are due to their influence and pressure, in the Cold-War period."

William Weinstone, "The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition," Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 25.

"Right student groups are operating with the backing of slick Madison Avenue type promotion. It is doubtful that campus conservatives could do much on their own. But rightist groups like the 'Young Americans for Freedom,' reeking of money and reaction, backed by ideologically bankrupt military men, politicians, industrialists and intellectuals, and expensive promotion and free publicity, do not reflect the upsurge by American students but rather a reaction against it."

"In the Mainstream," Mainstream, April, 1961, p. 6.

#### 5. Liberalism Mushrooming on Campuses

"The AFL-CIO California Federation of Teachers has called again for abolition of the House Un-American Committee and for an end to 'reckless accusations' against teachers.

"The teachers at their gathering last week charged the House Committee with 'reckless accusations, trial by headlines, abuse of persons for sensational publicity and procedures that deny the accused the protection of basic human rights.'"

The Worker,  
January 15, 1961, p. 11.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Not since the '30's has there been such a growth of student organizations as now. One of the biggest organizational developments on the campuses is the building of liberal student political parties. This started in the West, spread to the Midwest and now has taken root in the East. These act fairly consistently on peace, civil rights and civil liberties, and very often serve as rallying and co-ordinating centers for all of these activities on the campus.

"There is a mushrooming of Marxist- and socialist-oriented groups on the campuses in all parts of the country..."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 48.

"A statement signed by 250 leading professors last week called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee has 'repeatedly undermined the freedoms essential for national well-being.' "

"... The distinguished men and women who have signed this statement are concerned... that the HUAC's attacks on free inquiry and free expression must cease.... "

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 2.

"... No un-biased observer would deny the demonstrations by college students around the issues of nuclear disarmament, desegregation, and the House Un-American Committee reflect the dominantly liberal character of the student movement.... The swing to the right by some students is in direct response to the already larger swing to the left.... "

"... The liberal groups on campus have gained in strength and popularity and conservative organizations have been trying to form specifically to oppose the leftward trend.... "

"In the Mainstream," Mainstream, April, 1961, pp. 5, 6.



"Young midwesterners, on the campuses, . . . are speaking out more forcefully for abolition of the House Unamerican Activities Committee and for restoration of civil liberties.

"The call of the Michigan Young Democrats to end the Un-Americans to unite youths from 15 midwest campuses for civil liberties are but two of the most recent developments."

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. MW 1.

"FEELING is strong on the Pacific coast against the Un-American Activities Committee. The acquittal of the student Robert S. Meisenbach, accused of starting the riot at the City Hall hearings in San Francisco a year ago, was a stinging rebuke to the Committee and the FBI. The foreman of the jury and three of the jurors came to a victory dinner arranged by his defense committee, and the trial judge stopped by to congratulate him.

"This extraordinary action demonstrates the depth of the feelings for the students who were assaulted brutally, and the popular contempt for 'Operation Abolition' the faked film distributed by the Committee."

The Worker,  
June 4, 1961, p. 7.

"The aloofness and academic isolation of the college world is over. Students and faculty take part in important community struggles; as in Bellingham, Washington, for the right of Dr. Pauling to speak; against the distortions of the film 'Operation Abolition', in Seattle and elsewhere, in defense of the student recently acquitted in San Francisco, as a result of the police-made riot at the City Hall a year ago."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 7.

6. Methodology of American Education Decaying

"It will not be amiss to bring forward some illustrations of the ethical decay. . . Here, to illustrate, is an 'Answer Book' published by Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, New York, for youngsters just beginning their secondary education. After 'A Greeting!' from the Principal, there appears, on page 4, a paragraph headed: 'Your Character Record.' Here the bright-eyed boys and girls are told: 'The F. B. I., Army Intelligence and the Police Department often visit us to get information regarding your character. . . . A good character record may help you to get a good job or a promotion some day.' "

. Herbert Aptheker, " Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, January, 1961, p. 40.

"... it is not true at all that the 'facts' concerning slavery and the body of literature of the 19th century are fully and freely taught in our schools. The contrary is true. . . "

"... what is needed--as part of the effort at democratic education and in line with a struggle against censorship--is a careful re-examination and extensive revision of the entire methodology of education in this country and the principles of text-book creation and selection. . . . "

"In the Mainstream," Mainstream, February, 1961, pp. 3, 4.

"While refusing more state aid to education or funds for more teachers, the legislature passed with only one vote opposed a bill making mandatory a course in high school on 'communism and its methods and its destructive effects.' . . . (an) insurgent. . . in voting against it, asked whether or not there were other evils, such as 'racism, bigotry, intolerance, fascism, all forms of totalitarianism, and tyranny over the minds of men.' He suggested that it would be better to have a course dealing 'constructively with the development of the democratic tradition.' "

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 12.

"At a Board of Estimate hearing last Friday..."

"Parents protested the failure to teach the meaning of fascism and racism."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, p. 12.

"MORE THAN 100 parents, teachers and community leaders in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn took part last week in a conference on 'The Treatment of Minorities in Elementary School Text Books,'..."

"The report found these school materials 'in respect to the treatment of the life and history of minority groups, in a majority of cases uninformative, and in a distressing number of cases, actually misleading and offensive. The latter is espeically true in the treatment of Negro history.'"

"In the treatment of Jewish life and history, the school materials were found to be 'grossly inadequate'; so much so that, after reading them, it would be almost 'logical to conclude that Jews do not exist in this country....'"

The Worker,  
May 21, 1961, p. 12.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION**

1. Art in the United States is afflicted by the dreadful maladies of racial discrimination and unemployment. If the Government would spend on art what it spends on arms, the American people would not have to wait for Soviet talent.
2. Capitalism has sterilized contemporary American authors. But, how could it be otherwise when American parents discourage their children from entering professions connected with the arts because of the financial insecurity that plagues these fields?
3. While big business in the United States looks askance at the comparatively unprofitable field of science, the creative genius of Soviet scientists moves their spaceships ever closer to the moon. Over the millions of American automobiles inching their way along super-highways soar Soviet spacemen!
4. Let no person in the world fail to note that the first man in outer space was a communist.
5. Religion serves well as a shield for war and racial discrimination.
6. Heaven, that has been dangled so temptingly, is now within the grasp of the poor. But, it is not a land of supernatural forces and creatures. It is reality. It is the here and now made bountiful by men, not gods.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. American Art Is Sick**

"Perhaps the President's Commission on Civil Rights and the United States Attorney General's office might turn a worried eye on the discrimination that corrupts the arts. Jimcrow in the theatre, on television, in Hollywood, and the publishing world is very polite and oh so cultural and

more sophisticated than the shrieking racists outside a New Orleans elementary school. It is sophistry nonetheless. It is just as sordid.

"It emasculates our culture."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1961, p. 7.

"...The arts are in a state of depression...."

"...a vast cultural desert exists o'er the rest of the land, where even a bookstore is a rarity."

"If 8% unemployment makes a community a 'depressed area', then what does cultural unemployment of 90% make the arts? Sick, sick, sick..."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 8.

"...When will we, the United States, take the money the government spends to finance, train, and arm mercenary counter-revolutions, such as the invasion of Cuba, and use the money instead to finance, train, and send American folk-dancers as our emissaries of peace?"

"Ah, when that day comes we wouldn't have to wait for the Moiseyev dancers before we can see our own Virginia Reel danced at the 'Met.'"

The Worker,  
May 7, 1961, p. 8.

## 2. American Artists Are Sterile

"I JUST CAN'T read most of the younger American authors these days. So many of them are nasty brats and leave a foul taste in my mouth.

They can't love anybody or anything. They are infected with the disease of capitalist decay. Some of them seem clever, like precocious little literary Lolitas. But all are sterile as an old cow-skull white in the desert, or as the eunuch Ezra Pound.

"I wish one could help them out of their sterile modern hell. But no mere words can change them. They know all the sterile answers to living words. Their sickness is beyond debate. Only life in its immense dialectics and realism can furnish a cure."

The Worker,  
March 26, 1961, p. 6.

"The most sinister thing about the United States today is its repudiation of its artists; the turning of its face against beauty as a fundamental aspect of life. Our militarism is dangerous, our commercialism is disheartening, our ignorance is appalling; but most sinister of all is the fact that the average American parent today is frightened if his child should choose as a career to be a writer or a musician, a painter or a sculptor. As an avocation, perhaps; as a pastime now and then; but for real life work we want our children to be engineers, businessmen, technicians, bankers and traders. We say do something; don't dream; photograph, don't draw; write fact, not fancy. Think, if think you must, but think of reality, not of incredible ideal. Write if you have nothing else to do, but write of what is,\* not of what might be; of America, not of utopia."

W. E. B. Du Bois, "Comment on Rockwell Kent's Gift," Mainstream, April, 1961, p. 41.

### 3. Supremacy of Soviet Science Obvious

"Washington circles are again hunting for officials to blame because the USSR has once again shown its superiority in science. But the reason for the superiority is obvious.

"In the U. S., many scientists and technicians are barred from participation in building the space ships. There is competition between corporations for the huge profits that come out of processing the space vehicles.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"In the Soviet Union, scientists and technicians pool all their efforts for the benefit of the entire people, with the results already demonstrated."

The Worker,  
February 19, 1961, p. 2.

"The engineering marvel of the space rocket vehicle that carried Yuri Gagarin out of this world and into orbit around the earth in 89.1 minutes and effected a safe re-entry and landing is a glowing testament to the grandeur of the creative science which has been developed in the Soviet Union which flourishes under the socialist system of society."

"...this stellar accomplishment of Soviet scientists attests to the potential of man's creative genius when they are released from the fetters of serving the gluttony of the predatory monopolists and the gory goals of the war profiteers."

"For science to fully serve society requires that society be reorganized on rational, scientific lines. But short of this height, this ultimate goal, the masses of our people are called upon to struggle to compel the ruling class to place science in the service of the peaceful needs of our generation--to outlaw war weapons and war, to solve the problems of unemployment, poverty, racial prejudice, disease and ignorance, to broaden liberty, to enhance our people's culture and dignity."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 3.

"...Thanks to the capitalist system, the country of Edison, which has always been distinguished for the talent of its people, has lost its position of leadership in science and technology. Its highways are jammed with millions of motor cars, yet many important scientific and technological discoveries made some 25 to 30 years ago have either remained in the freeze because they are not profitable enough for private enterprise, or have been placed in the service of militarism."

James E. Jackson, "The General  
Crisis of Capitalism Deepens,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1961, p. 53.

"...the leaps forward in scientific accomplishment in the Soviet Union were connected with the form of social organization existing there.

"In the Soviet Union, first and most developed Land of Socialism, science has been taken to the masses and has become a mass phenomenon for the first time in history; and science is the commitment of and the instrument for the entire society. Mutuality has replaced exploitation, the collective has replaced the individualistic, eliteism and racism are held to be barbarisms. For the person of Socialism--epitomized in the young Gagarin--no longer is even 'the sky the limit.' Given peace, there are no limits whatsoever to what awaits Man in the Age of Cosmic Conquest."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1961, p. 9.

"'MEETING AT THE FAR MERIDAN' by Mitchell Wilson is therefore a rare bird indeed amidst recent American novels."

"His story is of an atomic scientist...who was 'blinded' emotionally when he witnessed the horror his hands had helped create..."

"...While visiting Moscow, and later a laboratory high in the Caucasian Mountains, the troubled physicist is swept away by the vigor and daring of Soviet scientific work. He is literally reborn; 'for the first time in a long while a radically new idea had come to him, with all its excitement and renewed promise'."

"...Mitchell Wilson draws some fascinating portraits of scientists and scientific life. His picture of the cynical Henshel, the 'professional' U. S. Government scientist (Teller?), is sharp as a razor... His sympathy for the 'vivacity of heart' of Soviet science imposing its 'creative will on the physical world' captures the spirit of Socialism."

The Worker,  
June 11, 1961, p. 9.



4. First Spaceman a Communist!

"For hours now this twelfth day of April, 1961, has been filled with excitement here in the USSR capital. Crowds in Red Square and Sverdlov Square, groups marching up Gorky Street or standing in the parks, shoppers huddling in the stores--everyone is talking about Yuri Gagarin, the 27-year-old Soviet army pilot who became this morning the first man into outer space...."

"...And no one here has missed the point that Yuri Gagarin, the first human being to ride a space ship into outer space, is a member of the Communist Party."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, pp. 1, 10.

"The laurel wreath of glory and honor for this mighty achievement, this first monumental milepost in man's exploration of the cosmos goes to a citizen of the first land of socialism, a Communist, 27-year-old Yuri Gagarin."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1961, p. 3.

5. Religion a Shield

"ONE OF THE DEEPEST and most deadly superstitions in the American mind is that war is inevitable. Most American synagogues and churches still preach that war is an act of God, something built into the universe like the weather, or disease, money and death.

"But war is a human institution, not at all divine. It comes out of human conflicts, is planned by human brains. Man makes war, and man can eliminate it, as he already has ended the great plagues of the Middle Ages once also considered divine and inevitable."

The Worker,  
January 1, 1961, p. 6.

"Under the cloak of Christ the segregationist and racist southern wing of the American fascists seek to hide not only their anti-American, but their anti-Christian aims.

"Fundamentalist 'Churches', religious publications, 'Revival' Crusades in which 'Communists', 'Zionists', and 'Integrationists' are excoriated as the 'anti-Christ' cover the South, pollute the airwaves, and fill the mails with well-financed deluges of hate literature. In the South fascism has not only a Southern accent, but a religious disguise."

"NOT MERELY in the South is this new 'Christian Front' of racism doing business.

"In Ohio... in Indiana, in the Dakotas, in Kansas... in Colorado, in California--and even in New Jersey the 'religious' wing of the fascist network is active."

The Worker,  
May 28, 1961, p. 9.

6. Heaven, Devoid of the Supernatural, Is the Here and Now

"The time when the poor 'shall inherit the earth' is now; they are inheriting it and that is what is shaking the ancient globe, and making it bountiful beyond genius' dreams 'even for the least among you.' "

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1961, p. 47.

"The great strength of Marxism-Leninism that distinguishes it from all other philosophical approaches... is, firstly, that it does not recognize the existence of any supernatural forces or creatures. It rests squarely on reality, on the real world in which we live. It liberates mankind, once and for all, from superstition and age-old spiritual bondage. It encourages independent, free and consistent thought..."

James Klugmann, "The Challenge of Marxism," Political Affairs, June, 1961, pp. 46-47.

## XI. WOMEN

1. While many American women are actively working for peace, many more need to be enlisted in the ranks of the growing women's international peace movement.
2. The American-born International Women's Day, commemorating the victories in the battle for women's rights, should be celebrated in the United States where all women's interests are inadequately cared for and the struggles are still going on.
3. Socialist women are not discriminated against because of their sex. On the contrary, they are in the front ranks in their contributions to their countries.
4. The upper echelons of labor, the professions, the government, the foreign service, and the judiciary are almost closed to American women. Some women never find a job and many of those who do are subjected to demoralizing propositions. What this country needs is an active progressive left organization of women.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women for Peace

"...What is required is the creation of a mass grass-roots movement for peace and disarmament involving literally millions of Americans.

"It is imperative to bring...women...into the struggle...."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 30.

"The desire for Peace is a bond between the women of all countries. It will be the universal theme of International Women's Day celebrations in Moscow, Peking, Berlin, Prague, New Delhi, London, Paris, Rome, Budapest,

Bucharest, Tokyo, Havana, Rio De Janeiro and others. Peace, disarmament, the end of nuclear weapons, will be slogans raised all over the world. We American women should be in the forefront of struggles to realize all this."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 7.

"As yet many American women are slow in actively working for peace and the confusion of the daily press helps in retarding their activities. However, more and more are bestirring themselves and I'm sure they will soon take their rightful place in the growing women's international peace movement. They will speak, march, work and organize for peace. Over coffee or tea, through their organizations and churches, they will find ways to mobilize their friends, fellow-workers and sisters to live up to their present-day responsibility--to help save humanity by guaranteeing that there shall never be an atomic war."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 5.

## 2. International Women's Day

"THE WOMEN OF our land on this 51st anniversary of International Women's Day can record not a few successes in the struggles for peace, freedom and social progress over the past year.

"The class conscious and socially conscious women of our country are justly proud that the working women of the United States in 1910 initiated what has become a day of observance by militant and progressive women the world over."

"On this March 8th we greet all progressive women of our land, all women aspiring to a world at peace in which all men and women can live in dignity and freedom. We greet the working women who in the last 12 months have done battle in the shops and on the picket lines. We greet those

women, and young women, who braved the attacks of reaction to uphold the Bill of Rights. We greet the women playing a vital role in the battle for peace.

"Our heartiest greetings to the brave Negro women, especially the women, the youth and the little girls of the South, who are courageously upholding the banner of freedom for their people and for all of us, in the best interests of our country."

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 3.

"IT IS AMAZING that the American-born holiday International Women's Day, is celebrated today, fifty one years after its humble origin here, in all the countries of the world except the U. S. Probably the average American woman never heard of it."

"LIKE MAY DAY, this is a day to remember battles fought and victories won for the full and equal rights of women, as well as the unfinished tasks...."

"...All struggles for the rights of women are not over and won in our country; nor are all their interests adequately cared for."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 7.

### 3. Opportunities Greater for Socialist Women

"One American painter saw a woman in overalls painting the outside wall of a stone. She was standing on a table. Women work as bricklayers, painters, and at many other crafts, from which they are barred in this country. The painter from the U. S. A. said to the group interpreter:--'Ask her why

she doesn't use an aluminum ladder, like we do!' The Soviet citizen replied:--'Tell the American comrade we'll get to Communism before he does!'"

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, p. 7.

"ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was elected chairman of the Communist Party of the United States by action of the national committee over the past weekend."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 1.

"On the morning of January 15th, in Cairo's former Senate Hall of the U. A. R.\*National Assembly building, the first Conference of African and Asian Women came into being. Two hundred and forty delegates from thirty-five countries filed into the Hall..."

"...Conscientious reporters on the status and role of women found it necessary to present the backgrounds in their various countries.... Women in 'free' Europe and America can hardly conceive of the active role being played by the women of Africa and Asia...."

Shirley Graham, "The First Conference of African and Asian Women," Political Affairs, March, 1961, pp. 60, 62.

#### 4. American Women Suffer Discrimination

"BY AN IRONIC twist, the same mission of the International Labor Office that brought out a report on the Soviet trade unions shattering many long-circulated lies about them had some weeks earlier released its

\*United Arab Republic

report on the United States trade unions picturing a situation that is far from a happy one for American labor: " . . . . .

"In its report on the U. S., however, the mission overlooked the almost total absense of women. . . in the upper echelons of labor. . . ."

The Worker,  
February 26, 1961, pp. 4, 9.

"Maybe in a Socialist America at least, there will be a statue erected on a square on the lower East Side to commemorate these heroic pioneer immigrant women workers and mothers who originated a day now joyously celebrated around the globe in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America."

"There is a high percentage of unemployment among women workers. Many young women never had a job and cannot find one."

"The number of women in the professions--doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, technical experts--is shamefully low compared to the Socialist countries. Women in government, as law-makers, judges and in the diplomatic services, are also very few. A woman in the President's Cabinet or on the Supreme Court, is still unheard of in the U. S."

"It is regrettable that in a country where there are so many different kinds of organizations of women, church, social unions and associations, no over-all organization unites American women regardless of creed, color, race, or politics, for peace. It is equally regrettable (and that's a mild word) that there are so few progressive left organizations of women to spearhead economic, political, social, and general demands for women."

The Worker,  
March 19, 1961, p. 7.



"Some of the rottenness of the capitalist system was graphically described. . .

"'A young girl found a job as a car-hop but she quit when the woman owner told her, 'Honey, you make your money with the customers after hours.'"

"Another girl told this young car-hop, 'Once you've made a name for yourself you don't need to work anymore.'"

The Worker,  
April 23, 1961, p. MW 4.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. The Communist Party, USA, must give high priority to work among youth. Youth in the United States and in the world must get together and work on the issues and problems confronting them.
2. American youth--the hope of the Nation and guarantee of a future different from the past--is awakening to its social responsibility. In ever-greater numbers, young people are participating, together with the forces of democracy and peace, in the struggles for civil rights, academic freedom, "Hands Off Cuba," the full rights of the Negro people, and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
3. Hundreds of thousands of young people in the United States are faced with the dismal prospect of being absolutely unable to find employment. This situation, instead of improving, is becoming increasingly acute.
4. Youth, unimpressed with the arguments of "national emergency," feels it should be free from the burden of military service. Compulsory ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) and the failure of the Government to grant draft exemption in the Peace Corps plan are particularly irritating to young Americans.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Communist Emphasis on Youth**

"Eighty-six young people, from 10 different states, gathered...over the New Year's weekend, and after a three day conference announced that they are determined to bring into being within the coming year a new organization of American young people 'dedicated to the examination and advancement of the democratic labor and Socialist traditions and aspirations of the American people.' "

. . . . .

"In the declaration of intentions unanimously adopted by the conference the young people's representatives declared;

"'A new youth organization is needed which will consistently work on all the interrelated issues facing American youth.' "

"Also it was announced that an organization which would help 'uproot the cancer of racism' and which would bring equality to all young people regardless of nationality was needed. The need for 'job training and jobs' and 'for better schools and education,' were also underscored in the declaration of intentions."

The Worker,  
January 8, 1961, p. MW 1.

"The Party must give much higher priority for the work among youth in all fields of endeavor."

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs,  
February, 1961, p. 48.

"Soviet cosmonaut-hero Major Yuri Gagarin and India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru have joined the growing world-wide support for the World Youth Forum, to be held... July 25 to August 3. "

"...the permanent secretariat announced that nearly 300 organizations and youth associations of more than 80 countries will participate in the great discussion of issues and problems confronting young people in every land."

"About 700 youths are expected to attend the Forum, which will be fully covered by the press. After the Forum, participants will be invited to travel to various parts of the Soviet Union and study the life and conditions of Soviet youth."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 4.

## 2. Youth Is Awakening

"IN the wee hours of the morning, early in January, 1961, over two hundred students of college and high-school age gathered on the corner of Times Square and 42nd Street in New York City. They were waiting in the early morning cold and darkness for chartered buses to take them to the capitol in Washington, D. C. Their itinerary was carefully outlined. Their objective was clear: the abolishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee...."

"The overwhelming impression the group made was youthfulness. Mature and socially conscious youth. It was the thing that struck me, not so much older than them myself; it was the thing that struck almost everybody else who came into contact with them on this trip, from the Washington policemen who escorted them in and through and out of the capitol, to Dr. Willard Uphaus, who spoke to them later in the day... 'Everywhere I go,' Dr. Uphaus said later, 'I hear the same thing. The young people are awakening.'"

Robert Forrey, "Youth Opposes the Un-Americans," Mainstream, February, 1961, pp. 52-53.

"WILLIAM Z. FOSTER got the kind of presents he likes best at his 80th birthday celebration in Carnegie Hall last Friday. And the presents were bounding with life.

"The presents were many young workers, and teen-age lads and lassies, who had come to honor their beloved Bill. There were many more youths than our gatherings has seen in years. They lined the loge ring above, and the Dress Circle too. And the meeting closed with their enthusiastic cheers.

"Those cheers had a special meaning. The youths were applauding a passionate call for action by Foster's oldest friend, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn....

"Victory is drawing closer, this grand woman Communist leader declared. But new forces are needed as veterans turn gray. And these forces

are joining up today. And she looked at the shining young faces above, and joyously cried: 'The youth will take our place.'

"And the youths rose together and shouted their glad assent."

The Worker,  
March 12, 1961, p. 10.

"A third major new force has been the youth of our land who have converted the campuses into an arena of debates and universities of social responsibility, the arms factory and missile sites into scenes of protest for peace, the highways and streets into avenues for peace walks. Every peace demonstration from coast to coast was marked by young people singing and shouting, getting signatures to petitions, passing out leaflets, and demonstrating a confidence for a peace victory. The examples are legion."

The Worker,  
April 30, 1961, p. 5.

"In truth, the forces for democracy and peace among the American people are stirring in a way that is new for the cold war period. It can be seen... among the youth, especially the student youth...."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1961, p. 3.

"I place my hopes however in the younger generation now appearing on the scene in the struggles for peace, for 'Hands Off Cuba,' for the abolition of the UnAmerican Committee, for the full rights of the Negro people, and for civil rights and academic freedom. Their courage in facing the threat of death, beatings, jailings, is heroic. They are salvaging the good name of our country. One cannot be disheartened in face of their courage."

"They are the hope of the nation, the guarantee of a future different from the past. I admire them and am happy to meet them everywhere. Don't hesitate to ask me, young friends."

The Worker,  
June 18, 1961, p. 7.

### 3. Youth Are Victims of Unemployment

"The rate and duration of unemployment among youth are steadily increasing. In some industries where automation has created havoc, there exist, for the protection of those employed, union contract provisions which bar the hiring of any new workers and in some cases bar specifically the hiring of anyone under 30 years of age. "

Gus Hall, "The U. S. in Today's World," Political Affairs, February, 1961, p. 48.

"Hundreds of thousands of youths have no job, have had none and have no prospects of ever having a job as things now stands. Nearly all section of the youth are affected in some way. "

"UNFORTUNATELY the youth unemployment problem is even more difficult than securing adequate education and job training. If all youth had this training there would not be enough jobs to go around to the youth and adults in need. The problem is so immense that community self help projects and state activities are not enough. The Federal Government has to tackle this problem in a major way and not piece meal. "

The Worker,  
March 5, 1961, p. 9.

"... The problem of jobs for youth is becoming increasingly acute. In the 14-19 year age group, unemployment has typically been about three times as high as among workers 25 years of age and over, and in the 20-24 year age group it has been twice as high. Although these ratios have not substantially changed during the past few years, the number of young people entering the labor market each year is now sharply increasing and is expected to be about 50% greater during the coming decade than it was during the fifties, thanks to the arrival at maturity of the exceptionally large numbers born during the war years and since. In the face of this, together with the shrinking availability of jobs in many fields, growing numbers of youth face the dismal prospect, upon leaving school, of having no jobs in sight within the foreseeable future. "

Hyman Lumer, "The Menace of Growing Unemployment,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1961, p. 21.

#### 4. The Burden of Military Service

"The youth organizing committee adopted a 'Bill of Rights' at its final session. The planks of this program follow:

"1. The right to plan our own lives: free from the threats of nuclear annihilation and the burden of military service, free to exchange ideas and skills with the youth of other countries."

The Worker,  
January 8, 1961, p. MW 4.

"STUDENT governments and other organizations in over 60 colleges and universities have protested compulsory ROTC. For example, at the University of California, ROTC students in uniform picketed ROTC.

"The reasons for the protests vary. Some view ROTC as an infringement on academic freedom, while others consider it a waste of precious school time. None are impressed with the arguments of 'national emergency.'

"Students have also been disturbed by the failure to grant definite draft exemption in the Peace Corps plan. They object to interrupting their plans for three years in the Peace Corps with the threat of an additional two years in the army not eliminated. They further feel that service in the army is a waste in view of modern weapons."

The Worker,  
April 2, 1961, p. 6.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

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**July 1961--December 1961**

**January 1962**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

Each Sunday issue of The Worker includes a section entitled Midwest Edition. In the documentation of certain quotations in this study, the initials MW preceding the page number refer to the Midwest Edition.

On September 26, 1961, a new Midweek Edition made its appearance. This Edition has been published on Tuesday of each week. The quotations extracted from this publication have been so identified.

In reading the Summary and Conclusions, the real meaning of the Communist Party line must be borne constantly in mind. The Party line is skillfully designed to appeal to people in every walk of life and, at the same time, to confuse the public by combining proposals ostensibly espoused by the communists with those of legitimate organizations. The communists are not genuinely interested in reforms or improving our society, but only in changes which advance the cause of communism.

The Summary and the numbered summations which begin each section of this study have been put, as nearly as possible, into the language of the communist press. It is felt that this technique immediately reveals not only the line itself but the anti-American and sometimes vicious way in which the line is propagated.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, claims that the foreign policy of the United States is imperialistic, aggressive, and blundering and has brought shame and humiliation to this country. The Party alleges that it is the militarists and monopolists, anxious for the profits of war and in league with ambitious and power-mad German industrialists and militarists, that have made the Berlin question one of H-bomb potential. It was this reactivated, dangerous enemy that forced the Soviet Union to prepare its defenses against atomic attack by resuming nuclear testing. According to the Party, mankind must exist in peace if it is to exist at all, and peace means complete disarmament and coexistence with the socialist world.

The Party asserts that the imperialist policies of the United States continue to keep Communist China out of the United Nations.

The Party reiterates that America's interest in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is imperialism in its rawest form. But, it warns, new strong winds of freedom will soon blow colonialism into oblivion.

The "moneybags of Wall Street and their military and government puppets in Washington," according to the Party, are really afraid of the rise of another Castro in the Dominican Republic. Cuba, the Party alleges,



remains a target for United States monopolists and militarists who jealously plot their revenge. The Party claims that United States interest in Latin America is motivated solely by greed.

The military dictatorship in South Korea, according to the Party, continues its brutal oppression of the people with the backing and blessing of the Kennedy Administration. The Party claims that the United States, by its continuing policy of interference in Asian affairs, is creating a possible "Korean War" by supplying materiel and personnel in South Vietnam.

America's bloody and rapacious policy in Africa, as described in the communist press, is formulated by the demands of the imperialists and monopolists.

In domestic affairs, the Party continues to point up the advances of socialism and the deterioration of capitalism. The draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union afforded the communist press in this country an opportunity to set forth the high-sounding ambitions of communism.

It is usual for the Communist Party, USA, to select specific things or incidents for especial criticism. During the survey period for this monograph, the Party selected the crackdown

on welfare recipients in Newburgh, New York, to emphasize what it considers the rightist influence in governmental affairs.

The Party literally belabors what it calls the "fallout shelter hoax," alleging that all the publicity about fallout shelters is nothing but an opportunity for big business to bilk the American people. The recent controversy over the moral right to shoot anyone seeking entry to a fallout shelter during an actual atomic attack gave the Party press an excellent opportunity to criticize "capitalist morality."

Seeing it as the hope of a united front electoral policy, the Communist Party press cites the new Brotherhood Party in New York as a factor of great significance.

Communists contend that police brutality against minority groups and unnecessary police concern with "subversion" should be matters of importance to every American.

The Party claims that the present standard of living has been reduced to unbelievable depths by capitalist planlessness and greed.

The Party continues its attacks on right-wing groups by labeling them "fascist" and "reactionary" and cautions the American people about the control being wielded by these groups in the political, economic, and social structures of American society. The Party insinuates that President Kennedy's recent criticism of rightist groups was spurred by the pressure of public opinion.

The Party states that agriculture has been changed into a new monopoly-controlled science of "agribusiness" and that the small and middle-sized farms are disappearing from the scene. It claims that the panacea for the ills of American agriculture is the collaboration of farmers and labor. Only in this united front against monopoly can the farmers--including the migrants and all oppressed agricultural workers--eliminate the misery from their lives.

A substantial portion of the American labor force is idle, according to the Communist Party. This deplorable situation has been aided by automation in industry, by racism in the unions, by ineffective union leadership, and by the failure of the unions to press for the establishment of the shorter workweek.

Calling the McCarran and Smith Acts fascist monstrosities, the communist press contends that the registration of the Communist Party, USA, as an alien conspiracy would be the registration of a lie. In the Party's entire history, not a single member, it is claimed, has ever been indicted as a foreign agent or convicted of an act of force directed against the Government.

The Party labels the use of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin labor laws as a manifestation of an incipient police state.

The Party continues its attacks on the House Committee on Un-American Activities by contending that people in all walks of life are demanding the abolition of the Committee.

The Party insists that education in the United States is crippled by segregation, corruption, inadequate appropriations, antiquated buildings, and crowded conditions. The only bright spot on the education scene is the sound defense of academic freedom by students and faculties throughout the United States.

Communist writers consider that the entire gamut of American entertainment is ailing, and that the very nature of capitalist society gags intellectuals and artists and stultifies science.

Although religion is equated with unreality, the Party alleges that communists, clergymen, and churchgoers are finding themselves in agreement on certain specific issues.

American women, according to communist publications, are becoming increasingly active in demonstrations for peace. The Party still insists that women in the United States suffer discrimination in comparison with other groups.

Party publications maintain that American youth, plagued by unemployment and the ills of a capitalist society, is rebelling against segregation, against all attacks on democracy, and against war.

## B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, is attempting to prove that the United States, at the head of other imperialist nations, is trying desperately to retain its precarious position on the tilting scale of world powers, but is only succeeding in blustering, blundering, and making itself ridiculous in the eyes of the world. America is depicted as a war-loving, greedy nation conspiring with "Wall Street" to frighten lesser nations into submission to Washington's will, whether it be the continuation of the cold war, the spreading of nuclear weapons among its friends, the establishment of military bases, the exclusion of Communist China from the United Nations, the plot of revenge against Cuba, or merely the plunder of virgin lands in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Failure, fiasco, humiliation, loss of prestige, and shame to our Nation are some of the devastating words and phrases used in Communist Party publications to describe every move the United States makes in international affairs. It is obvious that such tactics are used with the hope of destroying the confidence of the American people in their Government and of creating dissension among the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and with full confidence that the underdeveloped countries of the world, repudiating the United States, will more agreeably be lured into the "socialist camp."
2. The entire blame for the crisis in Berlin and the "resumption" of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union has been placed on the United States. The Party claims that it was the arming of German militarists bent on a war of revenge that precipitated the trouble over Berlin and turned Europe into a hotbed of war. When the Soviet Union resumed nuclear testing, the Communist Party, USA, immediately rose to its defense and pointed the accusing finger at the United States nuclear arms build-up, the number of nuclear tests made by the United States, the training of French troops in the use of nuclear weapons, the offer to supply North Atlantic Treaty Organization

nations in Europe with Polaris missiles and atomic submarines, and the probability that West Germany will be given nuclear weapons. Of all of these factors, the one that really pushed the Soviet Union into preparing its defenses was the possibility that Germany, a once powerful and very dangerous enemy, would be able to unleash a devastating war. Against this growing horror stands the Soviet Union--intent on peace but able and ready to defend its lands. Against the forces of evil stand the forces of good! This is the picture that the Party press tries to imprint on the American mind so indelibly that the American people, remembering Hitler Germany and seeing the error of their country's ways, will demand that President Kennedy negotiate with the Soviet Union and accept the terms of "peaceful coexistence" with the socialist world.

3. On the domestic front, the Party continues to criticize every facet of life in America. The idea that capitalism is declining and socialism is rising is emphasized and re-emphasized. Capitalism is described as decaying and dying, having passed its peak and outlived itself. The lack of government interest in the well-being and future of the American people is demonstrated by the "fallout shelter hoax," the Newburgh, New York, campaign to slash welfare and relief, the widespread police brutality, the extremely low standard of living, and the encroachment of a rightist-led, war-bent garrison state. In contrast with this depiction of gloom, the new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is heralded as the "Beginning of Tomorrow." Lauded as a rare document in the history of the human race, the draft program serves as "an inspiration and guidepost for mankind to liberate itself from the thralldom of decaying capitalism." The American people are being told that they have hitched their wagons to a falling star but they are not doomed as long as they have the Communist Party, USA, to show them the way to the highest ideological and social plane man will ever know--communism. Willingly swept along with this powerful force, the American people, alongside of their comrades in the Soviet Union, can bring themselves to heights undreamed of throughout the centuries of man's dreams. This is the trap baited for the gullible.

4. American industry is still depicted as a colossus controlled by money-mad monopolists who are callous to the needs of labor and use all the ills in Pandora's box to thwart the unions' feeble and futile attempts to bring about monetary and social benefits for the workers. The unions, crippled by racism and ineffective leadership, stumble and flounder through negotiations with industry and inevitably enter into inadequate settlement contracts. At the bottom of this pyramidal specter is the large block of labor being hacked away by neglect, by industrial injuries and deaths, by automation, and by mounting unemployment. What else will invert this pyramid but a united front of all labor under the leadership of the Communist Party, USA? What else will give the force to the unions to put industry where it belongs--under the heel of labor? There is nothing new in this line. It is the same wedge and the same tools that the Communist Party, USA, has been using year after year to disable American industry.
5. As a result of the Supreme Court decisions upholding the membership clause of the Smith Act and requiring registration with the Attorney General under the requirements of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Party tries to vindicate itself in the eyes of the American people. Its purported defense is that the registration of the Party as a treasonous, alien conspiracy would be a lie, since not a single member has ever been indicted as a foreign agent or convicted of an act of force directed against the Government. The Party rails against the Supreme Court for violating the Constitution and undermining democracy. Placing itself in the position of a staunch champion of democracy suffering the cruel and unjust persecution of a vengeful Government, the Party tries to solicit the aid and backing of the American people by proving that their rights, together with the communists', are on trial. The Party pleads its case before the bar of public opinion, smugly confident that the American people will save the day.
6. There is nothing on the American scene that escapes disparagement in the communist press. Education is

corrupted. Intellectuals and artists are bound and gagged. Religion is unreal. Science is stultified. Women, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other groups are discriminated against. Youth, unemployed and drifting, has no bed of roses in this capitalist society. On the contrary, everything in the Soviet Union is bright and right. Women are the acknowledged guardians of humanity. Soviet science rises freely from the launch-pad of history. Dialectical materialism is the key to life. Education is free from crisis. This type of propaganda is used with the sanguine expectation of making Americans so unhappy with America that in their misery and discouragement they will fall prey more easily to the stale bait of communism.



## **I. FOREIGN POLICY**

1. The contradictory, warlike, and floundering course of the Administration's foreign policy has humiliated America in the eyes of the world.
2. Washington continues its machinations to block the seating in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China--the true representative of the Chinese people.
3. The Soviet Union has no share in the responsibility for the crisis in Berlin. Its actions are motivated by a sincere desire to eliminate a hotbed of war in Europe and bring peace to the world. The Berlin crisis emerged from the policies of United States imperialism.
4. There is a sinister conspiracy between the Government and Wall Street to use the threat of war in order to increase the profits of monopoly capital.
5. The moneybags of Wall Street and their military and Government puppets in Washington fear the rise of another Castro in the Dominican Republic.
6. American monopolists and militarists, backed by Washington, still plot revenge against Cuba.
7. Washington's interest in Latin America has nothing to do with a "better way of life." It is motivated by a greedy desire to retain United States monopoly investment and control.
8. Backed and blessed by the Kennedy Administration, the military dictatorship in South Korea continues its brutal oppression of the people.
9. Whether advertently or inadvertently, Washington, by backing Ngo Dinh Diem and building up United States war materiel and personnel in South Vietnam, is creating another Korean war.
10. Africa is no longer fooled by America's "interest" in her development. The vacillating American foreign policy--based on the

demands of imperialists and monopolists--leaves in its wake the blood of African patriots and the plunder of African lands.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. America's Aggressive Foreign Policy Is a Failure

"The policy of bluff, bluster and outright aggression which Washington has been pursuing ever since Kennedy assumed office has already proved a failure in Laos and Cuba. Those nations have shown that determined peoples cannot be frightened or beaten into submission by such tactics. "

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 1.

"Apparently, Washington has become soured by its failure to impose its aggressive policies on Cuba and Laos and its inability to win many nations to its aggressive policies, as evidenced at the recent Belgrade conference of non-aligned nations. And the Kennedy administration is becoming painfully aware of the possibility that the U. S. control of the United Nations through the permanent bureaucracy headed by the secretary general and through pressure on delegates to the Assembly may be ended soon. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 26, 1961, p. 2.

"I'm sure, too, that the Administration has seen the continued decline in the prestige of the United States. I am sure that they have been able to see that since it is so visible. The trips that Stevenson, Bowles and the rest of them have taken I'm sure have shown them that the prestige of the United States is on the decline and continues to decline.... "

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues in  
Today's World, " Political  
Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 4.

"The President's Assembly speech reflected too great a concern about this 'humiliation' and loss of prestige and the need for scoring some sort of victory...."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 10.

"U. S. policy in Berlin has suffered an ignominious defeat.

"The fiasco brought a restrain-word to the Terrible Triplets from Washington, one week after the first incident, and only when a number of Soviet tanks had confronted the border-hoppers."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 3.

"...our government brings no Gifts of the Magi to the new-born foundling hope of the peoples for Peace this Season. It brings no joy to gladden the heart of Man but the sackcloth for mourners and hot coals to keep alive the dismal grey ash of the cold war.

"Consider the shame to our nation and the harm to the world that has accrued from...the past week's performance of U. S. statesmen..."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 3.

## 2. China Still Kept Out of United Nations

"We are ever struggling against U. S. imperialist policies which keep Taiwan in subjection and continue to threaten the People's Republic of China. The forces of peace and democracy in our country increasingly demand an end to U. S. support of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, demand the seating of the true representatives of China in the UN and demand an end to the threats to the People's Republic of China."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 3.

"At the UN Assembly, the U. S. delegation proceeded to prove the correctness of China's charge that Washington was trying again to block that great nation's entrance into the UN. Last week, the Kennedy administration, afraid of the reaction of the so-called China lobby and other ultra-rightists, was putting the heat on its puppet, Chiang Kai-shek, to keep his delegate from vetoing the admission of the People's Republic of Mongolia into the UN."

The Worker,  
October 8, 1961, p. 12.

"Stevenson knows that he cannot keep Chinese Communists out of the UN much longer. The Chiang Kai-shek regime is washed up in world opinion. But he hopes to delay the Communists' entry for another year by a series of tricky tactics."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 2.

### 3. Berlin Crisis Is Washington's Own Making

"...The old German rulers, their generals and neo-Nazi politicians are once more planning a war of revenge, for the conquest of the world. They have already gained dominant positions in the European economy and in NATO. They are at this very moment pressing for atomic arms; then they will be ready for war. They are using West Berlin as a center of espionage and provocation as part of their war plans. This is the real issue of West Berlin."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 3.

"The Soviet Union is wholly motivated by the necessity to eliminate a hotbed of war danger from the heart of Europe and the requirements of world peace in its insistence that all states that took part in the war against Germany jointly conclude a peace treaty with the two German states at this time."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 10.

"THE MOST ACUTE and most dangerous point in the world is Berlin. The crisis emerges from the policies of U. S. imperialism in the first place and its relations with West German imperialism and militarism...."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. S 4.

"...the record shows that the 'Berlin crisis' is a creature of Washington's own making.

"It is reassuring information, that the President stands firmly opposed to West Germany's acquiring nuclear armaments. But it is difficult to square this view of the President with the fact that West German armed forces are integrated--and increasingly dominant--in a NATO that bristles with nuclear armaments; that the West German navy and air corps have been revived under the Pentagon's patronage, and that West German troops have been engaged in nuclear weapons training with the French armed forces."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. 3.

#### 4. Conspiracy for War

"...the Kennedy administration, like the Eisenhower administration before it, is not basing its policy on the information of such intelligence officers. Instead it listens to Allen W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, who, like his late brother, John Foster Dulles, has been notorious for his defense of the big German bankers, who hired him, before, during, and after World War II...."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 2.

"THE ADMINISTRATION aims to raise munitions profits for the main corporate giants, and unify monopoly capital around the most aggressive foreign policy...."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 5.

"The Adenauer regime is raising its military budget more precipitately than the Kennedy administration. Both are using the Berlin crisis as the excuse for accelerating the arms race. The Krupps and the Rockefellers, the lords of the Deutsche Bank and Chase Manhattan, of IG Farben and General Electric, are united in hatred of socialism, in an unlimited expansionist drive, in backing the unregenerate and mad warlords of the Wehrmacht and the new fire-eaters of the Pentagon. It is a super-profitable business to them, and super-dangerous to the world."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. S 3.

"The opposition comes from the big monopolists and the militarists who desire war to overcome the crisis of their system and who make fabulous profits from war economy...."

William Weinstone, "The  
Historic Program of the CPSU,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 44.

##### 5. Wall Street and Washington Fear a Dominican Castro

"What the moneybags of Wall Street and their military and government puppets in Washington were really afraid of was that the long-suffering and exploited people of the Dominican Republic might start a revolution of the Cuban and Castro brand and boot American imperialism out of Santo Domingo, converting the Dominican Republic into the second free territory of the Americas."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 9.

"IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, Washington is afraid that its great friend, the present dictator, son of the bloody Trujillo, may be overthrown by a long-suffering people."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 3.

"'Our Man in Santo Domingo' was busily trying to tailor an acceptable patriotic shirt over the shrunken figures of the Trujillo remnants--'President' Joaquin Balaguer and General Rafael Echavarria--to deck them out as 'democratic nationalists' and frustrate the people's will for a thorough-going national democratic revolution."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 3.

6. Monopolists and Militarists Plot Cuban Revenge

"Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, last week hailed the eighth anniversary of the birth of the Cuban Revolution...."

"The monopolists and militarists of our country who launched their puppet army against you and saw it smashed in the Bay of Pigs still view your unparalleled tempo of progress with lustful and vengeful eyes."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 3.

"Throughout the U. S. a document is being circulated which calls for 'immediate, bold and resolute action' to overthrow the government of Cuba. This slick 20 -page report has been issued by military officials who until recently were top ranking officers in the U. S. armed forces, and is sponsored by some of America's most reactionary industrialists. The plans are outlined by the National Strategy Committee, of the American Security Council."

"... The plan is a bid for a military takeover in international affairs...."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. MW 2.

"Hot on the heels of President Kennedy's visit with Colombia's President Lleras, Eddie Leal, head of the Cuban (counter) Revolutionary Council in Colombia disclosed plans for opening a new guerrilla war training camp in Colombia."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 3.

7. Washington's Interest in Latin America Stems from Greed

"THE FIRST results in Latin America of the Washington-initiated economic conference in Uruguay early in August appear to be moves to destroy democracy and tighten the hold of the local landholders and Wall Street."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 2.

"... we must take into consideration that the effects of U. S. cumulative investments (amounting to about \$10,000 millions) gives U. S. monopolies preponderance over those of any other country. U. S. investments in Latin America are estimated to be close to 90 per cent of total investments."

"In conclusion, figures prove without any doubt that U. S. imperialism is the controlling force in Latin America today."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 9.

"EVERY DAY the masses of these countries are getting more ready for action, not in a 'peace corps' or in an 'Alliance for Progress' for Wall Street and not by 'shark and sardine' concepts of patching up the most glaring imperialist abuses while leaving American imperialism and its native allies at the helm."



"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, looking for superprofits and caring not a tinker's dam how these superprofits are gotten, joins hands with the native exploiters who pose as the 'government' and the 'nation' to the outside world...."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 4.

8. South Korean Military Dictatorship Backed by Washington

"In South Korea the military dictatorship, which holds power with the backing of the Kennedy administration, and the U. S. military occupation forces are trying to put the people on a war footing."

"At the same time, the U. S. military occupation forces, with the excuse of carrying through a transfer of troops, has just brought in a new combat unit which has been stationed near the border with the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Other troops have been shifted to strengthen 'combat preparation.'"

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 11.

"Two weeks ago Washington announced that its great friend, the head of the military dictatorship in South Korea, was coming to the nation's capital to be feted by the Kennedy administration. Earlier, this military dictatorship had overthrown the regime of John M. Chang, a former great friend of Washington, which in turn had overthrown the terroristic dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, a former great friend of Washington."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 3.

"Last week President Kennedy and his top aides welcomed with open arms Gen. Chung Hee Park, head of the military dictatorship which

has suppressed freedom of speech and assembly in South Korea and whose secret police daily arrest, torture and murder hundreds of South Korean patriots.

"This dictator, whom we are supposed to hail as one of our best friends, could not remain in power a single minute if Washington were to utter a sound of disapproval. Dictator Park's lush income, his auto, his uniform, are all bought with the taxes we Americans pay. No wonder the people of South Korea hate this 'peace with freedom.'"

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 3.

9. Washington Creating Another Korean War in South Vietnam

"IN SOUTH VIETNAM, the dictator, long-time friend of Washington, not only is oppressing his own people, but is trying to provoke war with non-aligned Cambodia by having his soldiers shoot across the border at Cambodian troops."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 3.

"THE MASSIVE buildup of U. S. war materiel and personnel in South Vietnam, as decided last week by President Kennedy and his National Security Council creates a situation fraught with the peril of developing, whether premeditated or not, into another Korean war."

. . . . .

"The Vietnam war is one of brutal aggression by a Pentagon-equipped army of at least 150,000 attacking men, women and children to break down the people's will for freedom and independence...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 21, 1961, p. 2.

"The situation in South Vietnam may flare into a dangerous conflagration at any moment. . .

"The Vietnamese foreign minister asserts that the U. S. propaganda campaign to prepare public opinion for the landing of U. S. troops in South Vietnam is well advanced. The propaganda asserts that democratic Vietnamese military units have penetrated into South Vietnam and are aiding the guerrillas there in their rebellion against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 28, 1961, p. 3.

"Last week U. S. planes flew a record number of 'missions' in Vietnam, and American military men billeted in Saigon's few hotels complained of the inadequacy of the housing arrangements."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 3.

#### 10. America's African Policy Aids Wall Street

"An editorial in Afrique-Action, in Tunis, declared:

"'The myth of an American soldier of liberty charged with the divine mission of defending democracy everywhere with dollars and if need be with atomic bombs, has disappeared. The truth about America... is manifesting itself in disarray and failure.'"

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 2.

"'...Tropical Africa, '... was the end result of the research and thinking of 46 experts and specialists. In no other country... could one find that large a group of 'experts' partisan to the white colonialists. With this type of thinking helping to shape U. S. policy on Africa, the American people will never have a chance to achieve friendly relations with the emerging nations of that great continent."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 24, 1961, p. 3.

"Instead of demanding that Kasavubu and Mobutu be arrested and prosecuted for the brutal murder of the legal head of the Congolese government last January, Adlai Stevenson wants greater power placed in their hands to destroy Gizenga, the one leader in all the Congo with the courage and the purpose of making his nation an independent republic.

"The pattern Washington appears to be establishing for the possible assassination of Gizenga... follows almost exactly the one used in the murder of Lumumba...."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 5.

"PRESIDENT KENNEDY last week moved to intervene in the Congo and win for Wall Street imperialism control of Katanga's great natural resources. While UN soldiers are shedding their blood to oust Moise Tshombe's white mercenaries, the President, through his personal envoy... set up a conference between Tshombe and the Congolese Premier Adoula for a 'peaceful conciliation.'"

"The aim of setting up the parley between Adoula and the murderer Tshombe is to create a loose federation in place of a strong Republic of the Congo, and give Tshombe a free hand in Katanga province. This in turn would give Wall Street carte blanche to plunder the province."

The Worker,  
December 24, 1961, p. 2.

## **II. DOMESTIC ISSUES**

1. The socialist world will surge ahead to the fulfillment of its plans. In contrast, the declining and rudderless capitalist world, beset by chaos and recessions, offers nothing but hopelessness to hundreds of millions.
2. The new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is one of those rare documents in the history of the human race that are destined to have their impact on the entire world--communist and noncommunist. It is the "Beginning of Tomorrow."
3. Capitalism is decaying and dying, having passed its peak and outlived itself.
4. To be a communist is to be part of a noble and sacred company striving for all that is good. The Communist Party, USA, has spent its long life working diligently in the interests of the American people.
5. Even in the wake of governmental persecution of communists, the American people evidence a keen interest in communism and what communists have to say.
6. The Newburgh, New York, welfare plan is nothing else than a rightist-led big business drive to slash welfare and relief by labeling the needy and helpless as "loafers," "chiselers," and "criminal elements."
7. The "big business" of fallout shelters is booming in the United States and is quickly approaching the limits of lunacy. Shelters are built to save everything but people.
8. The overly praised morality of the capitalist world is being exposed for what it is by the "shoot-your-neighbor" instructions which "come with" fallout shelters. The American public is finding such shelter ideology uncivilized.
9. The hope of the future lies in a united front electoral policy backed by labor, minority groups, liberals, progressives, and other

allies of the working class. The rise in New York of the new Brotherhood Party is a factor of great significance.

10. Police brutality against members of minority groups, police concern with "subversion" when crime statistics are rising, and newstories of corrupted police officers should be matters of keen concern for every American.
11. Capitalist planlessness and greed have reduced the standard of living to unbelievable depths.
12. Right-wing groups, with their tentacles clasped around the political, economic, and social structures of American society, strive to establish a garrison state that will push the country into war and self-destruction. It was the refusal of the people to fall for the fallout shelter hysteria, and the nationwide clamor for talks with the Soviet Union for a nuclear war ban, peace, and disarmament that recently caused the President to "rap" the rightists.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Socialism Surging Ahead -- Capitalism Declining and Rudderless

"...presented new testimony of the confidence in the future which is existing in the camp of socialism, an area of the world now inhabited by more than a billion people. On the other hand the capitalist world, in a state of decline, rudderless and without perspective, is beset by chaos, by recessions every three years, and with hopelessness for hundreds of millions living in poverty."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 1.

"...The future is no longer a fantasy. Socialism proved it can end unemployment and insecurity for all time, advance living standards

much more rapidly than under capitalism and wipe out the other evils that are kept alive by capitalism...."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 9.

"...The forces of progress, of socialism and peace, continue to grow while on the other hand in the same period, the forces representing reaction, imperialism, capitalism continue to decline...."

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues in  
Today's World," Political  
Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 3.

"Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed...

"Communism--the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute--this is the only way of human life.... In the end Communism will triumph...."

"Dr. Du Bois Joins the  
Communist Party," Political  
Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 10.

## 2. "Beginning of Tomorrow"

"...in sharp contrast to the dangerous repression of liberty in our land, as expressed in the mass arrest of Freedom Riders, in the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, and in the monstrous McCarran Act, the draft program of the Communist Party sets forth the ever-expanding democracy in government and within the Communist Party itself. This program will therefore deeply serve the cause of peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world.

"As the Declaration of Independence in the eighteenth century provided a beacon light for peoples emerging from backward feudalism,

so this new program will serve as an inspiration and guidepost for mankind liberating itself from the thrall of decaying capitalism."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 10.

"...the 50,000-word...Draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"...is one of these rare documents in the history of the human race that is destined to leave its impact upon all future developments. It is the program for the building of communism in a vast area of the world where socialism has already triumphed."

. . . . .

"Our readers will find profound knowledge, meaningful lessons, and boundless inspiration in the detailed and careful study of this...new charter of human progress--the CPSU's profile for the Beginning of Tomorrow."

The Worker,  
August 20, 1961, p. 3.

"...The new program sets more than a new pace in the march towards Communism. It also sets new goals for human welfare that are bound to stimulate the struggle of the workers in the non-socialist lands for higher objectives. In the immediate years ahead it will not be possible for the labor movement even of America to just roll on and on without a basic change. The competitive superior force of the now fast maturing new social order is far too strong."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 9.

"The draft program defines Communism as a classless social system with public ownership of all the means of production and full social equality of all members of society..."



"What a difference from the lies, distortions, and exaggerations poured forth daily in the capitalist press about what communism is! Added interest to the enormously democratic features of this millionfold discussion has been created by the draft proposal that elected bodies, both in party and government, should be renewed at each election. This means that hundreds of thousands will participate in the state and learn to govern it. This will 'perfect the forms of popular representation and promote the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system' the draft states.

"Think of all this in terms of American workers and their families and of American politics!..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 17, 1961, p. 3.

"ONE OF THE outstanding merits of the new program adopted recently in Moscow, at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, was that it presented all its views in simple language that can be translated and understood in all countries....

"Since time immemorial, mankind has dreamed of such a society....

"...They believe that to achieve Communism in their country will be the greatest victory mankind has ever achieved, not for their people alone, but for all peoples everywhere."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. 7.

### 3. Capitalism Is Doomed

"...Historically, capitalism has outlived itself, it already can give mankind nothing but suffering."

B. Ponomarov, "On National  
Democracy," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 41.

"...The capitalist class is brutal, but it is decaying and dying. Defeats and set-backs are only temporary."\*

Gus Hall, "William Z. Foster: American Working-Class Leader," Political Affairs, October, 1961, p. 6.

"U. S. capitalism has passed the zenith of its expansion and is declining. The decay of U. S. capitalism is expressed in recurring crises..."

William Weinstone, "The Historic Program of the CPSU," Political Affairs, December, 1961, p. 45.

#### 4. America Needs Communists

"'The health of America requires the Communist Party,' Henry Winston said. 'If there were no Communist Party one shudders to think what would happen to the Negro people, to trade union rights, to the desire of the American people for peace.'"

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 11.

"...one who is a Communist only hopes he really is worthy of that magnificent title.... One who is a Communist does not easily affirm that he belongs among the great and millions-strong army of the known and the unknown Communists who led the Resistance against Hitler, who were in the front-rank of the immortal Red Army's defeat of fascism, who have organized the poor and down-trodden, the oppressed and the despised, the hated and the vilified throughout the world for a century now, and who have led in the building of magnificent societies, infinitely better than those they replaced, in one-third the globe.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"To count oneself part of this most noble and sacred company is no small thing...."

"'A Fateful Moment;' The Supreme Court and the Communists,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 17.

"...If there is one thing everyone should have learned from the history of the past decades it is the stalwart and indispensable role of Communists in the struggle against reactionary and war forces."

Gus Hall, "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of Progressives," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 20.

"The Communist Party is dedicated to the struggle for a decent city, for health and welfare, for peace and prosperity, for democracy and civil rights."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 24, 1961, p. 5.

"History has placed on the Communist Party, small, reviled, falsely accused as a conspirator against American institutions, the responsibility of carrying forward the struggle for the defense of its own constitutional rights and--in so doing--to defend the constitutional rights of every American.... Whatever the consequences of our challenge to this monstrous statute, we will face them, proud that today the banner of peace, progress, and democracy rests on our shoulders."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 11.

5. American People Interested in Communists

"...the Communist Party will place its case before the highest court of all, the bar of public opinion. For we have profound confidence in the great democratic traditions of our land and are fully convinced that the Court's 5-4 decisions of June 5 will yet be reversed by a popular majority."

"An Open Letter to the  
American People,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 4.

"GUS HALL, general secretary of the Communist Party, reported 'great interest and concern' among the people of the West Coast with regard to the McCarran and Smith Act decisions of the Supreme Court and the Berlin crisis."

"'The thing that impressed me most about this trip', he said, 'was the cordiality I encountered. They're all interested in what we Communists have to say. From the TV guys to the reporters to the people--they're interested.'"

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 2.

"A growing outcry against these hitleresque acts can be heard in the U. S. today and from individuals and groups that are distant from the socialist outlook of the Marxists. These include many newspapers, small as well as large, provincial as well as metropolitan."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 11.

"We must also expect that the ideas and movement for socialism will gain ground in the country--a perspective already foreshadowed by an awakening interest in socialism and communism..."

William Weinstone, "The  
Historic Program of the CPSU,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 47.

6. Big Business Attacks Needy

"What is happening in Newburgh concerns far more than its 30,000 people. It affects many more than the 5,000 on welfare..."

"Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Newburgh, though they are minority groups in population, are a majority in destitution. Their very plight, the result of discrimination, is used in Newburgh as a racist incitement to slander and hound those on relief as 'loafers,' 'chiselers,' 'floaters,' 'criminal element'."

The Worker,  
July 23, 1961, p. 12.

"THERE IS a nation-wide drive to legalize the Newburgh Plan of taking away welfare aid from those who need it most. This is being done by twisting the laws that have been on the books since the time of FDR so that it will appear that everything is proceeding 'according to law.'..."

The Worker,  
October 8, 1961, p. 8.

"The city of Newburgh is being pictured...as having an intolerable relief load which is drawing off a third of the municipal budget to support

unmarried mothers and the thriftless, satisfied to live on the dole..."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. MW 4.

## 7. Fallout Shelter Business Booming

"These fallout shelters, so energetically pushed by the Pentagon and Civil Defense brass, may be worse than useless in providing protection in the event of H-bomb war, according to the Government's own scientists, but the only boom that seems to interest Wall Street is that of booming profits."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 24, 1961, p. 6.

"Corporations, in the cynical belief that there is little or no human protection possible in a H-bomb war, devote their energies to saving their corporate selves. Little effort, or even lip-service, is given to saving their employees."

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. 6.

"...to give the shelter a homey touch, the U. S. Plywood Corp. has lined its walls with attractive 'lifetime paneling'. That's not supposed to be funny.

"So darn attractive is the cosy shelter that the builders taut it as 'an additional utility room--a playroom, darkroom, workshop, guestroom, or storeroom--a lifetime investment which adds value to your home'. Besides, they advertise, it offers 'Bonded Protection.'

"Though on this last boast they don't say how you are supposed to collect if the guarantee doesn't protect you."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 5.

"...The utter depravity and sheer lying involved in the public campaign to put the shelter hoax across, not to speak of the profit-hunger of the shelter corporations that sprung up to exploit fear and confusion, and the class bias and inhumanity of man to man released by the campaign, shocked and aroused millions."

"The President and the Rightists," Political Affairs, December, 1961, p. 3.

8. Capitalist Morality Says Shoot Your Neighbor

"The point is being made by Soviet commentators that the attitudes expressed by the 'shelter with guns' spokesmen vividly reflects the great contrast between the ethic of communism and that of the system of capitalist exploitation prevailing in the citadel of the so-called 'free world.'"

The Worker, October 29, 1961, p. 6.

"The dog eat dog morality of capitalism is further evidenced by the controversy as to whether it is 'Christian' to shoot your neighbor if he seeks refuge in your bomb shelter. It is your private property, say the advocates of shooting, so go ahead and kill him! Every man for himself!

"Private property is after all more sacred than human life! Isn't it?"

The Worker, November 5, 1961, p. 5.

"...a civil defense officer was recruiting a 5,000-man militia to defend the local shelters from Californians expected to 'come in like a swarm of locusts,' in event of an attack. Also cited is a Connecticut shelter construction firm that advised a gun as part of the standard equipment so the owner would shoot an intruder 'as he would a burglar.'"

The Worker, November 19, 1961, p. 3.

"Indignant Catholics last week denounced... 'Ethics at the Shelter Doorway,' which advised fathers of the moral right to defend the privacy of their family shelters by force of arms in the Nov. 25 issue of 'America,' a Catholic weekly."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 28, 1961, p. 4.

"In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the same idea was pursued by a group of 28 people comprising university professors, housewives, a Baptist minister, students and business men. They had expressed concern over the danger to the community represented by a shelter-ideology, that a belief in shelters and the shooting of ones neighbors for intruding into the shelter represented a breakdown in civilization."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 5, 1961, p. 4.

#### 9. Hope of Future Lies in United Front Electoral Policy

"The municipal elections in New York and other cities present an opportunity which should not be missed to take the initial steps toward an independent united front electoral policy, around the central issues of peace, equal rights, the people's needs and democracy. In evolving such a policy and united front electoral tickets, we should also look ahead to the elections of 1962 and 1964, with the aim of presenting meaningful alternatives to labor, the Negro and other people's forces in terms of their needs and interests. This is a big task, and needs the unstinting attention and energy of the Left and progressive forces in all fields."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 8.

"A reform movement, if it involves masses of people in activity, can exert pressure for positive achievements in the city's welfare. But by far the highest expression of the trend as shown so well in the primaries, is the movement for a new party--the Brotherhood Party--under the leadership of the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council."\*

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.



"A well organized Brotherhood Party, supported by the vote of hundreds of thousands, would, therefore be the biggest gain from this campaign for the workers and people generally of New York. This victory would not contradict the objectives of the other components of the pro-Wagner coalition, but would grow out of a COMMON success and unity of forces--be they of the trade unions, the Negro peoples movement or progressive reform forces within the Democratic or Republican Party."\*

The Worker,  
September 17, 1961, p. 3.

"The hope of the future lies in joint action of Labor's Brotherhood Party, the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people, the Insurgent Democrats, the Liberal Party and other liberals and progressives."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 24, 1961, p. 5.

"Here in N. Y. City a new factor of great significance has come into the picture--the Brotherhood Party. While this party, representing the powerful organized labor movement of New York City, supports candidates who also appear on the regular Democratic ticket, its birth is a development of great promise for the future. Once this new party of labor, of the Negro people and other allies of the working class is fully established it will undoubtedly become more selective and discriminating as to those it endorses and supports and will in many if not most instances find it necessary to run its own independent candidates in order to bring forward the issues and to elect labor, Negro and other people's candidates."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 2.

#### 10. Police Brutality of Concern to All

"EVERY 15 SECONDS last year a serious crime was committed somewhere in the U. S...."

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"The National Association of Police Agencies, which recently convened in Buffalo, is concerned, however, with the 'subversive activities' of the American Civil Liberties Union....

"Frankly, the crime rate scares this writer. The ACLU doesn't...."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 7.

"TELLI DIALLO, permanent representative of Guinea to the UN, charged that the street incident which sent...his deputy, to the hospital with head, face and foot wounds, was part of the fabric of discrimination....

"Diallo told newsmen at a press conference in the UN that... was the victim of 'acts of brutality and manhandling' by the two policemen who arrested him...."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 3.

"IT'S COMMONPLACE to read about cops who are robbers in blue. First it was Chicago, and now it's Denver. But shocking as is the pilfering of TV sets and similar items by sticky-fingered policemen, I am more concerned with the theft of America's democratic rights, which the police of many a city perpetrate with full official sanction."

"THE NEWLY NAMED 'Anti-Subversive Squad' plies its ugly occupation wherever the people are in motion, or even where they go to mourn."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. MW 2.

"...The great police preoccupation in violating, not guaranteeing, civil liberties, as well as 'enforcing' the law in such a manner as to heap abuse upon abuse on the poorest of the people, especially those with darker colored skins, is important to every American."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. MW 3.

11. Standard of Living Reduced to Unbelievable Depths

"...the people of our country, due to capitalist planlessness and greed, suffer from an acute housing shortage, slums, and over-crowding, from rising living and medical costs, and mounting taxes..."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 10.

"In those parts of the city where life is the poorest, the humblest and the shabbiest, the common wail of the siren screams death, trouble, despair."

"For the very life of the poor often hangs in precarious balance. Disease strikes them down. Accident pursues them. Violence surrounds them. The law--designed to protect--is almost as often an enemy as a friend."

The Worker,  
September 17, 1961, p. MW 1.

"As you open and close your hand and watch the blood rush through the tube into the pint container, you wonder what kind of system we live under where people are forced to sell their blood in order to eat...."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. MW 3.

"...president of the City Club..."

"...pointed out that 'low wages are the root of our terrible and growing slum problem. Workers who take home only \$40 a week must crowd together in rooming houses and tenements.'

"He said that 'people who earn \$1.15 an hour can't afford decent food or medical care.'"

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 12.

## 12. Reactionary, Fascist, and Rightist Groups

"When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system, we can surely say that the threat from the ultra-Right is serious indeed.

"The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultra-Right and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups, and Negro societies, and the incarnation of jimcrowism and racism as a national creed--in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 7.

"The fascist network operates in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees, like the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the states, It is developing the demagoguery characteristic

of fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth anti-monopoly slogans to ensnare middle-class dissent. The fascist network is openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of 'revolution'--that is, counter-revolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely."

Gus Hall, "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of Progressives," Political Affairs, August, 1961, p. 13.

"There has been a tremendous growth of pressures from the ultra-Right and in it are some definite fascist fringes. Nobody can escape thinking about it--either resisting it or going along with it. There is no escape from this choice, for that is the point that these forces have reached."

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues in Today's World," Political Affairs, September, 1961, p. 7.

"There are indications that the President has begun to realize that ...it will be necessary for him to isolate the ultra-rights. This realization was helped along not only by the opposition of the masses of the people to the Birchites and the Democratic victories at the polls; of major importance in convincing the President was the refusal of the people to be diverted into a fallout shelter hysteria and the nationwide clamor for talks with the Soviet Union for a nuclear war ban, peace, and disarmament."

The Worker, November 26, 1961, p. 11.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. As in all other areas of American life, racial prejudice eats away at the heart of the unions. But substantial sections within labor are pressing hard for equal employment rights for the American Negro.
2. It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all who suffer the exploitation of the trusts in the struggle against big business reaction and the war danger.
3. No wonder American workers fear automation. Machines, while casting millions of people on unemployment lines, cast millions of dollars into the pockets of industry. In the Soviet Union, automation creates no fears, takes no jobs away, but merely cuts the working day and opens the way to abundance.
4. The callous, inhumane lack of adequate safety precautions has resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries in American industry.
5. Officials can say and write what they please about the recession being over, but the unemployed and hungry know better. Since World War II, the United States economy has suffered four crises and a persistently rising unemployment level.
6. The strikes against the automobile industry resulted from the complete lack of concern on the part of industry for the welfare of its workers. The settlement contracts agreed upon by the United Automobile Workers Union and the automobile industry are still considered inadequate and fail to provide job security.
7. Under the pretense of the "international crisis," labor leaders adhere strictly to the policies of the Kennedy Administration. They are actually motivated by fear of additional antilabor legislation.
8. The 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay remains the key to the unemployment situation. Although both the Government

and industry are against the shorter workweek, labor is beginning to see that the number of jobs can be increased only by decreasing the number of hours worked per week and retaining the same pay rate.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Curse of Racism Plagues Labor

"...Spurred by the 'civil rights revolution' that has stirred the Negro people...the struggle is spreading to the economic front for the desegregation of employment. It is for an end to the pattern that results in an unemployment rate that is more than twice as high for Negro workers as for white...."

George Morris, "Unemployment and the Trade Unions," Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 36.

"...The UAW\* has been pressing in negotiations for a model anti-discrimination clause and has been charging GM\*\* with widespread bias."

The Worker,  
August 27, 1961, p. MW 4.

"The curse of racism, he answered, is great, and it will take a 'massive' attack to uproot the prejudices that eat away at the unions."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 4.

"In the eyes of the general public, the leadership of labor, almost all white, was pictured a solid bloc in defense of the widespread discriminatory practices in the labor movement and in pointing a finger at Randolph, the lone Negro member of the council, as 'responsible' for

\*United Automobile Workers Union

\*\*General Motors

the widening gap between labor and the Negro community. The Negro community responded everywhere with vigor and unanimity..."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 4.

## 2. United Front Essential in Struggle against Big Business

"It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all labor, Negro people, peace and progressive forces in the country, embracing democratic elements of all political views, in a struggle against Big Business reaction and war danger. It is essential to organize a counteroffensive against Big Business attacks on the people--for improving conditions at the expense of the monopolists, for jobs, for equal rights for the Negro people, and above all for the preservation of peace and democracy. In all this, the working class, the labor movement, should be the basis."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 8.

"...If all of the 3,800,000 wage and salary workers of N. Y., with their families the overwhelming majority of the population, were united economically and politically, in union and party, there would certainly be a rapid transformation in the social picture of world capitalism's chief metropolis."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 4.

"...The more monopoly capital employs the state machinery as an instrument of economic exploitation, the more the working class, together with other sections of the people ground down by the trusts, is compelled to struggle against this and to strive instead for the use of the state's resources for the benefit of the working class at the expense of the monopolies....herein lies the basis for the ever closer union of the working class with the small farmers, the Negro people,



the small businessmen--with all who suffer the exploitation of the trusts--in a coalition directed against the power of monopoly capital."

Hyman Lumer, "Is Full  
Employment Possible?"  
Political Affairs,  
November, 1961, p. 18.

"Unity of all progressive forces, of all Left and socialist forces, in labor and people's ranks, is decisive to the wider mobilization of the democratic forces in the country for the fight against the monopolists..."

William Weinstone, "The  
Historic Program of the  
CPSU," Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 49.

### 3. Automation Creates Fear and Unemployment

"The miners, who belong to more than a half dozen unions, know that in the long run the machines will not be denied. They will continue to eat away at the jobs, just as they eat away at the surrounding mountain range...."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. MW 4.

"...The Soviet people are not afraid of automation. It takes no jobs away. It cuts their work day instead...."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 9.

"Harry Bridges, leader of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) told a group of industrialists here that there is a limit to how long American workers rendered unemployed by

automation will patiently remain idle while they know that the machines by which they have been displaced are yielding increased profits to employers."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 3.

"...Automation is destroying the myth of full employment here, while it is a blessing in the Soviet Union, paving the way to abundance...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,  
"Impressions of the XXII  
Congress," Political  
Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 27.

#### 4. Lack of Safety Precautions in Industry Harmful to Thousands

"An angry demonstration by the workers at McLouth Steel Corporation, who are members of the United Steelworkers Union, was held in the post midnight hours last week to protest the growing number of plant accidents and violations of safety procedures:"

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. MW 1.

"One hundred and eighteen have lost their lives and 14,000 have been injured in accidents, during the first six months of 1961.

"Of the 118 killed, 40 of them were in the construction industry."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. MW 3.

"For the last decade organized labor has sought to get passage in the Michigan State Legislature of a safety law and more funds for more safety inspectors, but to no avail...."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. MW 4.

5. Recession Over, but Unemployed Don't Know It

"Who can deny that despite the signs of an upturn in the economy, unemployment is the lot of hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers and that long-time unemployment has had disastrous consequences for countless Negro and Puerto Rican families? Behind the lush office buildings and towering luxury apartments, there is hunger, abject poverty, and a gnawing hopelessness."

Betty Gannett, "The Coming  
New York City Elections,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 40.

"...while the economy is moving up, while there is an upward movement from the bottom of the recession, there is really no appreciable dent in the number of unemployed. This continues as a slowly creeping, permanent thing in American life at the present time...."

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues in  
Today's World," Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 6.

"THE RECESSION has been technically over since last March, but there is no boom in sight. . ."

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. 1.

"...what is equally striking is that despite the destruction of some 10% of the national product each year in military outlays, the economy has nevertheless suffered four economic crises since World War II and the

persistent rise in unemployment of recent years. It is especially noteworthy that this growth in joblessness has occurred in the face of rising\* arms expenditures...."

Hyman Lumer, "Is Full  
Employment Possible?"  
Political Affairs,  
November, 1961, p. 13.

6. Auto Strike Settlement Inadequate

"AFTER MANY WEEKS of meetings between auto union and company officials on the contracts, due to expire within a week, the 500,000 affected workers are left with one alternative--a strike vote. The representatives of General Motors, Chrysler and Ford just listened, but held their counter-offer to ten days before the deadline."

"The main pressure for a strike, from workers who have suffered much from unemployment and short weeks, arises from their determination to win greater job security...."

The Worker,  
August 27, 1961, p. 3.

"THE GENERAL MOTORS empire was paralyzed by a sweep of strikes over 'local' issues...

"...the corporation and the managements of its 129 plants across the nation dragged their feet on negotiations on thousands of local issues despite a warning from Walter Reuther...that there would be no settlement until agreements were reached at both the overall and local level."

The Worker,  
September 17, 1961, p. 1.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Demonstrations by UAW members against parts of the national Ford pact did not prevent approval, but they did signalizing the rising resentment of what auto workers consider inadequate contracts.

"Ford workers, like those at GM and American Motors, list high in their grievances the failure to provide adequately for job security and to protect working conditions."

The Worker,  
October 22, 1961, p. MW 1.

"General Motors UAW Local 45 of Cleveland, in its newspaper... charges that GM is withholding \$375 on the average from its worker during the course of the 1958 contract and the new one."

The Worker,  
November 26, 1961, p. MW 4.

"Abandonment of the unemployed, in the recent negotiations between the United Auto Workers and the auto corporations is further dramatized by shop reports of overtime while over 100,000 auto workers remain jobless in Michigan."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. MW 1.

7. Labor Leaders Use "International Crisis" To Avoid Antilabor Legislation

"A statement on the 'International Crisis' issued by the executive council of the AFL-CIO\* during its summer session here, ran the same old routine. The statement put ditto marks under everything that serves to increase tension in world relations that has come out of the Kennedy administration."

. . . . .

\*American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations

"The view that we are in an 'acutely aggravated international crisis' serves in the view of the council members to conveniently sidetrack such little matters as...T-H\* injunctions..."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 4.

"Playing an active role in the life of the country does not mean tagging along after the old parties, and trailing the politicians in power. It does not mean trying to gain favor with those in power by 'me-too-ism.' Some prominent labor leaders, for example, compete with the most rabid sabre-rattlers."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 1.

"...Many of the people...came here to wage an all-out fight but were soon caught in the paralyzing pressures of 'world crisis' politics. Fear of new anti-union legislation and dependence on the friendship of the Kennedy administration in the difficult days ahead, is unquestionably a big influence on the attitude..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 7.

#### 8. 30-Hour Week Is Key to Unemployment

"The shorter workweek demand is beginning to figure in negotiations of an increasing number of unions, although, as yet, no major union has made it the decisive\*\* demand in negotiations..."

George Morris,  
"Unemployment and the  
Trade Unions,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 32.

\*Taft-Hartley

\*\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"The four day week has saved jobs but cut take home pay. That is why a demand is growing for the four day week with forty hours pay. Since the contract expires next year, many workers feel that this is the time to raise this demand and develop support for it."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. MW 4.

"...the report of the Executive Council to the convention of the AFL-CIO..."

"...concedes that the much-endorsed program for shorter hours as a way to meet the job shortage 'made relatively little headway in bargaining in the last two years,' and adds that the issue was much discussed in negotiations and 'if unemployment pressures mount, the groundwork has been laid for possibly rapid acceptance of shorter workweeks in the years ahead.'"

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, pp. 1, 11.

"...The companies may be willing to make concessions to the workers on wage and fringe benefit increases, because this can be more than made up through speed-up and increased productivity.

"But on the issue of a shorter work week the companies will fight ferociously. This touches upon a most sensitive nerve--cutting down the time in which surplus value is created.

"The steel companies have the government on their side. President Kennedy has stated he is flatly opposed to a reduction of the work week, and has also called for no wage or price increases in the industry."

The Worker,  
December 17, 1961, p. MW 4.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The farm question in the United States is of decisive importance to the Communist Party, USA. The struggle against capitalism cannot be successful until the farmers are joined to labor in an antimonopoly coalition. This battle involves people in all classes.
2. The fusion of big business and big agriculture has changed agriculture into a new monopoly-controlled science of "agribusiness." The small and middle-sized farms are being absorbed.
3. The incalculable misery suffered by thousands of American farmers has in no small measure been enhanced by the lack of sufficient government aid.
4. Agricultural workers who are members of minority groups and thousands of migrant workers writhe under slave-labor conditions in this land of plenty.
5. But, the picture is different in the Soviet Union!

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farmers Must Join with Labor against Monopoly

"Clearly, then, from many viewpoints the farm question in the United States is of decisive importance. This includes in the first place the fate of the twenty million farming folk themselves. It involves the Negro question, the problem of developing effective independent, labor-farmer political action, the strength of the trade-union movement, the efforts through a neo-colonialism to salvage the collapsing system of imperialism, and therefore, the whole struggle for peace. The neglect of this vital matter by Marxist-Leninists in the United States can no longer be tolerated."

Richard F. Romano,  
"American Farmers  
Today," Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 31.



Erik Burt, "Lenin on Agriculture,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 60.

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. MW 2.

"...it is a battle against the despotic power of the monopolists, because it is a struggle for peace involving people of all classes..."

William Weinstone, "The  
Historic Program of the  
CPSU," Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 48.

## 2. Small and Middle-Sized Farms Devoured by "Agribusiness"

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big business and big agriculture) have been pressing for is an open disavowal of the long-proclaimed but almost never-practiced principle that federal farm programs have as their purpose the preservation of the family-type farm. Instead, they demand that agribusiness be recognized as the new prototype for the American way and that federal farm programs be geared to their special interests, accelerating their expansion and the removal of the smaller farms from agriculture."

Richard F. Romano,  
"American Farmers Today,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 20.

"Upstate farmers in the New York milkshed area, forced to get rid of their milk at lower prices to manufacturers of dairy products, were reported in an angry mood...."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 11.

"The milk monopolies, in alliance with chain supermarkets, have been stepping up their campaign to eliminate independent dairies and dealers, including milk drivers."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. MW 2.

### 3. Farmers' Misery Enhanced by Lack of Government Aid

"The tremendous changes taking place in agriculture have altered the face of the countryside almost beyond recognition in many areas within the span of less than a generation. These changes have been accompanied by incalculable human misery as families have been forced to pull up stakes from places where they have spent off or most of their lives, sometimes splitting up and hoping to come together again later. Of the farmers still on the land, they, too, find the going tougher and, unable to support themselves and their families

by work done on the farm, they are compelled to look for off-farm work...."

Richard F. Romano, "American Farmers Today," Political Affairs, July, 1961, p. 28.

"...The paltry measures of the Administration leave practically unsolved the...accumulating social problems arising from...the permanent eviction of millions of farmers from production...The rising mass movements in the country bear witness to the growing determination of the people to find positive solutions."

Gus Hall, "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of Progressives," Political Affairs, August, 1961, p. 17.

"'I WANT A JOB, NOT CHARITY,' was the appeal of a displaced sharecropper...the father of three children...existing on \$15 a week as a car washer.

"He, his wife...and his three children...face a grim winter here with local authorities refusing to do anything to help..."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. MW 4.

#### 4. Minority Group Agricultural Workers Oppressed

"...it must be borne in mind that the largest group of agricultural workers in the U. S. are Negroes; the next largest, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans; and that other major groups include American Indians, Filipinos, Jamaicans, Bahamians and Japanese. Whether in industry or agriculture, these groups usually suffer the most intensive exploitation and oppression. If the most class-conscious urban workers are to exercise their proper vanguard role, they cannot allow these groups to be forgotten by organized labor...."

Richard F. Romano, "American Farmers Today," Political Affairs July, 1961, p. 25.

"The huts of the migrants, barracks really, called 'chicken coops', resemble the old slave quarters of the Confederacy. They are visible from the roads. You can't hide this kind of poverty."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 5.

"Slave labor conditions of work and wages still continue among the 158,750 migrant workers, made up of Texan-American, southern whites and Negroes who toil in the Michigan fields. The average wage for the year is \$900."

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. MW 2.

5. But, in USSR!

"ASHKABAD, USSR-- 'Factory in the Field' is a phrase associated in the U. S. with huge mechanized plantations and the misery of farm laborers. But the picture is different in the USSR."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 5.

"I FOUND these people on the Stalin Collective Farm near Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. This farm has nearly 5,000 acres. It is almost exactly the size of Eastland's Mississippi plantation. Its main crop, like Eastland's, is cotton. But there the resemblance ends.

"Senator Eastland depends on slave labor. He works his 5,000 acres of rich river bottom land with Negro sharecroppers and landless day laborers, who have no votes or any other rights. Their black skins bring slavery. And the lynching threat hangs over all.

"Life is very different in the Uzbekistan collective, however. There all the leaders are elected. The profits are divided among all. And fifteen nationalities are united together."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 9.

"...That capitalism cannot avail itself of full use of productive forces...that agriculture is artificially restricted--all this amazes the Soviet peoples, who are determined upon an opposite course."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,  
"Impressions of the XXII  
Congress," Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 27.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The United States is interested primarily in exploiting the wealth of underdeveloped countries and luring them into providing military bases. "Rendering assistance" is merely a cover for the lowest intentions of imperialism.
2. America is the den for the whole imperialist force.
3. Because of the weapons handed to their imperialist friends, the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies stand guilty before the world for every injury and death in Angola, Algeria, the Congo, Oman, Mozambique, and Kenya.
4. American imperialism straddles Asia.
5. Masquerading as "progress," American imperialism uses every method at hand to forestall an outbreak of "Cuban revolutions" throughout Latin America.
6. Contrary to the economic and political domination of underdeveloped countries by Western imperialists, the aid given by socialist lands is free and noble.
7. New strong winds of freedom are blowing throughout the world, and it will not be too long before colonialism is swept into oblivion.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Underdeveloped Countries Exploited by Imperialist Powers

"THE UN TRUSTEESHIP Council has discussed the recent report of its Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific. This World War II-acquired U. S. colony consists of 2, 141 Micronesian Islands, scattered over a belt 2, 000 miles from East to West and 1, 600 from North to South, including battle-famed Kwajalein and Saipan atolls; and the infamous

nuclear weapons test sites, Bikini and Eniwetok. There are 76,000 Nicronesian people, and a few thousand American residents.

"...But the report shows the U. S. is running an exploitative, segregationist colony. The needs of the people are largely ignored. Everything is for the profits of U. S. companies and military convenience."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 4.

"The postwar period has confirmed that imperialism is doing everything in its power to preserve its privileges in, and control over, the underdeveloped countries. The entire arsenal of means and methods used by imperialism is employed to this end. Making use of economic instruments the imperialist powers headed by the United States are drawing the liberated countries into military blocs and are setting up military bases on their territories. The imperialists want to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the liberated countries, to distort the meaning of self-determination of nations, to impose on them new forms of colonial domination."

B. Ponomarov, "On National Democracy," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 39.

"Plans for intervention into our affairs which are being nurtured today in the imperialist camp make the people of Angola raise their vigilance. We know that the slogan of rendering 'assistance' to the Angolese people can be a cover for the most base intentions of imperialism."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 9.

"...Almost as soon as the Congolese people won their independence on July 1, 1960, and Patrice Lumumba was elected Premier, the Western imperialists began to move to destroy its independence to insure their control of its wealth."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 5.

## 2. America Is Den of Imperialism

"Today the U. S. imperialist circles have become the chief bulwark of colonialism, have become an international gendarme. They have no scruples to use all means, however foul and brutal, to crush the national liberation movement. They want to trample underfoot the flowers of the spring of the people's liberation...."

B. Ponomarov, "On  
National Democracy,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 40.

"...It is our nation that has become the den for the whole reactionary imperialist force...."

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues  
in Today's World,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 2.

"...the entire postwar line of policy, which has been shaped and developed by the monopoly forces of the United States. These are the forces, dominating the country and the government, which sought to patch up and restore monopoly and imperialism throughout the world...."

James S. Allen, "The  
Critical War Danger,"  
Political Affairs,  
October, 1961, p. 12.

"He charged that the United States was the chief enemy of freedom for the African peoples...it had supplied vast sums and quantities of military aid to the old colonial powers..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 4.



3. United States Guilty of Injuries and Deaths in Africa

"...the U. S. was linked to the death of 670 Tunisians and the wounding of 1,500 during moves by French troops to expand the naval base at Bizerte held illegally by France.

"U. S. news agency reports from Tunisia reported that U. S. -made tanks were used to shell a Tunisian position at Menzel Bourguiba, near Bizerte, and that U. S. -made helicopters were also being used by the French."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 1.

"...Wherever blood of the people's fighters is being shed--in Algeria, the Congo, Oman, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya--this is the handiwork of bellicose colonialists and their principal mainstay, the American monopolies...."

B. Ponomarov, "On National  
Democracy," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 40.

"THROUGH THE SPONSORSHIP of the Disabled American Veterans, 12 Algerian independence fighters, wounded in battle against the French, have been brought to this country for a year of surgery and rehabilitation."

"Larbi Sellali, whose right cheek is deformed from a face wound, reported with a shrug of his shoulders and a wry smile that many of the weapons and aircraft used by the French were American."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 31, 1961, p. 3.

"...Adlai Stevenson calls for the UN to help the murderers, Kasavubu, Mobutu and Tshombe to arrest Gizenga, who stands in the way of making the Congo a puppet of Western colonialism."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 5.

#### 4. Imperialism Straddles Asia

"Astride Japan stands U. S. imperialism. Its cities are spotted with the concrete citadels labelled Bank of America and First National City Bank of New York; at street intersections dance the wild horses of the Standard Oil Company..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas  
in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 29.

"The imperialists...are doing everything to restrict the national sovereignty of the liberated countries, to keep them in economic dependence and to draw them into military blocs. In the countries inveigled in military blocs--Pakistan, Thailand, Mayala, the Philippines--the U. S. imperialists are the actual masters...."

B. Ponomarov, "On  
National Democracy  
(Pt. II)," Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 50.

"...U. S. military 'advisers' direct some 470,000 South Vietnam troops, including reserves, U. S. arms supplies are shipped in constantly, and U. S. military and naval bases have established."

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. 12.

"...George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs..."

"...speaking authoritatively for the Kennedy administration, proposed agreements with Washington's partners in...Japan to permit unrestricted importation of consumer manufactured goods and agricultural produce into the U. S. in return for the right to export products of heavy industries and capital investments abroad.

"It has become obvious that Big Business now finds itself in fierce competition with its imperialist 'partners' in...Japan...."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 5.

##### 5. Fear of Revolution Stimulates Latin-American Aid

"...American imperialism, working hand in hand with native reaction as reflected in the Trujillo family and its network of oppression and assassination, serves as a reactionary force barring the way to the Dominican people's free expression of their democratic sentiments."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 9.

"The U. S....will lend money, but Brazil's leaders must not only shake Uncle Sam's hand, they must kiss it and say thank you speeches at regular intervals, and have no traffic with Un-American nations."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 5.

"The \$500,000,000.00 and more that are to be given by American imperialism to Latin America through the so-called Alliance for Progress,

will not be given for brotherly reasons. It is the fear that Socialist Cuba's example may tempt the other nations of Latin America to throw out the foreign exploiters."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 8.

"The resistance of the Latin-American nations stems from the remembrance of generations of intervention by American imperialism to maintain Wall Street control and exploitation of their peoples and resources. In addition, the rulers of these nations are aware of the upsurge of national independence sentiment."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 3.

#### 6. Socialist Aid Is Free and Noble

"...the African people are deeply appreciative of the fine stand taken by Khrushchev and other Communist leaders over colonialism, the Congo, and all other main issues affecting the future of Africa.

"They will never forget the noble and disinterested aid afforded by the Soviet Union, China and the other lands of socialism in the development and industrialization of our continent, fittingly symbolized by the Aswan dam."

T. Numada, "The Choice  
Before New Africa,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 25.

"Commenting on the agreement, the Ghanian Times contrasts Soviet assistance with that received from the western powers.

"Soviet credits, it declares have no political or other strings attached, whereas the western imperialist quarters are striving to

preserve and strengthen their economic and in the final count their political domination over the underdeveloped countries."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 3.

## 7. Capitalist Imperialism Dying

"...There is light and struggle almost everywhere, breaking colonial rule. The people today can prevent U. S. -led imperialist forces from taking away the freedom of the captive set free."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 8.

"...New strong winds of freedom are blowing in Africa, where colonialism and racism have received mortal blows...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The  
Smith-Act Membership Cases,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 17.

"...I would say that they cannot help but notice that the resistance to U. S. imperialism continues from every front and continues to grow, including in the smaller areas and nations like Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Okinawa, Guam, and wherever U. S. imperialism has a foothold."

Gus Hall, "Basic Issues in  
Today's World," Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 6.

"...although colonialism is on the way out because of the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples and the tremendous efforts of the socialist world, such as the Soviet Union's resolution in the UN against colonialism, there is not yet an 'end of colonialism everywhere.' It is not

due to the desires of American imperialism and the rest of the capitalist world that colonialism is on its death-bed. The capitalist world is not interested in killing the goose with the golden eggs."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 8.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. The McCarran and Smith Acts are legal, fascist monstrosities and are totally incompatible with the Bill of Rights. The registration of the Communist Party, USA, as a treasonous, alien conspiracy would be the registration of a lie. In the Party's entire history, not a single member has ever been indicted as a foreign agent or convicted of an act of force directed against the Government.
2. In defending its own rights, the Communist Party is defending the rights of all Americans who dare to speak out against the edicts of the powers that be.
3. The American people will not sit idly by and see the constitutional rights of the communists destroyed.
4. It will not be solely the Communist Party or the communists who will stand before the bar of American "justice." It will be communism--an idea embodying the sublime principles and promises of human destiny--an idea fated to absorb the minds and hearts of all men.
5. Reactionaries throughout history have persecuted all those who have fought repression. The Alien and Sedition Acts, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Salem witch-hunts were all progenitors of the McCarran and Smith Acts of today.
6. Under the cover of fighting communism, the highest judicial body in the United States has crudely violated the Constitution and undermined democracy.
7. People in other countries are appalled at the judicial sanction of the McCarran Act. The danger of such a Hitlerlike precedent in the most powerful capitalist country in the world is alarming.
8. The vicious use of legislation, such as the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws, to further governmental control of labor is a warning to the unions of the encroachment of a police state.

9. The rights of American citizens are in jeopardy as long as the Government refuses to protect these rights through appropriate legislation.
10. The people in the United States are calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. McCarran and Smith Acts Are Fascist Monstrosities

"...the McCarran Act does not simply require the Communist Party to register. It requires the Party to register as being in fact a treasonous, alien conspiracy. The Act, affirming that Communists are what they insist they are--and what the government has never been able to establish in a court of law that they are--compels Communists to sign an oath that they are, indeed, what Senator McCarran and Congressman Walter--and Adolph Hitler--said Communists were. Moreover, the act of registering brings with it at once severe penalties and prohibitions under the Law itself; failure to register may subject one, after prosecution, to very severe prison sentences, again under the Act itself; and, to top it all, registration carries with it--under the Smith Act--subjecting oneself to the likelihood of imprisonment for as much as ten years!"

The Worker,  
July 23, 1961, p. 8.

"THE TRUTH is that, in spite of what the attorney general said, the Communist Party has never had its 'day in court'. The fact is that in the entire 42-year history of the U. S. Communist Party not a single member has been convicted or; even indicted as a foreign agent, or for engaging in sabotage or treason. Nor has a single member ever been convicted of an act of force directed against the government. The charge, then, is patently false."

The Worker,  
August 20, 1961, p. MW 2.



"Beginning on this date, the leaders of the Communist Party, under the terms of the infamous McCarran Act, are to register their Party and themselves as subversive agencies of a foreign power. Of course, neither the Communist Party nor any of its leaders will lend their signatures to such a lie. Every intelligent person knows that this Hitler-style law is lynch law against the Bill of Rights and the democratic rights of the people. That it is a sword of terror against the people in the hands of the rabid reactionaries--the Birchers, the Dixiecrat segregationists, the missile-mad-maniacs who crusade for a thermonuclear holocaust...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 2.

"...registration under this act would force its victims to confess 'guilt' to a series of crimes--such as being a foreign agent, as part of an international conspiracy ready to use espionage, sabotage, force and violence against the Government of the United States--crimes written into this law as a definition of a Communist action organization, but for which they have never been tried in a court of law. All of these crimes and concepts attributed to the Communist Party are base and infamous slanders fabricated by Hitlerism...."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 1.

## 2. Communist Party Defending Rights of All Americans

"Gus Hall made clear that in fighting for its own rights, the Party is defending the rights of all Americans...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "We Can Win," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 5.

"WHILE the Communist Party is the immediate target in the case now in the Supreme Court, the McCarran Act is aimed to force conformity of all Americans to bigotry and prejudice. This law would reach out not only to all the mass organizations which opposed the law at some time during

these past fourteen years, including the organized labor movement, the NAACP, \* the advocates of civil liberty, lawyers, clergymen, educators, and others, but also to all present and future advocates of peace, of racial equality and democracy, and even to the dissenting Judges of the High Court. "

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 6.

"... The Communists, by refusing to accept so monstrous a ruling in their own case and by continuing to defend their rights under the Constitution, are upholding the basic civil rights of ALL Americans. "

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. 3.

"History has placed on the Communist Party, small, reviled, falsely accused as a conspirator against American institutions, the responsibility of carrying forward the struggle for the defense of its own constitutional rights and--in so doing--to defend the constitutional rights of every American. . . . "

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 11.

### 3. Americans Will Not See Rights of Communists Destroyed

"If the Government thinks it can intimidate or destroy the Communist Party, it won't work. On the contrary, in the interests of the country, the people will rise to defense of the constitutional rights of the Communists. "

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 7.

\*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Over 1,200 N. Y. 'upholders of the Constitution' braved the heat wave last week to jam Riviera Terrace hall. In one of the most enthusiastic meetings witnessed in years, they demanded re-hearing on and reversal of the recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the MzcCarran and Smith Acts."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. 12.

"IF ALL individuals and organizations who have already gone on record against these infamous fascist-like thought-control edicts, since 1947 when the Mundt-Nixon bill was first sponsored, could be brought together, Yankee Stadium would be too small to hold them. Newspapers, church organizations, college faculties, labor unions, Negro organizations, organizations of lawyers, women, peace groups--the list is tremendously long."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. 4.

"The Communist Party is confident that the American people will strengthen the fight for democracy, economic security and peace, and will guarantee that movements for social progress and for socialism will not be silenced.

"The people will triumph over this Court decision..."

Gus Hall, "The Supreme Court and the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, November, 1961, p. 2.

"...Even with the McCarran act occupying the center of the American scene at the moment--it is not the same as the Smith Act, in 1951. There is a popular resentment against it, representing all stratas of intelligent American people..."

The Worker,  
December 17, 1961, p. 7.

#### 4. An Idea on Trial

"Defendants under these laws stand charged with their whole outlook, all their moral values; defendants under these laws are defending their ideas, their dreams, their hopes, their most fervent commitments. Such matters do not belong in a courtroom. How shall one who has spent his life studying and thinking about the whole monumental sweep of Marxism-Leninism 'explain' and 'defend' this to an 'Anti-Subversion' Board of political appointees? How shall one be 'tried' for a million 'mystic chords' that bind him to Bunker Hill and the Battle of the Bulge?"

"A Fateful Moment;  
The Supreme Court and the  
Communists,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 6.

"--Do the authorities really fear that Communists advocate force or are agents? No! They fear that communism and the policies of the CP will capture the minds and hearts of our people."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 6.

"There is method in this madness; but it is the method of the Hitler barbarians. It was also the method of the slavocracy of our own South. The tie between them both and the McCarranites of our day is skillfully traced in an illuminating chapter on 'Defining Subversion,' in which Aptheker writes: '...what was and is anathema to these groups and personalities are not only the ideas of the Bolshevik Revolution, but the ideas of the American and the French Revolutions--ideas which are organically connected, in any case--favoring fraternity, equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, security, and opposing racism, monopoly, colonialism, and eliteism.'"

Carl Winter, "In Defense  
of Democracy,"  
Political Affairs,  
October, 1961, p. 65.

"...The real "crime" of the Communist Party is that it presents Americans with a socialist alternative to meet these responsibilities where capitalism failed."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 7.

## 5. History Repeats Itself

"THOMAS JEFFERSON was accused of being a foreign agent, an assassin and a traitor by the Federalist Party, when he sought to halt the Federalists' drive during the administration of President John Adams to set up a dictatorship and plunge the new nation into a war against France, which had become a revolutionary republic.

"Thus at the beginning of the U. S. as an independent nation, the reactionaries did the very things they are now trying to do with the moves to outlaw the Communist Party and jail its leaders and members under the unconstitutional McCarran and Smith Acts."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 6.

"THE McCARRAN ACT is comparable to the Fugitive Slave Law of over a century; ago...."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 6.

"A comparable situation was created when the Federalists controlled Congress in 1798 and passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, prototypes of the Smith and McCarran Acts...."

"The future of American democracy was saved when these repressive laws were repealed in 1800. Nullification of similar laws today will best serve democracy's preservation."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 4.

"...we are confident that...the infamous McCarran statute will go the way of the Alien and Sedition laws, the Fugitive Slave Act, and all other repressive legislation which in the past sought to block the social progress and peace of our nation. '"

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 11.

"He compared the McCarran law to the Salem witchhunt and said that 'not one of the vilifications in the McCarran Act was ever proven in court, ' and that 'just as in the witchhunt days, people are not being tried for alleged crimes but for their refusal to confess to them. '"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 7.

#### 6. Supreme Court Has Violated the Constitution

"Under cover of fighting Communism, the majority of the court has itself crudely violated the Constitution, which it is charged to defend, and has seriously undermined democracy. Not only is the Communist Party further denied the rights of democratic participation in political life but the right and freedom of all progressives, of all labor and people's organizations, are further endangered. "

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 6.

"--Both the Smith and McCarran Acts are wedges to erect an authoritarian system of monopoly tyranny. The judicial sanction and interpretation of these statutes are no less evil than the Acts. For these juridical opinions make the government one unlimited power, endowed with authority superseding the Constitution and restrained by no force other than its arbitrary will. .... "

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 6.

"The Communist Party charges that the Supreme Court evaded its responsibility in refusing to hear arguments as to the constitutionality of the inhuman punishments visited upon McCarran Act victims or to re-examine the evidence of perjury involved in the arrival at the original decision by the Subversive Activities Control Board."

Gus Hall, "The Supreme Court and the McCarran Act,"  
Political Affairs,  
November, 1961, p. 1.

#### 7. The World Protests the McCarran Act

"The Supreme Court decision has already had sharp repercussions abroad, especially in the NATO countries. Such a Hitler-like edict, masquerading as a law, is painfully reminiscent of what happened to the democratic rights of all peoples conquered by the Nazis... American authorities here and abroad are already receiving protests, petitions and inquiries. People in other NATO countries are alarmed at the danger of such a precedent in the USA--the most powerful capitalist country of them all...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "We Can Win," Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, p. 6.

"THE INTERNATIONAL Association of Democratic Lawyers, has called on Robert Kennedy, U. S. attorney general, to do all in his power to abrogate the 'incorrect decision' of the Supreme Court on the McCarran case...."

The Worker,  
October 22, 1961, p. 6.

"Comment in the Soviet and European Press on the attempted outlawing of the Communist Party of the U. S. under the McCarran act

contrasts this action to the virtual blank check given by governmental authorities to rightwing and openly fascist groups...."

"A majority of reports liken the U. S. action to that of the Hitler regime..."

The Worker,  
November 26, 1961, p. 2.

"Communications have come...from many lands, protesting against the McCarran Act...."

"A large mass meeting against the McCarran Act was held recently in Berlin."

The Worker,  
December 17, 1961, p. 7.

8. Labor Laws Indicate Encroaching Police State

"...Even more devastating within the cold-war package of by-products are the Taft-Hartleyization of labor's collective bargaining and internal life, government control of union activities in most essential respects, and its paralysis by the dead-hand of thought-control and restrictions over the most active workers in the unions...."

George Morris,  
"Unemployment and  
the Trade Unions,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 37.

"The Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws it appears are considered useful because of the government controls they



impose on unions and their internal life, collective bargaining and strike practices. Such controls, not in law during the big war and only partially effective during the Korean war, can serve as additional clubs to bring unions in line for a wage freeze and other limitations on consumer purchasing power through the credit and tax machinery."

The Worker,  
August 20, 1961, p. 4.

"... To abolish the... Taft-Hartley Landrum-Griffin Laws--is necessary to save our country from becoming a police state...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,  
"The Smith-Act Membership  
Cases," Political Affairs,  
September, 1961, p. 17.

"... Congress and the Supreme Court decisions have established police state control in the country particularly thru the enactment of the Taft Hartley, Landrum Griffin... Acts."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 9.

"The truth is that under the Landrum-Griffin and Taft-Hartley Laws the 'outside' forces including courts and government, already have authority to decide many of the problems at issue..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 5, 1961, p. 7.

#### 9. Civil Rights Jeopardized by Lack of Legislation

"For more than 85 years not a single branch of the federal government has lived up to its oath to uphold the provisions of the

constitution relating to Negro Americans. Nor has a single president used his power to push congressional and Supreme Court action."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. 2.

"But the decisions of the Supreme Court are not self-executing. With or without restrictive covenants, Negroes are segregated in housing. The jury decisions have led only to 'token acceptance.' Segregation on public conveyances still persists where the Negro people have not established new conditions of equality for themselves."

Leon Josephson, "The  
Law and Negro Education,"  
Mainstream,  
August, 1961, p. 22.

"The President has refused to include civil rights in his 16 priority bills. The only civil rights measure passed in this session has been a two year extension of the Civil Rights Commission."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 2.

"...McCarran Security Act included specific provisions depriving the foreign-born in America of the protection of the Bill of Rights. Thus, organizations such as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are also ordered to register."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 3.

"Recommendations to advance equal status for the Negro people were made recently by the Commission of Civil Rights to the President, Congress and the U. S. Supreme Court.

"The President has ignored them.

"Congress will reopen Jan. 10, and the Administration has given no indication that it will break with its policy of no civil rights legislation."

The Worker,  
December 17, 1961, p. 11.

#### 10. Americans Ask Abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities

"A marked advance was made by proponents of militant direct mass action here at the week-long 52nd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Sheraton Hotel."

"A notable development was the adoption of a resolution calling for abolition of the House Un-American Committee."

The Worker,  
July 23, 1961, p. 1.

"By unanimous action, the 750 delegates to the convention of the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee...."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 10.

"Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, stated:"

"The E. C. L. C. believes the freedom of our democracy will continue to suffer until the HUAC is abolished and the McCarran and Smith Acts are repealed."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 1.

"Delegates and visitors heard reports of increasing student activities in the campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Worker,  
November 26, 1961, p. MW 1.

"More than 3,500 people answering the call of The N. Y. Council To Abolish The House Unamerican Activities Committee, filled the main auditorium of Manhattan Center..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 3.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The continued existence of man on this planet rests in complete and total disarmament. It is incumbent upon every individual in these United States to push the Government toward the only alternative, to destruction--negotiations with the Soviet Union and peaceful coexistence with the socialist world.
2. A right-lined coalition of military leaders and representatives of big business, looking toward profits, continues to drive for war.
3. The American masses are being deluded into believing that the armaments build-up creates greater chances for employment.
4. The atrocities perpetrated against innocent Japanese women and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki must never be forgotten by mankind.
5. The nuclear arms build-up, the announcement by President Kennedy of the training of French troops in the use of nuclear weapons, the looming probability that West German forces will be given nuclear weapons, and the offer to supply North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries in Europe with Polaris missiles and atomic submarines all forced the Soviet Union--with great reluctance--to resume nuclear testing.
6. A look at the record will reveal that it is the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies that have piled up a greater number of nuclear tests; that the United States blocked deliberately any negotiations on the subject of nuclear testing; and that it raised a false hue and cry of "dangerous fallout" when the Soviet Union was forced to resume testing its nuclear weapons.
7. Though the hour is late, people in all walks of life are banding together and demanding peace.
8. All people can be assured of the Soviet Union's determination never to start a war, to negotiate all differences, and to maintain at the core of its foreign policy the principle of peaceful coexistence.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. All Must Work for Disarmament

"Every man, woman, and child must coexist in peace if their existence is to be assured. This means agreement to end all nuclear testing and on immediate steps to total disarmament...If civilization is to continue on this planet, at some point, in one way or another, humanity will have to travel this road...."

James S. Allen, "The Critical War Danger," Political Affairs, October, 1961, p. 12.

"THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE--the only one which will benefit the American people--is negotiations with the Soviet Union to solve the present problems, to bring about general and total disarmament, with a nuclear ban as part of it, and to bring about an era of peace among all nations.

"Peaceful coexistence with the Socialist sector of the world is the keystone in the future building of our nation. Without it, there is the ever-present danger that there will be no future."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 3.

"...Recognizing the phoniness and peril in the campaign pushed" by the Kennedy administration, people everywhere have joined in demonstrations and picketlines calling for negotiations between President Kennedy and Soviet Premier Khrushchev for destruction of all atom bombs, complete disarmament and peace."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 1.

"...one of the creators of the A-bomb and professor of biophysics...expressed the fear that war in the next ten years would be inevitable..."

"...since Americans cannot effect a change in Soviet policy, he said they must change the attitude of the American government toward the U. S. S. R. and the cold war.

"...the objective...would be to persuade Congress and the administration to adopt policies to attain disarmament and a settlement of international problems."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. MW 2.

## 2. Military-Civilian Coalition Wants War

"The entire line of policy, coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities, can not help but create our own 'French Generals,' who feel at home in fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of 20 years of militarization, of the close cooperation between the armed forces and monopoly in handling a \$40-billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, pp. 6-7.

"Are the armed forces whipping up support for a war policy in spite of the July 20 directive of the Defense Department which orders military personnel to get out of the propaganda business?"

"And is the Institute for American Strategy, an amalgam of military leaders, major industrialists and right wing reactionaries, still a major vehicle for this poisonous propaganda as it has been since 1955?"

"The answer to both of these questions is yes..."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. MW 1.

"Who can deny that the advocates of this path are in the first place here in our midst?"

"They are the big trusts who make billions of dollars from the war orders--the high military brass who have become rich as a result of their conspiracy with the big trusts. Most of this big brass expects--and in fact most of them do 'retire' to the board of directors of the big corporations at fabulous salaries.

"The political spokesman for this alliance is in the first place the ultra-Right and its fascist fanatical fringe."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 3.

"MAJOR. GEN. EDWIN A. WALKER, a member of the subversive John Birch Society in outright defiance of the U.S. government, made a bid on Oct. 26 to become the fuehrer of the ultra-reactionary forces for a possible fascist march to power.

"Walker called for a military-civilian coalition to rule the nation in an allout world war."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 1.

"...There is...the terrible danger of a nuclear war which Big Business and Big Brass are preparing."

William Weinstone, "The Historic Program of the CPSU," Political Affairs, December, 1961, p. 46.

### 3. Armaments Build-up Is Not a Boost to Economy

"Conditions in our city bring into sharp relief how the people have sacrificed, far beyond their endurance, to support a thermo-nuclear stockpile sufficient to annihilate mankind and destroy the world. What is required is a halt to the sacrifice through a halt in the bloated armament spending."

Betty Gannett, "The Coming New York City Elections," Political Affairs, July, 1961, p. 40.



"...each layer of armor loaded on the back of the American imperialist dinosaur makes it more sluggish, slows its economic growth rate and increases the burden of taxation and unemployment on the masses."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 5.

"Is a deliberate effort being made to convince American workers that jobs and prosperity depend on continuing world crisis--or maybe even a 'safe' little war?

"A rash of stories in Cleveland newspapers would indicate a concentrated effort to implant such notions on the public mind."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. MW 1.

"... The call for bigger and better arms budgets is shared by all groups, from big business reaction to the top labor leadership, not only on the argument that these are needed for the country's defense but also on the contention that they are essential as a stimulus to investment and a source of jobs....the advocates of deficit spending and a 'guns and\* butter' policy are increasingly impelled to accede to calls for sacrifice in the name of mounting military budgets."

Hyman Lumer, "Is Full Employment Possible?" Political Affairs,  
November, 1961, p. 9.

#### 4. Let's Never Forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki

"An a-bomb survivor, Shinichi Miyamoto, vice chairman of the Hiroshima prefectural assembly, prayed in Japanese as U. S. and Canadian peace leaders met in a symbolic ceremony at the border in the center of the Peace Bridge Aug. 6, the 16th anniversary of the atomic attack on Hiroshima.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Approximately 200 Canadian and U. S. peace demonstrators assembled at the U. S. entrance to the Peace Bridge carrying placards demanding an end to the arms race, banning nuclear weapons...and no more Hiroshimas!"

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 12.

"...Delegations of Americans--especially, I think, women--should go to Hiroshima and Nagasaki and see for themselves and talk to the victims. Let the YWCA, the Churches, the Ladies Auxiliaries, the Veterans Organizations, the Unions send delegations, if only for sweet charity's sake, and help bind up wounds, help relieve awful suffering, help expiate the fearful national sin committed by the United States. What is needed, above all, is a movement in our country that will put an end forever to the nightmare of nuclear warfare, and will make real the pledge inside the tomb of the Hiroshima Dead: 'Rest Peacefully; This Crime Shall Never Be Repeated.'"

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, September, 1961, p. 36.

"When the United States of America was the first to manufacture an atom bomb," Khrushchev declared, "it felt juridically and morally justified in dropping it on the heads of defenseless citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This was an act of senseless brutality without any military necessity. Hundreds of thousands of women, children and old folk perished in the flames of atomic explosions. And this was done merely to intimidate the peoples and make them bow before the might of the U. S."

"Strange as it may seem, some American politicians were and still are proud of this mass killing. No U. S. administration, no U. S. president since the war has admitted these to have been amoral actions."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 3.

5. United States and NATO Allies Forced Soviet Union To Resume Nuclear Testing.

"In announcing it was resuming nuclear tests, the USSR declared that it had been 'compelled to this reluctantly, with regret, and only as a result of the most careful and comprehensive study of the question.'

"It pointed out that 'the U. S. and its allies are spinning the fly-wheel of their military machine ever faster, fanning up the arms race to unprecedented scope, increasing the strength of armies, making the tension of the international situation redhot. Things have reached a point that the leading statesmen of the U. S. and its allies are resorting to threats to take to arms and to unleash war as a countermeasure to the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.'"

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. 7.

"...When the Pentagon offers to supply NATO in Europe with Polaris nuclear missiles and with atomic submarines, when the West Germans are permitted to build battleships large enough to mount Polaris, when General Norstad proposes to turn NATO into the 'fourth nuclear power,' we can be sure that preparations for the nuclear arming of West German forces are well under way."

James S. Allen, "The Critical War Danger," Political Affairs,  
October, 1961, p. 13.

"...in the face of warlike actions by the Kennedy administration and the Western allies, it should be obvious that the USSR cannot limit itself to offers of peace which go unheeded, but is forced to make moves of self-defense, such as cancelling further reductions of its armed forces and the reluctant resumption of nuclear weapons tests."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 3.

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of American-Soviet Friendship..."

"...said that Americans must ask themselves 'whether we have done enough to prevent this grave situation from arising,' making reference to reasons advanced by the Soviet Union for resuming tests. These included, the statement says, 'increasingly intensive military measures and arms build up' by the U. S., the indication that the U. S. was preparing to resume tests; above all the rearming of West Germany and plans to give nuclear arms to the Bundeswehr, and the threat of nuclear war over Berlin."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 2.

"...increased tension around Berlin, the accelerated arms race, and continued testing by France led to resumption of testing."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 8.

6. United States Reaction to Soviet H-bomb Testing Is Hypocritical

"WITH THE NUCLEAR warriors in the Kennedy administration and Congress now trying to force resumption of nuclear weapons tests and to blame it on the Soviet Union, it is worthwhile for all Americans to recall that:

"The Soviet Union unilaterally halted the testing of atomic weapons in the spring of 1958.

"The U. S. and Britain followed suit reluctantly under the pressure of world opinion."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 3.

"...the United States and its atomic allies already have a great advantage over the Soviet Union in number of tests. Up to the current resumption of testing, according to the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, the United States had carried out 165 tests, Britain 21, and France 4, for a NATO total of 190, as compared with 65 by the Soviet Union. Thus, in view of the crisis raging over Berlin and the rapid U. S. military measures, there would be compelling security reasons on the part of the Soviet Union to overcome any disadvantage arising from this great disparity in testing."

James S. Allen, "The Critical War Danger," Political Affairs, October, 1961, p. 17.

"...the tests were halted because the brave people...were able to force a very reluctant Eisenhower administration to halt its H-bomb tests a few months after the Soviet Union had unilaterally announced its own test moratorium. And the tests were halted because these same brave people blocked the persistent moves during those three years by...nuclear warriors for the U. S. to resume H-bomb testing."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 3.

## 7. People in All Walks of Life Plead for Peace

"The fight for peace is the best cement for welding together all anti-monopoly forces. An alliance of manual and mental workers, operatives, clerks and scientists, will put an end to nuclear wars and combine to be the gravediggers of the system which makes them."

Victor Perlo, "On the So-Called 'Middle Class,'" Political Affairs, August, 1961, p. 59.

"...The movement for peace has broadened in the country and has made some gratifying advances within labor ranks."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 1.

"Women from all walks of life took part in a Cleveland 'Strike For Peace' rally which was timed to coincide with similar demonstrations throughout the nation. "

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. MW 1.

"To enter the huge Palladium dining hall, where the speech was made, the President had to wend his way through a snaking line of over two thousand pickets. . . "

. . . . .  
"The sponsors of the picket line included such celebrated movie stars as Rita Morena, Marlon Brando, Sammy Davis, Jr., Rita Hayworth, Shelly Winters and Kim Novak. These and many other public figures are sponsors of the peace workers organization known as HELP--Help Establish Lasting Peace. "

The Worker,  
November 21, 1961, p. 7.

"WESTCHESTER county, N. Y., citizens from all walks of life 'knowing the extent of devastation facing us' in the event of a nuclear war, call on their neighbors to write to President Kennedy 'to lead the nation forward on a race towards peace.' . . . "

The Worker,  
December 17, 1961, p. 2.

#### 8. Soviet Union Stands for Peace

"KHRUSHCHEV spoke of Socialism and Peace.

"The most reasonable people in the West," he said, "cannot but acknowledge that the reliable launching pad from which the Soviet Union put up its space ships is Socialism."

"And on Peace!"

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 9.

"In all statements by Premier Khrushchev and the Soviet government, including the statement announcing the resumption of tests, the Soviet Union reiterates its determination never to start a war and always emphasizes its desire to negotiate all differences. It has been made clear that the principle of peaceful coexistence remains at the core of Soviet foreign policy. The proposals on Berlin and Germany and the offer of total disarmament are efforts to bring an end to the cold war and to establish peaceful coexistence as the universally recognized rule in world affairs."

James S. Allen, "The Critical War Danger," Political Affairs,  
October, 1961, p. 21.

"Experience has proved that the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, a principle advanced by the great Lenin, is the way to preserve peace and avert a world war of extermination. We have been doing, and will do, all in our power for peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition to triumph throughout the world."

N. S. Khrushchev, "The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union," Political Affairs,  
November, 1961, p. 35.

"...the policy of peaceful co-existence is the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union...."

William Weinstone, "The Historic  
Program of the CPSU,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 44.



## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Discrimination against the American Negro in all spheres of life continues to play a disgraceful part on the American scene.
2. Through nonviolent mass direct action--such as sit-ins, stand-ins, and sit-outs--the Negro freedom movement slowly weakens the walls of segregation.
3. The nonviolence of the Negro and white Freedom Riders is met with the violence and brutality of Southern officials and segregationists who defy the laws of the United States.
4. The Kennedy Administration and the State Department have suffered keen embarrassment in trying to apologize to African diplomats for the treatment they receive in this country when mistaken for American Negroes.
5. The laxity of the Federal Government in enforcing civil rights legislation is tantamount to perpetuating discriminatory practices.
6. Violence, literacy tests, language bars, poll taxes, and outright lies are some of the weapons used to keep members of minority groups in the United States from the franchise.
7. Anti-Semitism is still prevalent in the United States. Communists in the coming year will do all in their power to wipe out this evil.
8. The Puerto Ricans, like the Negroes, are repressed to second-class citizenship. Unequal opportunities, unequal living conditions, and unequal suffering are their lot.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Discrimination Still Rampant in United States

"Property owners who became victims of white supremacist poison have made a \$1, 000 down payment on a house to forestall a Negro family from buying a home here."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. MW 4.

"HOLLYWOOD JIMCROW extends beyond the themes of movies.

"Jimcrow in hiring has hardly changed from two years ago when, of 20,706 Hollywood film production workers, a pitful 19 were Negroes. That's a segregation setup of 99.9 per cent!"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 26, 1961, p. 5.

"Of 21 'black belt' counties studied by the Civil Rights Commission, Negroes do not vote at all in 17, although they constitute a majority of the population. Schools are segregated in all the counties studied. Most of the counties maintain libraries for whites only. In four counties there are inferior libraries for Negroes. In 11 of the counties a Negro has never yet served on a trial or grand jury.

"Based on a study of 100 counties in 17 Southern states, the commission came up with voluminous evidence showing that the pattern of segregation and discrimination has hardly been altered in most of the South...."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 3.

"There have been no Negroes in the Senate in the last 80 years and there are only four in the House today, less than one percent, although Negroes make up ten percent of the American population."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 9.

"THE STRUGGLE for civil rights rages with new intensity. The arrest of more than 1,000 persons in Georgia, Louisiana and on Route 40 in recent weeks for insisting on elementary civil rights is a measure of the new level of that struggle. There is still only token integration in the Deep South schools...."

The Worker,  
December 31, 1961, p. 3.

2. Nonviolent Negro Freedom Movement Weakening Segregation

"Those found engaging in discriminatory practices in jobs and housing will be asked to rectify the situation or 'face mass sit-ins and other organized demonstrations.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 26, 1961, p. 7.

"... 'stand-ins' of Negro citizens on registration lines will be expanded until they number hundreds; and that they will be continued until Southern officials register those who apply."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 3.

"Leaders of the 'non-violent mass direct action' Negro freedom movement adopted plans last weekend to tumble the walls of segregation in the entire South through the weight of a powerful non-violent freedom army...."

The Worker,  
October 8, 1961, p. 1.

"A 'sit-out demonstration by more than 100 Negroes was held... to protest discrimination in housing...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 10, 1961, p. 3.

3. Nonviolence Met with Violence

"FREEDOM RIDERS imprisoned in Mississippi are subjected to 'wristbreakers,' 'cattle shockers,' and other 'terribly brutal treatment,' it was revealed last week..."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 2.

"THE FREEDOM RIDE movement last week demanded that the Kennedy Administration send U. S. marshalls to Jackson, Miss., to protect the 'hundreds of freedom riders and world press' during the trial of 186 freedom riders opening there on Aug. 14."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 3.

"...a white mob or more than 2,000 jeering segregationists staged a motorcade with placards inscribed with white supremacist epithets, and assembled in front of the Union County Courthouse to insult and bait Negro and whites picketing against jimcrow."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 2.

"JAIL AND TERROR were the lot of Negroes who last week sought to exercise their constitutional right to unsegregated travel, as officials in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia defied the new Interstate Commerce Commission order outlawing jimcrow in interstate travel."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 2.

"WHEN FIVE YOUNG Negro freedom riders en route from Jackson, Miss., last Wednesday alighted at the McComb, Miss., bus terminal, an assistant U. S. Marshall, acting under a Federal court injunction halted their desegregation attempt...."

The Worker,  
December 12, 1961, p. 4.

#### 4. African Diplomats Insulted

"Four Negro officials from Tanganyika and Kenya visiting the Michigan State University told state police...that they were only allowed one drink in two Lansing area bars. American Negroes are subjected to the same insulting attitude by local bars here."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. MW 2.

"POLICE BRUTALITY commonly meted out to Negro Americans ballooned into an international incident last week when UN delegates of 46 Afro-Asian nations condemned a N. Y. policeman's 'brutal assault' on Michel Collet, Guinea's deputy representative to the UN.

"Following a two hour meeting, the Afro-Asian diplomats issued a statement declaring the 'assault on Ambassador Collet and his arrest by police' was the 'latest in a series of incidents involving humiliation, indignity and racial discrimination against Afro-Asian diplomats.'"

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. 7.

"Because numerous African diplomats have met jim crow at first hand in restaurants along Route 40, the Administration and State Department became concerned and have been begging the operators to desegregate."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1961, p. 3.

##### 5. Federal Government Lax in Enforcing Civil Rights Legislation

"It is a good thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy in the ranks of...the Negro people...are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention...the scorn with which many Negro leaders and militants greeted the 'cooling off' proposition, with respect to implementing of the rights of Negro Americans..."

Gus Hall, "The Ultra Right, Kennedy, and the Role of Progressives,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1961, pp. 16, 17.

##### "THE LEADERSHIP Conference on Civil Rights..."

"In a 61-page memorandum...told President Kennedy that pro-civil rights actions taken by the Administration are 'dwarfed and, in fact, nullified by the massive involvement of the federal government in programs and activities that make it a silent but nonetheless, full partner in the perpetuation of discriminatory practices.'"

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. 11.

"...demand that the federal government act to halt the mass arrests, beatings, and shootings of Negroes by law enforcement officers and racists in Mississippi.

"But the Department of Justice only sends FBI men in as observers."

The Worker,  
December 5, 1961, p. MW 2.

"More than two months ago Dr. King and other civil rights leaders had warned the Justice Department that a 'reign of terror' existed in the South and had vainly urged the federal government to intervene."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 19, 1961, p. 1.

#### 6. Minority Groups in the United States Kept from the Franchise

"...in the U. S. many millions of Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans are barred from exercising their Constitutional right to vote through murders, beatings, jailings, phony literacy tests, language bars, and poll taxes."

The Worker,  
August 27, 1961, p. 3.

"A CHALLENGE has been hurled at President Kennedy and Congress to take forthright and immediate action to end the phony literacy tests, the discriminatory gerrymander and the outright terror that bar southern Negroes from voting."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 2.

"A SCHOOL in McComb, Miss., teaching Negroes how to register for voting was evicted last week from the Negro Masonic Building in that town by racists who used the pretext that the building was a fire hazard. The first floor of the structure, occupied by a supermarket, was not condemned by officials, however."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. 2.

7. Anti-Semitism Prevalent in the United States

"The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has charged that two minority parties on the Michigan ballot for Constitutional Convention delegates, practice anti-Semitism."

The Worker,  
August 20, 1961, p. MW 2.

"The anti-Semites in the U. S., like the George Rockwells and the John Birchers, are bound together with the Nazi anti-Semites of West Germany who are once again being restored to power with the aid of the American multi-millionaires. These anti-Semites and war forces must be fought, isolated, and defeated. We Communists will do all in our power in the coming year to achieve this imperative task."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. 7.

"...the professional Jew-haters, who advocate the mass extermination of American Jews, claim to have been associated with this 'conservative' magazine\*from its inception."

The Worker,  
October 31, 1961, p. 4.

"A state bill of rights to guarantee equal opportunity for all is being promoted by the Michigan Anti-Defamation League (ADL) at the Constitutional Convention assembled here."

"The ADL said that Jewish people are treated unfairly by out-state schools, resorts and private clubs...."

The Worker,  
November 26, 1961, p. MW 2.

\* National Review

8. Puerto Ricans Repressed to Second-Class Citizenship

"Despite the pious declarations about wiping out discrimination, the... Puerto Rican workers of our city are daily denied equal opportunities, kept on the lowest rung of the ladder, on the worst jobs with the least pay.... Unequal opportunities, unequal living conditions, unequal suffering--this is the lot of the... Puerto Rican people in our city."

Betty Gannett, "The Coming  
New York City Elections,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 40.

"...a Puerto Rican mother of eight children with a ninth coming, was not at her apartment when her heap of chairs, mattresses and tables were thrown on the sidewalk."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 17, 1961, p. 7.

"Jim Crow ghettoes and 'barrios' are spreading. A vast section of our population, one-fifth of all our citizens, the Negro and Puerto Rican people, are repressed to virtual second class citizenship in the jobs they can get, in the education and recreational facilities provided their children, and in the housing available to them. Segregation of Negro and Puerto Rican children is the rule, not the exception. The Negro and Puerto Rican people are 20 percent of our population, but are 40 percent of the fire victims. And, day in and day out, they are victims of police brutality."

The Worker,  
October 24, 1961, p. 4.

"...freedom of speech has nothing in common with terror and hate gangs who use meeting halls or the streets to incite violence or account of race, creed or political views, and to beat up people because they may be... Negro or Puerto Rican."

The Worker,  
December 31, 1961, p. 12.



## IX. EDUCATION

1. Despite the mouthings about desegregation, discrimination still exists in the schools.
2. Academic freedom, the victim of a return to "McCarthyism" and witch-hunts, is being soundly defended by students and faculties throughout the country.
3. Corruption, inadequate appropriations, antiquated buildings, crowded conditions, and token integration seem to be permanent symbols of American education.
4. In the Soviet Union, education is free and free from crisis.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Discrimination in Schools Still with Us.

"After seven years, the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation remains unenforced in our city. A movement of parents, in all boroughs, has finally forced some token recognition of the serious crisis in our schools. But open enrollment, secured after long years of struggle, cannot eliminate segregation. As a result, the number of segregated schools continues to increase year after year...."

Betty Gannett, "The Coming  
New York City Elections,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 41.

"All five Negro high school teachers here have lost their jobs as an ironic result of school desegregation...."

The Worker,  
August 6, 1961, p. MW 4.

"SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, still token, was introduced peacefully in important cities in the South and Southwest during the two opening weeks of the eighth school year since the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decree."

"President Kennedy, however, saw in the token desegregation a 'dramatic demonstration of U. S. progress in improving the position of the American Negro.'"

The Worker,  
September 17, 1961, pp. 2, 11.

"THE U. S. CIVIL RIGHTS Commission last week urged the President and Congress to speed the 'nation's progress in removing the stultifying effects of segregation' in the schools, in accordance with the 1954 Supreme Court ruling.

"The six-member commission said that school integration, 'North, South, East and West, is slow indeed'. It observed that segregation 'exists in fact in many public schools' in the North by discriminatory gerrymander and the Negro ghetto."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 2.

"All 577 principals of Chicago's schools and the director of the President's Peace Corps will be subpoenaed if necessary to establish in court the facts on segregation in the Chicago schools unless information is made available by responsible school officials."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. MW1.

"...the Chicago School Board was urged to secure an independent evaluation of the Chicago public school system. This move was favored by many organizations in an effort to bring to the public the facts of segregation in the schools."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. MW 3.

## 2. Students and Faculties Rise to Defense of Academic Freedom

"The clearing of Dr. Robert G. Colodny, history professor at the University of Pittsburgh who was pilloried for his progressive views in the Pennsylvania legislature, was hailed as a signal victory for civil liberties and academic freedom.

"Dr. Colodny, who was wounded in Spain while fighting with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, was declared to be 'a loyal American' by University Chancellor..."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. MW 2.

"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, national secretary of the Communist Party, visited the chancellor of the City University...to protest the cancellation of his speaking engagement at Queens College the previous day.

"Davis told...that this was the beginning of a witchhunt and a return to McCarthyism...."

"The crowded room of students, incensed at the blow to academic freedom, set a time and place for a voluntarily enlisted steering committee to meet to plan further action on this issue."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 17, 1961, p. 8.

"Dr. Wolfe, who is a Harkness professor of biblical literature at Western Reserve University, became the center of a storm of controversy as a passionate public made him a symbol of freedom of speech. In a routine appearance before an annual peace seminar in a local church, Dr. Wolfe had called for the resumption of trade with Russia, China and Cuba and the recognition of People's China by the United States and the United Nations. "

"The spontaneous movement of the people around the defense of Dr. Wolfe was unprecedented. . . . The university rallied behind him and the campus, traditionally conservative, was turned into a ferment of fervent demonstration on his behalf. "

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. MW 4.

"STUDENTS and faculty of Hunter College will meet Wednesday to decide on further action opposing the speaker ban imposed on municipal colleges by the Administrative Council of The City University.

"This follows a strike and boycott by almost 2,000 students at both branches of Hunter last Thursday protesting the ban. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 1.

"Academic freedom became an issue on Ohio campuses recently when Daniel Rubin, editor of New Horizons for Youth, spoke before student groups at various universities.

"Although he had spoken at both Oberlin and Antioch colleges without incident, his appearance at Ohio State University stirred up a furor. . . . "

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. MW 4.

"THE OFFICIALS of the City University have decided that it is their right to tell the students whom they can listen to, and to whom they cannot. 'You will not listen to Benjamin Davis,' the college authorities said."

"Since the ban was initiated on Oct. 10, the colleges, both in The City University and out of it, have with one voice condemned the ban as a blow against democracy. The students have rallied, boycotted classes, and have even held strikes in protest. College professors and civil liberties organizations have submitted briefs pointing clearly to the unconstitutional position taken by the City University...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 21, 1961, p. 2.

"'BAN THE BAN!' shouted over 100 students demonstrating in front of the offices of the Board of Higher Education and The City University last Saturday afternoon."

"They gathered to continue their protest of the banning of Communist Party speakers from municipal campuses..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 5, 1961, p. 3.

### 3. American Education Is Ill

"The present superintendent of schools...has been concerned through the years about 'Communism' in our school system, but he sees nothing irregular in having students built a cut-rate boat for him. Nor is he bothered by getting home remodeling supplies wholesale from firms who do business with the city."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 11.

"...Overcrowding, antiquated buildings, low reading levels, inadequate teaching staffs, textbook shortages are depriving the city's children of adequate education. Not all parents, and surely none of our working class, Negro and Puerto Rican parents, can afford private schools to protect their children from illiteracy. Only a city-wide plan against resegregation, fought for tenaciously by the city government, can overcome the scandalous situation in our city's public school system."

Betty Gannett, "The Coming  
New York City Elections,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1961, p. 41.

"Exposure of corruption in school building construction only lifted the lid.

"The ills afflicting the school buildings, it is pointed out, have their source in decades of inadequate state and city appropriations, and the graft exposure was only an additional form of robbing the children."

The Worker,  
August 20, 1961, p. 8.

"Parents are fed up with years of neglect and stalling. They are fed up with waiting for new schools, with crowded classes, with token integration that only comes after protests and picket lines. They want action and they don't mean to wait."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 8.

"The OSC\* was also directed to conduct its own investigation of double shifts, empty seats, overcrowding and school boundaries in its own area and to work with the School Board to 'alleviate the situation through whatever means are appropriate.'"

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. MW 3.

\* Organization for the Southwest Community (Chicago)

#### 4. Soviet Education Free from Crisis

"...in addition to free elementary and secondary, higher education is free in the Soviet Union. He should know that college students receive maintenance stipends, that correspondence students are paid for time off from their jobs to prepare for examinations, and vocational students receive free meals and dormitory accommodations."

The Worker,  
October 22, 1961, p. 12.

"Today the Soviet Union has compulsory eight-year education and is facing the task of introducing compulsory secondary education, which will give an eleven year schooling to all children, while our country is experiencing a school crisis.

"Soviet leaders expect to abolish all double sessions by 1965. In contrast our country has 685,000 pupils on half day session while classroom construction in 1960 dropped ten below 1958."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 5.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Broadway, Hollywood, and television--the whole gamut of American entertainment--are ailing.
2. By its very nature, America's society creates a spiritual nausea that gags her intellectuals and artists.
3. The big business of capitalist science, stultified by a monopoly-military complex, is diverted into military uses almost entirely. Socialist science rises freely from the launch-pad of history.
4. It was a communist man--Gherman Stepanovich Titov--who fulfilled the most fantastic dream of all times by penetrating outer space.
5. American clergymen, churchgoers, and communists find themselves in agreement on specific issues.
6. Life was not created. It originated as a natural result of the historical development of matter.
7. The accouterments of religion are the comrades of unreality.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Entertainment Ailing

"It is no news that the American theatre has been ailing for years...."

. . . . .

"It is an irony that when the theatre confines itself to the problems of the middle-class, or its intellectuals, it ends up by boring the very people whose point of view it aspires to reflect. For there is no vitality there, no future, no scope; and in the end, even the middle-class gets bored at both the accurate picture of itself and equally at attempts to evade that picture, to glorify what cannot be glorified.



"With few exceptions, Broadway, (and included in this--though to a lesser extent--is off-Broadway) has stood aside from our turbulent times, or has joined the dismal chorus of despair, cynicism, 'conservatism,' mysticism, and it has paid the price...."

"In the Mainstream," Mainstream,  
July, 1961, pp. 3-4.

"...in this season of new car models, it sometimes seems as if TV is only horse operas alternating with auto commercials."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 26, 1961, p. 5.

"...It has become a cliché, both in right and left circles, that the American worker has become corrupted by Madison Avenue, television and plumbing, the enemy has become ambiguous, the cultural temperature anemic and cold...."

Meridel Le Sueur, "Saga of the Steel Mills," Mainstream,  
October, 1961, p. 39.

"Hollywood is marking time at the crossroad, where one road leads to Rome, and 'run-away' production, and the other road leads to... The fact is that film-making has long been a dubious money-making industry. Most studios live on 'subsidies' they get from outside businesses; 20th Century Fox (real estate), Warner Bros. (corsets), Paramount (records and vending machines). Then there's popcorn. But how long can an art live on popcorn?"

"Federal aid to Hollywood is therefore an interesting answer. It brings to mind, however, some even more interesting questions: Aid for what? For the producers of I Was A Teenage Werewolf? Aid for whom? For the financiers or the filmworkers? And who is going to aid the audiences?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 5.

"OLD FILMS never die, they flicker away on TV. Three hundred a week are put through the TV grinder and cut to make room for a sponsor's product. . . .

"Protests have been many against this manhandling of masterpieces, but money has no ears and the profits of this practice are evidently enormous."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. 7.

## 2. America's Society Gags Intellectuals and Artists

"Probably no country today, priding itself on its advanced and comprehensive historical writing, has denied its people a true knowledge of their history for the past hundred years, so much as our own. This history, centered about the Negro people, approximately one tenth of the population, has been trampled underground by the prejudices and vested interests which it affronts, and which today are as alive as they ever were. . . ."

Sidney Finkelstein,  
"W. E. B. Du Bois' Trilogy:  
A Literary Triumph," Mainstream,  
October, 1961, p. 11.

"He cannot leave without saying: 'I wish. . . to help make America a country, a civilization, that a mature human being can live in without experiencing the recurring spiritual discomfort, verging on nausea, that its present civilization too often induces. . . . For in a society where everything from a pin to a human being has its wholesale and retail price, a society in which one man's misfortune is frequently another man's profit, where honesty is a luxury and integrity a positive handicap and the truth revolutionary--in such a society your dedicated artist-intellectual is far more likely to be regarded (and treated) as a rebel and an outcast than as a custodian of truths or savior of society. '"

"Books in Review,"  
Mainstream,  
December, 1961, p. 57.

### 3. Socialist Science Is Free and Superior

"This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main branches of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 7.

"Socialist science has once again demonstrated its superiority in the realm of space flights over the works of capitalist science that is hobbled and fettered by the stultifying considerations of the monopolist-dominated societies.

"This great accomplishment of Soviet men of science is a harbinger of the coming triumph of the peoples of the Soviet Union who have readied on the launch-pad of history a mighty social vehicle, the twenty year plan for the construction of communism within its borders."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 10.

"Science today 'is a giant who does not fit into the procrustean bed of capitalism, where elemental relations of private ownership turn science into business,' Nobel prizewinner academician Nikolai N. Semenov told the delegates to the 20th party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 5.

### 4. It Was a Communist Up There!

"AN AGE OLD DREAM of the boldest men of science is now a historic feat accomplished by a communist man--Gherman Stepanovich Titov.

"The whole world now joins in tribute to the wonders of Soviet science and the daring of her brilliant young cosmonauts--first, Yuri Gagarin and now 26-year old Gherman Titov, who have added a new dimension to man's conquest of nature: the mastery of prolonged flight into cosmic space."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 1.

"... The crowd and the cosmonaut were one. Titov spoke with the simplicity and sincerity of a man among his dearest friends. And the hurrahs reached a climax when he said that the glory of the trip belongs to the Soviet peoples, whose 'genius created the space ship.'"

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, pp. 4, 9.

"The most fantastic dream of all times has now come true on Earth: a man, a Soviet man, has been in outer space."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 7.

##### 5. Churches and Communists See Eye-to-Eye on Certain Issues

"The Central Conference of American Rabbis denounced the John Birch Society last week for repeating 'some of the worst evils of McCarthyism,' called for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and condemned the committee's film, 'Operation Abolition.'"

"The conference representing 800 Reform rabbis in the United States and Canada met in New York."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1961, p. 3.

"DR. MILNOR ALEXANDER, educator, has disclosed that 83 fellow members of the Society of Friends, mostly from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, have joined her in an appeal to President Kennedy for the release of Morton Sobell. "

The Worker,  
August 27, 1961, p. 10.

"In the rounded assault of the year no major social iniquity escapes. The waste and terror of atomic war and the preparation for it, the idiocy of brinkmanship in international affairs, the degradation and cruelty of racial segregation and the mob violence that compels it, the perversion of the American mind by the communications media, the suppression of free speech and free thought by governmental agencies, the mounting threat of mass unemployment--all these, along with the personal foibles and sins of his listeners, are pilloried by this relentless critic. But for his springboard of resilient humanism and his colloquial habit of humorous self-deprecation, he would indubitably rank as a modern Savonarola.

"Stephen Hole Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, is a native Quaker caught in youth by the emotional urges of Methodist evangelism and, in his maturer years, delivered to religious rationalism and a driving social credo that embraces the world. . . ."

Reuben W. Borough,  
"Stephen Fritchman: Unitarian  
Catalyst," Mainstream,  
September, 1961, p. 9.

"Prof. Smith concluded her remarks by rejoicing at the sight of representatives of the Christian Church and the Communist Party on one platform ready to work for the freedom of all in the United States. "

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 11.

"By unanimous action the general Council of the American Baptist convention, meeting in Chicago, condemned the House Un-American Activities Committee...."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 12.

6. Dialectical Materialism--the Origin of Life!

"Life originated on Earth as a natural inevitable result of the general historical development of matter."

"The modern science of biochemistry gives us an approach to an understanding of how metabolism originated and developed, and an understanding of this brings us nearer to a solution of a task which once seemed fantastic--the artificial synthesis of life."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 8.

"... Life originated and will originate and develop on planets where suitable conditions exist for it. What are these conditions?

"In the first place, life requires a constant influx of a specific amount of warmth. Its excess excludes the existence of the forms of life which we know of, just as does an insufficient amount of it.

"The planet itself must also satisfy certain, definite demands if life is to originate on it. It must not be too small to be able to retain a gaseous envelope. Its atmosphere must permit the visible rays of the Sun to pass through. There must be no high degree of radioactivity and there must be large open reservoirs."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 7, 1961, p. 7.

## 7. Relics and Miracles Unreal

"...Ever since it dawned on believing mankind that the bits of bone and slivers of wood peddled across the ages as coming direct from Jesus and down from Calvary were not really genuine, skepticism about the lofty motives of men serving a cause has eaten around the edges of Everyman's belief. The hero becomes rogue, becomes rascal, becomes lone brooding soul who fiddle-faddles while the world burns. No saint is genuine, no relics are real...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
July, 1961, p. 59.

"MIRACLES, the exceptions that prove the rule of God, may benefit the immediate beneficiaries and convince the convinced, but the victims of oppression are impatient of tokens. They increasingly prefer the miracles of cooperation without waiting for outside aid, from heaven or Washington."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1961, p. 5.

## **XI. WOMEN**

1. The activities of American women in the interests of peace have grown into a real ground swell.
2. The woman in capitalist society suffers discrimination in comparison with other groups. In a socialist society, she is looked upon as the source of love and tenderness and the moral guardian of humanity.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. American Women on the March for Peace**

"On Sunday afternoon, June 25, Mrs. Cyrus Eaton was hostess to the families of over 1,000 women who gathered at Acadia Farm to speak for peace."

The Worker,  
July 9, 1961, p. MW 1.

"OVER 1,000 WOMEN participated in a 20-city nationwide 'Strike for Peace' last Wednesday. In Washington, 750 women marched in front of the White House. In New York over 300 marched before the Soviet Embassy, and about 100 marched in front of the offices of the Atomic Energy Commission."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 12.

"'WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE' is the latest and in some respects most unusual of new peace groups."



"Growing out of the simple desire for peace on the part of a Washington housewife, this all but spontaneous movement has spread with electrifying speed to twenty cities across the nation...."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 8.

"The peace actions in the country--notably by the women--have not only grown into a real ground swell but are directed beyond the immediate issue of a test ban to the ban of nuclear arms themselves and to general disarmament...."

"The President and the Rightists,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, pp. 2-3.

## 2. Position of American Women Most Undesirable

"A Negro hospital worker accused Brooklyn Jewish Hospital of laying off or reducing the hours of women while hiring new workers at lower pay, so as to cut wages and get rid of workers with higher seniority."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1961, p. 12.

"...came the playlet, wherein a tearful suburban wife complained of her empty life...."

"THE EMPTY LIVES of the trapped housewife...were the fruit of an empty society."

"How can the housewife find happiness in a society whose freedom is no stronger than a flower? What does it avail her to water the garden with tears?"

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. 7.

"Woman workers have to work 12 hours a day in the field and then come back to a shack sometimes no bigger than a telephone booth to cook over a small kerosene stove."

The Worker,  
October 29, 1961, p. MW 2.

"The Right-wing forces, which scream that many on relief are not entitled to it, also insist that job-seeking wives of working husbands... should not be counted as unemployed...."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. 10.

"...It is ironic that as the mother disappears as a human being in the West to re-emerge as a 'symbol' in a psychological charade, she exists in socialist society in her simple and 'pure' form as the source of love and tenderness and moral guardian of humanity."

Phillip Bonosky, "A Visit to a Soviet Prison Camp," Mainstream,  
November, 1961, pp. 21-22.

"...Especially impressive is the comparison of what is possible under socialism and impossible under capitalism. Here the Program is on familiar ground to workers and can be a tremendous lesson in socialism--to the housewife harrassed by the high cost of living..."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,  
"Impressions of the XXII Congress,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1961, p. 27.

## XII. YOUTH

1. The democratic-minded youth of America does not share its elders' contempt for peoples of other races and nationalities. Race prejudice among the young is dying even in the Deep South.
2. In the face of imprisonment, maltreatment, and even possible death, courageous white and Negro youths join hands in "Freedom Rides" and sit-ins to break down segregation in America.
3. The youth movement rises in protest against all attacks on democracy.
4. A large number of young people throughout the United States are devoting hours of their time to the problem of peace.
5. Unemployment is one of the most serious problems facing American youth--particularly the Negro youth, which has been especially hard hit.
6. Life in the "abundant land of capitalism" is anything but a bed of roses for many young people.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Youth against Race Prejudice

"On several occasions however we saw white and Negro teen agers, sometimes accompanied by adults, walking down the road together. They were talking and laughing like friends."

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. MW 2.

"In Austin, Tex., more than 400 Negro and white students of the University of Texas began daily demonstrations 'until it does some good' against segregated dormitory accommodations for Negro students both men and women...."

The Worker,  
November 12, 1961, p. 2.

"The student body of Southern Methodist University has voted 804 to 606 for integration, thus once more giving the lie to the claim that the white people in the South want the continuation of racial discrimination."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 14, 1961, p. 7.

2. Under Severe Handicaps, Youth Works To End Segregation

"The young people were cheered as they told of their singing in jail to give moral support to fellow prisoners thrown into solitary confinement for protesting their treatment. They sang especially at night, and when told to stop, refused. Every time they sang, the sheriff was routed out of bed."

The Worker,  
August 13, 1961, p. MW 4.

"... 10 citizens of this area arrested for sit-ins..."

"... Two are young white women and the other is a Negro girl. A white woman and the Negro are students of Temple University and the other is studying at Antioch College, Ohio...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 28, 1961, p. 3.

"...If anyone has been DELINQUENT it has not been the teenagers who faced the jailings, the beatings and the terror of Little Rock, Atlanta, Montgomery, New Orleans and Jackson. . ."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 10.

"FIVE YOUNG Negro freedom riders, seeking to enjoy their right to desegregated travel under the recent Interstate Commerce Commission order, narrowly escaped lynching last week at McComb, Miss. . . ."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 5, 1961, p. 2.

### 3. Youth Defends Democracy

"IT IS A GOOD thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy... are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention... the vigor with which the youth movement fights the anti-democratic attack."

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 8.

"...who spoke for the youth, drew cheers when he said that the 'youth will not stand for a new rebirth of McCarthyism.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 26, 1961, p. 8.

"The assembly brought together old veterans of stormy struggles for democratic rights and the new militant youth, who are sparking the fight for academic freedom on the campus and participating in the historic freedom rides."

The Worker,  
October 1, 1961, p. 11.

"If the Department of Justice or others think they will stamp out Socialist thought through the McCarran Act, it might be well for them to come to this city where students at Drake University... evidenced the greatest interest in the policies of the Communist Party and the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the eve of the highly publicized 'registration' date for officers of the Communist Party."

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. MW 1.

"More than 2,500 Cornell University students jammed the university's Bailey Hall last Thursday to hear the philosophy of the Communist Party honestly probed in traditional Town Hall fashion.... They came to hear and to question Gus Hall, the Communist."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 1.

"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS..."

"...concluded by giving his 'personal congratulations to the students of every race, creed and national origin who battled with determination and confidence till this victory was won, '..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 19, 1961, pp. 1, 6.

#### 4. Youth Demonstrates for Peace

"Following the meeting, a parade of young people marched through Times Square to the United Nations headquarters carrying placards reading 'No Tests, East or West.'"

The Worker,  
September 24, 1961, p. 10.

"In N. Y. City three groups of grammar school, junior high, and high school and college students gathered by hundreds last Saturday demanding peace negotiations, an end to all types of nuclear testing, and no fallout shelters. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 28, 1961, p. 1.

"In spite of right-wing concentration upon the campuses, the peace issue is involving growing numbers of students. "

The Worker,  
December 10, 1961, p. 2.

"Philadelphia has had its third successful peace demonstration. . . "

"Conspicuous among the marchers were a large number of youth, from high school age upwards. . . . "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 12, 1961, p. 3.

##### 5. Unemployment a Serious Problem for Youth

"Men, young men mostly. . . stood by the roadside. Not one man, or two; but dozens were scattered beside every road I traveled. "

"Think you'll find work? . . . "

"No', one youth matter-of-factly replied. "

The Worker,  
July 16, 1961, p. 5.

"Perhaps the most serious problem in unemployment in Cleveland lies with the unemployed youth. An intensive survey of the number of unemployed 16 to 21 years old is being made this week by seniors at seven Cleveland High Schools. . . ."

The Worker,  
November 19, 1961, p. MW 2.

"THE PROGRESSIVE Youth Organizing Committee wrote to President Kennedy last week that the establishment of an executive committee on youth unemployment 'can be a bright spot in the economic problems of youth. '"

"The PYOC declared that 'one third of all unemployed are youth and the rate of unemployment among Negro youth is twice that among white youth. '"

The Worker,  
December 3, 1961, p. 12.

6. America No Bed of Roses for Many Young People

"...No one has questioned the factors in a society that continues to produce an increasing number of juvenile delinquents each year. "



"The state makes no real effort to rehabilitate them, and society provides no real chance for them when they are returned from institutional life. For the children of the well-to-do, there is probation and private schools; for the poor, there is only the overcrowded administration of the state, which is expected to take the 'worst' boys and girls, rehabilitate them in five months and send them back healthy and able to cope with a crushing environment."

The Worker,  
September 3, 1961, p. MW 2.

"It is not just for his mother that he says 'KADDISH, ' the Jewish Prayer for the Dead, nor for himself alone; but for America, as he sees it, the America of 'Money! Money! Money! shrieking mad celestial money of illusion! Money made of nothing, starvation, suicide! Money of failure! Money of death!'

"Here is the nightmare that has driven The Beat to such excess. These youths look about them and say... 'I see nothing but bombs' and 'Money!'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 31, 1961, p. 5.

"Many employers are taking advantage of youth seeking outside jobs after school, on weekends or in the summer. The AFL-CIO Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Local 705, placed charges before the National Labor Relations Board against... restaurants that pay girls 25 cents an hour for 8-10 hours a day. Many of them are college students."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1961, p. MW 3.

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**62.C**

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## PREFACE

The statements at the beginning of each section of this monograph are supported by quotations from authoritative communist publications. These statements summarize the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, on major current issues of national and international interest.

Both the Sunday and the Midweek editions of the newspaper, The Worker, as well as the periodicals, Political Affairs and Mainstream, were reviewed to determine the Party's position. In the documentation of some of the supporting quotations, "MW" preceding the page number shows that the accompanying item is to be found in the Midwest edition of The Worker. The Midwest edition was discontinued after April 29, 1962.

Only misspellings in the quotations are indicated by underlining. No other errors are marked.

Of particular interest to some readers may be the items with respect to relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China and Albania found in Section I on foreign policy.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

In international relations, the Communist Party, USA, maintains that the United States foreign policy is leading to global war; that this country's policy of military supremacy perpetuates the arms race; and that the ultraright wing and the monopoly ruling class promoting this policy constitute the real menace to world peace. Another peace deterrent, according to the Party, is the United States' refusal to settle the Berlin crisis and to sign peace treaties with the two German states.

According to Party spokesmen, Latin-American "solidarity" was primarily responsible for the failure of the United States to impose sanctions against Cuba at the Latin American Ministers Conference held in Uruguay early in 1962. The Party also claims that any concessions this country makes to Latin-American countries are minor, the major aim being profits.

Albania's support of the inevitability of war and the "cult of the individual" is opposed by the Communist Party, USA, as it is by the Soviet Union. Communist China, however, according to the head of the Communist Party, USA, is dedicated to peace and should be recognized as the "legal" Chinese nation.



In domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, contends that life for the workers in the United States should be made comparable to the life of the worker in the Soviet Union. In the United States, the Party says, survival is imperiled by the resumption of nuclear testing; the fall-out shelter program is protested as a project for war preparation; freedom of the press is threatened; older people are neglected; and food and housing problems are mishandled. Solution of these domestic problems could be found, insists the Party, if war preparations were not given precedence. Oppressed peoples and militant groups in the United States need to join forces and demand a change, assert Party leaders.

The labor situation in this country, according to the Communist Party, USA, is growing worse because of automation and refusal to trade with socialist countries. Although big business prospers, the unskilled and semiskilled are thrown out of work and receive no assistance from an unsympathetic Government and reluctant labor leaders. Capitalism, according to the Communist Party, USA, needs more and more profits to survive; therefore, the United States monopolies advocate war to boost their profits. The Communist Party urges a return to the militant spirit of the American labor movement of the '30s in order to promote employment, peace, and security.

Communists are blaming mechanization in agriculture for the plight of the small farmers being forced off their land and the discontent of jobless migrant workers. They hold that a better future for both groups would be achieved by their unionization and by the sale of farm surpluses to socialist countries. But in the long run, communists point out, only a socialist America will keep the corporation farmer from reaping larger profits.

Communist publications report that the "monopolistic," "racist," "fascist" United States is not involving itself in the struggles of the new nations and the underdeveloped countries for the benefit of the people there, but primarily to secure military bases and markets. Communists assert that these colonials will win their independence, will repudiate United States imperialist intervention, and will seek aid from the socialist countries.

The McCarran Act is vehemently opposed by Communist Party leaders. Communists refuse to register as the Act requires because they claim that to register would be to admit that a communist conspiracy against the Government exists. They portray themselves as the most ardent defenders of the Bill of Rights, and they indicate their intention to fight the McCarran Act, to fight for progressive legislation, and to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Communist Party, USA, states that the Pentagon is leading the country into a war of annihilation; that American involvement in Europe and Asia is not only unnecessary but also dangerous and provocative of war; and that the United States should stop building armaments and bomb shelters and should bring its troops home. If this was done, it is claimed, peaceful industries and social welfare would be served and world peace would be assured.

The rising pressure from minority groups, communists contend, is one indication that capitalism in the United States will give way to socialism. Communists blame the capitalist system for the plight of Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians in this country. They also claim that Jews have always been discriminated against in the United States, while in the Soviet Union they are becoming assimilated.

Communist spokesmen in the United States praise education in the socialist countries, but they bemoan the crisis in American schools, insisting that insufficient money has been expended for education. In their visits to campuses all over the country, communist leaders are impressed by the students' demands to hear communists speak and to learn about Marxism.

Communist critics complain that television and motion pictures in the United States are not the cultural media they could be because profit is the main goal and, therefore, programs and films are designed to pressure the American public.

Communists emphasize that cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union are conducive to American progress. They argue that communist goals for the world are in accord with those of the great religions; namely, to wipe out poverty, discrimination, exploitation, and war... Marxism glorifies man rather than God, and communists are pointing out that scientific exploration of outer space confirms this view.

Women in the United States have not achieved the independence of women under socialism, according to comparisons made by communists. They are elated that there are groups of women in this country fighting for peace and meeting with other groups of women abroad in the interest of bringing about disarmament and world peace.

Communist Party, USA, leaders are in the upper age bracket, and they emphasize the need for youth to carry on their programs. They take encouragement from their decision that the younger generation has a progressive outlook in solving problems. They are pleased that young people are showing a political awareness and are interested in hearing "real communists" speak at schools and colleges.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, persists in blaming United States foreign policy for world tensions and maintains that this country should negotiate with the Soviet Union to bring about peace. The Party, therefore, may be expected to continue to combat nuclear

testing; to censure the Government's handling of problems in Germany, Africa, Asia, and Latin America; and to share the views of other communist parties in opposing the Albanian Party's position. In support of its views, the Party will drive even harder to convince the American people that their united action against America's foreign policy will bring about disarmament and a better life.

2. The most frequent communist complaint is directed against the "right-wing imperialists" who are accused of making war for profit instead of legislating for social welfare. It is therefore anticipated that the Party press will endeavor to rally the majority of the American people to "defeat the plot of the ultra-Right."
3. Unemployment is seen by communists as this country's basic domestic problem, and they contend it is the Government's responsibility to find work for the jobless. To solve the problem, they maintain that automation's toll could be counteracted by the Government's training the resulting unemployed for other jobs and creating work through trade with socialist and newly independent countries. Consequently, the Party will urge working people to revive labor's militant spirit of the 1930's, will advocate shorter working hours, and will insist that labor unions and labor leaders support the demands of labor's rank and file.
4. The Communist Party, USA, presently driving for the repeal of the McCarran Act and for action against the "reactionary right conspiracy," can be expected to continue such attacks.
5. The Communist Party, USA, constantly condemns the capitalist system of the United States for oppression and exploitation of minority groups at home and for upholding colonialism abroad. The Party will do its utmost to create unrest by attempting to persuade minority groups in this country, particularly the Negroes, that they are the victims of capitalist oppression. Party leaders can also be expected to reiterate their propaganda that colonial countries are expected to function as our military bases and as a market place for our surplus capital. They anticipate that such agitation and propaganda will complicate the problems of capitalism and speed the coming of socialism.

6. Youth is receiving much attention from communist leaders in the United States. Because young people are showing a vital concern in political and social problems, the communists will continue to exploit that interest, attempting to turn it to their own advantage. They will endeavor to agitate for the appearance of communist speakers at schools and colleges and to win youth for communism.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The United States promotes its self-destructive cold war policies, whereas the only saving policy is one of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union to relieve mankind of the armaments burden and open the door to a better life for everyone.
2. The United States policy of relying on military supremacy and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries to maintain a leading position in the world has been a "total failure."
3. The ultraright wing of the monopoly ruling class in the United States is organized and driving to block plans for peace and disarmament. Its policy for world-wide conquest makes the right extremists a real menace.
4. Peace cannot be achieved before there is a peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis and the signing of peace treaties with the two German states.
5. The United States makes only minor concessions to Latin-American countries and is primarily interested in advancing American monopoly interests.
6. The Latin American Ministers Conference failed to establish sanctions against Cuba because of the "solidarity" of the Latin-American workers. The United States should accept Cuba's "chosen" social system.
7. American military intervention in Southeast Asia--Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos in particular--is ostensibly aimed at the threat of communism but in reality is reinforcing tottering "dictatorships" and could cause a major nuclear war.
8. The world communist movement, including the Communist Party of the United States, is firmly opposed to the Albanian Party's support of the Stalin "cult of the individual" and its departure from the advocacy of peaceful coexistence and the noninevitability of war.
9. The Communist press in the United States claims that Communist China is dedicated to peace and that the Soviet Union supports Communist China's struggle for the "liberation" of Taiwan.

10. The Congo wants its independence, while the intervening imperialist powers want Katanga's wealth. But the conflict is confused by the division of the imperialists, whose plans are doomed.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. World Peace Vital to American People

"The dominant point in the Presidents' program is the cold war. During the past year, this country moved from one war danger to another, and increased tension from Cuba to Berlin. Our record in each continent requires an altogether different review than that indicated in the President's message. Our country needs to conduct a program for peace instead of waging 'a global civil war.'"

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 2.

"Today the path of the struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, and world peace is the way to open the doors for the working class of our country and the whole world to a better life."

The Worker,  
April 29, 1962, p. 3.

"...It is in the most advanced self-interest of our nation to establish peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union as the bedrock of our foreign policy. On such a foundation it will be relatively easy to arrive at negotiated settlement and agreements on all questions of dispute in the world arena, including the raising of the armament burden from the shoulders of mankind and thereby releasing massive resources for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the peoples of all nations."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.



"At the heart of any people's program to shore up the economy against the impending danger of an economic bust with all of its resulting mass misery, must be the political question of bringing about an end to the self-destructive cold war policies governing our foreign relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist third of mankind. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, p. 2.

## 2. United States Strives for Military Supremacy

"... 'Brinkmanship, ' positions of strength, ' and subversive intervention in the internal affairs of other countries are still the circulating currency of our foreign policy. Yet, events demonstrate that they have no more value in extending imperialism's real estate in the terms of today's world than Confederate money. "

"We must say it plain that the foreign policy of the Kennedy administration is still on a collision course that could yet lead the world into a thermonuclear holocaust.... "

The Worker,  
March 25, 1962, p. 9.

"...the present Administration presses doggedly along the path of the cold war laid out by Winston Churchill and John Foster Dulles. The essence of this cold war policy in foreign affairs is to strive for military positions of strength sufficient to cow the Soviet Union and the community of Socialist states into accepting our terms for the solution of all disputed questions in world affairs. It is a continuation of the reliance upon war or the threat of war as an instrument of national policy.

"This policy, or absence of policy, has been a total failure and has no prospects for success in the future.... "

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

### 3. Right Wing Drives To Block World Peace

"THE RIGHTWING drive moved into high gear last week to block the new opening for cooperation at the highest level between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. . ."

. . . . .

"... the campaign to sabotage this hopeful bid for U. S. - USSR cooperation for disarmament was being stepped up. The obvious aim of the drive is to establish an atmosphere of disapproval among the Americans. . ."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 1.

"IT IS, INDEED, true that there is not enough pressure coming from the overwhelming masses of the American people who sincerely want peace. . . if enough people would let President Kennedy know that they want him to consider seriously Premier Khrushchev's proposal for a summit meeting to get moving on an agreement for general and total disarmament, it would help tremendously in making it possible for the President to resist the pressures from the right. . ."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 3.

"... The pressing danger of driving this country and the world into a suicidal thermonuclear war comes from the ultra-Right spokesmen for American imperialism. That is the most crucial danger to the American people. This makes the need for negotiations and improved relations of the greatest importance. "

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 4.

"In dangerous number there are men present in the Pentagon. . ."

. . . . .

"... They are the Ultra-Right wing of the monopoly ruling class-- dedicated to the restoration of McCarthyism.

"Their grand design is for a fascist home front to sustain a world-wide military crusade of conquest and plunder."

"The depredations within our country of this jackal pack of Ultra-Righters are the real enemy that endangers our country, the sole 'clear and present danger' that threatens and menaces the fate of our nation."

The Worker,  
March 25, 1962, p. 6.

#### 4. World Peace Hinges on Berlin Settlement

"A PRE-CONDITION to the achievement of world peace is the peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis and the signing of a peace treaty with the two Germanys. Heightening world tensions is the looming menace of a rearmed West Germany...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 2, 1962, p. 5.

"The recognition of the existence of two German states is a key question in European and world politics and may well determine whether there will be World War III or not. Especially in official circles in London, and of late also to some extent in Washington, there seems to be some growing understanding that this fact of life must be accepted...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 22, 1962, p. 4.

"The increased economic power of the Common Market has emboldened West German Chancellor Adenauer to dictate openly U.S. foreign policy and to block any peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis, one of the worst peril points in international tensions."

The Worker,  
June 10, 1962, p. 15.

5. United States Imperialism Exploits Latin America

"The intervention of the U. S. government in the international affairs of Latin lands becomes more open and flagrant with every passing day.

"The Inter-American Council for Defense is the 'nest which is hatching' the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officer castes to be used as instruments to stage coup d'etats in the interests of the monopolies."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 13, 1962, p. 4.

"... U. S. imperialism aims at lessening internal discontent in the Latin American countries by making minor concessions to the public and to the national bourgeoisie on the condition that these countries subordinate themselves completely to U. S. interests and renounce their own independent path of development. This tendency found expression in the so-called 'Kennedy Plan,' grandiloquently christened by the U. S. President as the 'Alliance for Progress.'"

Ernesto Che Guavara,  
"Cuba and the 'Kennedy Plan,'" Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 26.

6. Sanctions against Cuba Fail

"SECRETARY OF STATE Dean Rusk is now in Punta del Este, Uruguay..."

"...trying to cajole, cozen and bribe the Latin American governments into preparing the ground for collective economic, political and possibly military aggression against Cuba."

"The chief implement of the Kennedy-Rusk twist is undoubtedly the \$20 billion of promised Alliance for Progress economic aid over a 10-year period for those that spurn Fidel, embrace U. S. investors and have the courage and statesmanship to introduce the manicured land reform of the Chase Manhattan Bank..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 23, 1962, p. 4.

"THE FAILURE of the Latin American Ministers Conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, to establish sanctions against Cuba was due mostly to the spirit of solidarity--international working class solidarity--shown by the Latin American workers and people in general for Cuba, for Castro and for the three years' achievements of the Cuban revolution."

The Worker,  
February 4, 1962, p. 7.

"...the people must prevent the narrow exploitative interests of U. S. monopolists from dictating government policy in our relations with the newly-formed nations and still unfree peoples struggling for their emancipation from the bonds of imperialism....it is in our national interests to rectify our relations with the Republic of Cuba and accept the fact of the social system that her people have chosen in the exercise of their sovereign right of self-determination...."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

#### 7. United States Policy Bolsters Dictatorships in Asia

"...President Kennedy's armed intervention in Vietnam is having a two-fold effect in the UN. It is first of all arousing fear that a major war may flame out of Southeast Asia, where American troops are killing and being killed. And it is also destroying any belief in the honesty of American foreign policy spokesmen."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 20, 1962, p. 3.

"IN ANOTHER of his bellicose declamations, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara indicated over the weekend that the Pentagon and the White House are determined to pursue in Southeast Asia the mad policy which is bringing closer the outbreak of a major struggle there. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 20, 1962, p. 2.

"United States Marines are landing in strength in Thailand. They are establishing permanent military bases there in a desperate and historically futile effort to bolster a tottering, hated dictatorial government. . . .

"From the now occupied soil of Thailand is poised a U. S. battle force that threatens new interventions against the patriotic peoples' forces in Laos and the neutralist government set up by the will of the people in Cambodia.

"Intervention of the U. S. combat forces in the South Viet Nam civil war on the side of the hated Diem dictatorship is reaching massive proportions. . . .

"Major units of the Seventh Fleet are prowling the coasts of the nations of South East Asia like a modern pirate fleet.

"Our soldiers in South Viet Nam, Thailand and Laos are asking, 'Why are we here?' It is high time to recall the fiasco of the Korean War which could not be won for the dictator Syngman Rhee despite the vast outpouring of American lives and treasure in that vain effort.

"The tidal wave proportion of the movement toward National Independence among peoples emerging from Colonialism has proven irresistible. . . Only the U. S. flies in the face of this reality. . . .

"This intervention is raising the spectre of a series of Korean type wars. In the immediate background lurks the danger of a major world thermo-nuclear war.

"Now is the time to call a halt to this massive U. S. military intervention in the affairs of the nations of South East Asia. Every American should demand the recall of all military personnel and equipment from Thailand, South Viet Nam and Laos."

"Hands Off Southeast Asia!"  
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 1.

8. Albania

"... The Albanian Party leaders support the methods and practices of the Stalin cult, play a disruptive role, having departed from the 81-Party position on the question of peaceful coexistence and the non-inevitability of war. But contrary to the lies of the monopolist press that seeks to stimulate division, the world Communist movement is overwhelmingly opposed to the Albanian Party's position...."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 8.

"... Izvestia of Feb. 3... declared the Albanian leaders had distorted the concept of peaceful coexistence and the proposition that world war can be prevented. ... quoted the N. Y. correspondent of the Greek newspaper Kathimerini who wrote that Washington welcomes the position taken by the leaders of Albania, which is said to be 'of the greatest practical advantage to the NATO\* member countries that attach great strategic importance to Albania.'"

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 3.

9. China

"Friendship meetings... marked the 12th anniversary, Feb. 14, of the Soviet-Chinese treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance."

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"The newspaper Pravda..."

"...declared, 'the Soviet government resolutely supports the Chinese peoples struggle for the liberation of the island of Taiwan, consistently exposes the ill-starred theory of two Chinas, and has been carrying on for many years a tireless and insistent struggle for the restoration of the lawful rights of Peoples China in the United States.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 20, 1962, p. 3.

"...Hall urged the admission of China to the United Nations as a major step to world peace and friendship. He told the audience that China as well as all other Socialist nations is dedicated to peace and will pursue a course against war. He stated that charges of 'warlike actions' attributed to China were not true."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 15.

#### 10. The Congo

"...On one side stand the people of the Congo, yearning and struggling for their long-awaited goal of real independence. Against them is arrayed the imperialist might of the western powers. But this imperialist grouping is itself divided, primarily between the United States on the one hand, and the Anglo-Belgian bloc on the other... And at the heart of the struggle stands the wealth of Katanga..."

"It was to keep this wealth that the imperialists brought about the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues and suppressed the legal parliament..."

"...the new Central Government is the outcome of a compromise and further conflict between the two trends it has brought together will, in the long run, be inevitable..."



"...there can be little doubt that the imperialist forces who were responsible for Lumumba's murder are equally responsible for Hammarskjold's death...."

"...any imperialist hopes of imposing a neo-colonialist solution on the Congo are doomed, in the long run, to failure...."

Jack Woddis, "What's Happening in the Congo?" Political Affairs, January, 1962, pp. 29, 30, 32, 33.

"From Angola on the West to Capetown in the South, there still remain in Africa, in conditions of near slavery, some 70 million human beings. These super-exploited drones of imperialism must have their freedom and sovereign national rights."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The great majority of the American people can be rallied to counter the influence of the ultraright.
2. The struggle to continue publication of The Worker is essential in the fight to preserve freedom of the press.
3. Demonstrations against the resumption of nuclear testing are a manifestation of the concern of people for survival.
4. The fall-out shelter program is opposed by many Americans who see it as an unjustified expense and a war preparations project.
5. Under the socialist system, everyone has enough food but, in the United States, the needy are often unable to obtain sufficient food or adequate housing.
6. The medical care legislation before Congress can improve the health services for the people although a socialist society can provide such services much more effectively.
7. Capitalism is tenacious in the United States, but socialism will surely replace it.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Ultraright Can Be Defeated

"THE VAST MASS of the American people can be rallied to defeat the plot of the ultra-Right. . .

"... A movement must be developed that will include many conservatives and liberals, the mill worker and the farmer, the Negro people, the national groups, the scientists, educators, doctors, and other professional spokesmen, the religious leaders, writers, and artists, the women's organizations, young people on the campus."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 6.

"... Shall the McCarran Act--the Bible of the Birch Societies, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Crusaders, the White Citizens Councils--be allowed to prevail or shall strong winds of the people's indignation blow the ultra-Right into the ash-can of history?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

"Yes, the political winds are not to the liking of the Ultra Right.

"But we have to increase this wind to hurricane force."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 8, 1962, p. 6.

2. The Worker Essential to Free Press

"The Worker\* fights for working class rights, better working conditions, civil rights and world peace. Its stand often conflicts with the policies of the monopolies.

"We say, as did... poster published by the government during World War II:

"Freedom of the press is a guarantee of your liberty...."\*

"KEEP IT FREE."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 6, 1962, p. 4.

"The attempt of the Department of Justice to indict and prosecute The Worker and its staff under the labeling provision of the McCarran Act is as infamous as previous attempts to control and suppress freedom of the press through licensing."

\*Underlined portions italicized in original.

"This is not simply a Communists', radicals', or progressives' fight. It is a struggle for freedom of the press for all, freedom to know and to decide the issues of peace, equality, democracy and social progress."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. 3.

"TENS OF THOUSANDS in our state recognize that The Worker and Mid-Week Worker must live! A fighting press that clarifies the issues is a must to defeat the ominous threat to democratic liberties from the fascist-like McCarran Act. A fighting press relating the main issues one to the other, is a must to win the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. A fighting press, exposing the myths of white supremacy, is a must to wipe out the shame of Jim Crowism and religious bias in jobs, housing and schools. A fighting press is a must to strengthen the unity of all liberty-loving men and women to beat back the menace of the ultra-Right."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 10, 1962, p. 3.

### 3. Nuclear Testing Protested

"HOURS AFTER President Kennedy had announced that atomic tests would be resumed, fist-swinging police brutally attacked 9,000 peace demonstrators in Times Square."

"Neither Mayor Wagner or President Kennedy can afford to keep silent on this savage assault on the rights of protest and assembly, the more so since it was the voice of sanity and survival that police clubs were attempting to stifle."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 6, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

"PEACE ACTIONS directed at President Kennedy's decision to resume atmospheric tests continued to rise last week..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 13, 1962, p. 8.

"In defiance of protests by astrophysicists and astronomers of the U.S. and other countries, the Government continues its preparations to carry out nuclear explosions in the far-out rim of the atmosphere and in outer space."

"THE HIGH ALTITUDE tests in the Pacific are not only charging the atmosphere and surrounding space with new radiation dangers, they are also poisoning the diplomatic atmosphere."

The Worker,  
June 10, 1962, p. 3.

#### 4. Shelter Program Protested

"Our shelter program appears to all the world as a dig-in-for-war program; for Americans it would mean self-interrment. It diverts from housing and school construction, funds to be used for tomb construction."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 20, 1962, p. 8.

"...The President persists in ignoring the massive protest by scientists, professors, students and women against the shelter program as a suicidal war preparations project."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 3.

"...never did a bubble burst so quickly as the fall-out shelter...."

"...It's not a source for a fast buck and certainly no way to get employment for workers."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 4.

5. Needy Deprived of Housing and Food

"A visit to a flophouse in any big city would shock the ordinary citizen...."

"Where can we get a night's lodging for 65 cents or a month's for \$15," a roomer asked me bitterly. "The fellows in these places have a hard time making out even so...."

"They cannot get jobs, except for a few days now and then...."

"The endless delays in getting government funds for projects benefitting the masses as distinguished from the ruling class and its retainers is well illustrated..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 6.

"...there are millions of workers and the members of their families who are underfed.

"Much of the stored up food could be used up right here in our U. S. by giving food to those who do not earn enough to feed their families.

"In contrast, under the Socialist system in spite of the difficulties they encounter, there is no one that does not have enough food to maintain proper health."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 1, 1962, p. 6.

"PRESIDENT KENNEDY was urged...by dislocated tenants at the dedication of Penn Station South, a cooperative housing project, to take action to prevent a repetition of the 'tragedy' of 'bulldozer' slum clearance.

"The tenants' plea was included in a leaflet. . ."

"The leaflet greeted the President and told him of the 3,000 families, including members of minority groups, who could not afford to participate in the new project.

"Many of them, the leaflet said, had been forced into 'worse housing at higher rents than before,' and the community had been 'split wide open with hate and anger.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 22, 1962, p. 4.

6. Lagging Medical Care Legislation

"Socialized medicine? . . . It is a reform realizable under capitalism, that will improve health services for the people although a socialist society can provide these services better than any reforms under capitalism."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 6.

"WE WHO LIVE in the U. S., richest country in the world, still are in the discussion stage on how to take care of our SENIOR CITIZENS!"

"Not so in the lands, where the workers are in control."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 6.

"... the Kennedy administration has sponsored the King-Anderson bill in Congress. The bill is being backed by the organized labor movement and by all people's organizations in the nation. Opposed to it are the ultra-reactionaries, segments of the financial community and part of the Republican party leadership. Leading this opposition are the medical bosses of the AMA."\*

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 8.

\*American Medical Association.

"...the Kennedy Administration certainly has not shown the energy needed to secure the passage of the King-Anderson bill, which the President insists has top priority in his program...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 12, 1962, p. 2.

7. Socialism in United States Is Certain

"My dear Comrades and Friends:"

"...You are the only ones today fighting for that fundamental democracy for which the United States was founded.

I hope that despite all you suffer you will not think of hesitating or giving up for a single moment.

Fight on: Your victory in the end is absolutely certain.

W. E. B. Du Bois"

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 1.

"WE ARE entering a new and frightening epoch in America. Our nuclear profiteers threaten us with total destruction. The profiteers of automation threaten our workers with extinction.

"Sometimes one gets the feeling that capitalism, facing its inevitable execution will try by history to hang on even if it means the end of the human race. "

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 6.



"...Surely, our own working class and nation will derive much inspiration from the successes being attained by the Soviet people, and in due time, and after our own fashion. will also take the necessary steps to change our old-fashioned and hurtful capitalist system for a new up-to-date, scientific and rational model--socialism."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Opportunities for jobs are scarce and, therefore, the President will have to take measures to relieve the situation, for the ruling class will do nothing to help.
2. The leading socialist country, the Soviet Union, is surpassing the industrial growth of the leading capitalist country, the United States, where, despite soaring profits, nothing is done for the jobless millions.
3. Automation in thriving industries is throwing unskilled thousands out of work.
4. American capitalism requires profits to survive, but the people are beginning to see that the monopolies advocate war for profit.
5. If American leaders of labor and industry who fear the competition of socialist countries would wake up, they would see that a policy of trading freely with all nations, including socialist and underdeveloped, would advance the cause of peace.
6. With all its public responsibilities, labor in the United States, unlike that in most European capitalist countries, is denied its own representatives in Congress.
7. A revival of the militant working-class spirit of the '30s would produce the leadership and initiative to organize the masses for fighting labor restrictions and winning jobs, peace, and security.
8. Top labor leaders do not reflect the sentiment of rank-and-file members and hence do not respond to their needs and desires.
9. Big business and the Government regard unemployment as a means of keeping labor "in its place."

10. Although strikes are being discouraged by some union leaders and by arrests and police brutality, they continue to be the best means of settling labor grievances.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Employment Drops

"...the basic issue of the day--JOBS..."

The Worker,  
April 1, 1962, p. 3.

"As against some earlier views that the drop in the labor force may indicate a slowdown in the dropout of youths from school, the government's experts now concede that many people are really giving up an active search for jobs because there aren't even hopes for jobs...."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 11.

"...The ruling class is not interested in having the real extent of joblessness revealed."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 24, 1962, p. 6.

"...But unemployment is becoming too big for local authorities.... Automation progresses. Employment goes down as productivity goes up. The shorter work week--with 40 hours pay--and work projects are urgently needed, and President Kennedy's prospects in 1964 will depend very much on what he has done to save workers jobs."

The Worker,  
May 27, 1962, p. 10.

## 2. Industrial Growth Insufficient for Employment

"THE ANNUAL economic report of the Soviet Union last Monday revealed a faster industrial growth last year in that leading country of socialism as compared with the United States, the chief capitalist state...."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 3.

"The facts do not indicate a growth that could provide jobs for the millions now unemployed, to be displaced by automation and the millions more of new entrants into the job market. Such growth as does take place in certain fields shows up in more output but in no more (or fewer) jobs. Such are the bare facts that stare us in the face on 'the major domestic challenge.'"

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. 11.

"PROFITS of corporations, after taxes, hit an all-time high in the final quarter of 1961, and they are climbing to a still higher level for the first quarter of 1962, according to the latest compilations."

"The facts revealed in the business journals give the lie to the current business inspired publicity on the 'profit squeeze' that allegedly hit the economy and the Kennedy administration's efforts to virtually enforce a moratorium on improvements for the workers."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1962, p. 2.

## 3. Automation Threatens Jobs

"... The problem of automation is the No. 1 economic problem facing the steel workers (and most other workers in manufacturing) and they demand a real answer."

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. 4.

"Thousands of children are going to school without breakfast. This is not happening in a depressed area but in a place where industry is humming with both private and government contracts."

"A primary factor is automation, and the vanishing of many unskilled jobs...."

The Worker,  
February 11, 1962, p. MW 2.

"Thousands of workers are losing their jobs because of automation."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 27, 1962, p. 1.

"AUTOMATION threatens our living. The atombomb threatens our life."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1962, p. 1.

#### 4. American Capitalism Seeks Profits through War

"There is an old rule that public men must not be engaged in any private business that conflicts with their official duties. But the 'conflict of interest' between the arms industries and disarmament is plain to any thinking child. And the President's sincerity in the Geneva negotiations will be tested by the behavior of his disarmament representatives."

"...And it will do well for President Kennedy to go to Geneva and speak for himself."

The Worker,  
March 25, 1962, p. 9.

"...Gus Hall...has been a constant spokesman for the steel workers..."

"The people begin to see that the...Monopolies are the source of the war drive, the advocates of war for profit. They are the source of the discrimination against the Negro worker as a means of making more profit from all workers. They are the source of the drive for the conquest of foreign lands by military ventures and economic power. They are the American imperialists.

"This also means that our country will never move forward until the influence of monopolies is cut down and shackled..."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, pp. 1, 11.

"Working people are hungry for jobs, and employers with an ever watchful eye on big profits and fully cognizant of the deep split in the ranks of American labor, are taking full advantage of labor's division in order to get work done as cheaply as possible."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 5.

##### 5. Trade Would Be Boon to Peace

"If the leaders of labor faced up to the situation, they would recognize that the biggest potential market is in the socialist and newly independent former colonial world..."

The Worker,  
January 14, 1962, p. 4.

"At a time when the tariff problems and Common Market of Europe agreements are pressing so heavily upon American Capitalism, it would appear logical that some real changes in trade policies with the socialist countries be urgently undertaken and brought in line with reality."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 11.

"... Powerful big business and reactionary forces, intent on preserving their vested interests at home and abroad and resisting revolutionary changes anywhere, see competition from the socialist world as a threat to the United States and the so-called 'free world'..."

An Editorial, "The U. S. and the XXII Congress, CPSU," Political Affairs,  
January, 1962, p. 6.

"... This overriding requirement of national security and world peace, if it is met, will at the same time provide the best grounds for the development of trade among all nations--capitalist, socialist and under-developed. Therefore, if it is to be really effective, the search for an alternate new trade policy must be linked closely with the struggle for a national peace policy, based on peaceful coexistence and non-intervention."

James S. Allen, "'Free Trade',  
Monopoly and Labor,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 13.

#### 6. Labor Lacks Voice in Congress

"American labor, among the politically weakest major union movements in the world, does not have its own representatives in Congress.... the labor movement must carry on a struggle outside Congress to bring its influence to bear on issues...."

"... the people, aroused, organized and active, can change the course in Congress on some issues."

The Worker,  
January 21, 1962, p. 3.

"Labor also has a responsibility to tackle the issues of civil rights and civil liberties, education, housing and health, and the basic question of disarmament and peace. Such issues indicate the need for labor to take a new stand and assume responsibility to make a new coalition in this session of Congress which will mean defeat for the coalition of reactionary Republicans, and Dixiecrat Democrats and the ultra-Right."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, pp. 7-8.

"A delegation of almost any capitalist country in Western Europe (except the Iberian Peninsula) could make a comparison similar to that made by the Finns.... In none of them are the governments and parliaments so barren of representatives of labor as is the Congress of the US...."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1962, p. 4.

7. Revive the "Spirit of '36."

"Today the labor movement, harassed by Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, Smith and McCarran Acts, would do well to work for the return of the fighting 'Spirit of '36. It is that kind of spirit that can recommence the forward march of American labor needed to beat back the attack on working conditions, and win individual rights, peace, security and jobs."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 5.

"...given leadership and initiative, the forces for a drive for the many thousands of non-organized in the low-paid industries, can be aroused to action."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 20, 1962, p. 3.



"...though labor, the Negro people, youth, the Left generally, are entangled in a web of legal restrictions and impediments, it is still possible to agitate openly, to organize resistance, to form alliances, to operate among the people."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 13.

"...The traditional militancy of the American working class is reasserting itself."

"...historic struggles of today are being shaped on the American scene."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1962, p. 9.

#### 8. Labor Leadership out of Touch

"...the top leaders do not reflect accurately labor rank-and-file sentiment. It is well known, however, that the AFL-CIO's\* leadership holds an important place in the coalition of forces supporting the Kennedy administration. The reluctant protest and criticism they express is, therefore, only a partial reflection of the rising dissatisfaction down in the ranks."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1962, p. 3.

"The most important difference in the trade unions is that between leadership and membership. The rank and file of labor of course are influenced by the thinking and policies of the leadership and are still at a relatively low level of class consciousness, but they want a change in the direction of the movement. This has been shown by spontaneous strikes, by pressures on the

\*American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

leaders on immediate issues which often move them into action, by changes in local leadership in some unions, and in other ways. They lack organized Left leadership which could give clarity and direction to their protests.\*  
This is the critical weakness in the labor movement."

William Weinstone, "On Social Democracy,"  
Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 49.

## 9. Unemployment Condoned

"Bourgeois statistics minimize the evil phenomena of capitalism, especially in such labor-sensitive areas as living costs and unemployment. . . ."

"Corporate America, and the Government apparatus which serves it, is quite happy with existing massive unemployment. It helps to keep labor 'in its place' politically and economically. . . ."

Victor Perlo, "The Unemployed:  
Slander and Facts,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1962, pp. 16, 18-19.

"Asked once about the depression Ford said, 'a depression is a wholesome thing in general. . . .'"

The Worker,  
March 4, 1962, p. MW 3.

## 10. Only Strikes Settle Labor Disputes

"The steel industry had six industry-wide strikes since the war, the last one for 116 days, despite assertions by David J. McDonald and his predecessor Philip Murray that ways can be found to settle disputes without struggle. The feverish drive to stockpile steel going on now indicates the likelihood of another strike next summer, with shorter hours, so the leaders tell us, as the main demand. . . ."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 4.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Twenty five years ago, General Motors workers...climbed out of the misery and poverty of Open Shop slavery to win the first union contract covering all workers in 17 GM plants. They did it by the sitdown strike, and they won despite everything that GM could throw at them."

"But just as labor broke through then, much more now awaits action, like winning the shorter work week at no cut in pay, 30-40, as it is called, to help put thousands back to work...."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 5.

"...the teachers' strike..."

"...dramatically demonstrated that professional workers can fight militantly and unitedly."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 17, 1962, p. 2.

"FIVE PICKETS were arrested last Sunday at the Beth-El Hospital picket line. This brings the total number of pickets and union officers arrested since the strike began two weeks ago to 13."

"Cleveland Robinson, executive treasurer of District 65, addressed the meeting, which had been called to rally support behind the strikers, and told the overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Rican gathering that what is at stake in this strike is not merely a contract, but 'whether or not we are first class citizens.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, p. 8.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The small farmer and the farm worker are being forced off the land by mechanization.
2. The corporation farmer is reaping huge profits under the capitalist system but, in a socialist America, inequities may be overcome.
3. Trade with all countries would aid in solving the problems of farm surpluses and world peace.
4. The plight of the migrant workers is becoming more desperate, and only a great social change offers them any hope.
5. Although the oppressed farm workers have been cowed by antiunion employers, there are strong, established unions and other groups to which they can turn for help.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Small Farmers Are Being Dispossessed

"... The small farmers, who cannot compete with machine-picked prices, are forced to the wall and farm laborers are forced out of work. "

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"... Mechanization and technological developments have revolutionized agriculture. Factories on large farms and modern machinery long ago outmoded the single family producer...."

Holland Roberts, "American  
Untouchables, "  
Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 34.

## 2. Corporation Farmers Harvest Profits

"Field by field the machines invade the farms of the corporation farmers (who alone can afford them) and harvest huge profits for their owners...."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"... There are immense wide open spaces in our country. Of course private ownership has them already fenced off for its own uses and profit.... However, if one has a vision of the future socialist America, one sees the vast possibilities of overcoming the anarchy of capitalism."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 9.

## 3. Need for Foreign Markets

"Minnesota farmers, whose elevators are bursting with grain, find it hard to accept the old arguments of 'no trade with China' while Canadians are delivering millions of bushels of wheat to that country."

"The experience of the Canadian farmers is clearing away the fog of propaganda and is opening up strong sentiment among American farmers for trade with all countries and, therefore, for additional markets which could improve their economic position and strengthen the struggle for world peace."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. MW 2.

## 4. Social Change Only Hope for Migrant Workers

"...the long smoldering discontent of the migrants, so long abused, so long forsaken, has at long last forced its way into the political arena."

"And the cry of the field workers:

Born in a cornfield,  
Raised like a slave,  
Don't even have  
The price of a grave.

"... This cry is being heard..."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"JOHN STEINBECK'S 'The Grapes of Wrath' shocked millions to protest the death in life of migrant workers. But the dust of the whirlwind of discussion and demand for change of the thirties has settled long ago and been forgotten. It may be that nothing short of a basic social earthquake will offer them hope for a good life..."

Holland Roberts, "American  
Untouchables,"  
Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 36.

##### 5. Farm Workers Should Organize

"... Everyone else has organized and the farmer is left holding the bag. Once organized he can do much..."

"If the family farmer does not soon stand together, there will only be hired hands left, and if the hired hands do not stand together there will only be migratory workers left, and if the migratory workers do not stand together, there will only be the unemployed left. The sooner the farmers organize the better, for organize they must."

William Wheeler, "Iowa Farm Family,"  
Mainstream, January, 1962, p. 43.

"BRACEROS, the Mexican farm laborers..."

"...have been used not only to lower the working conditions generally, but have often been employed as scabs to combat union organizing drives among migrant workers. Because they are not citizens and live under constant threat of deportation the braceros fears have been played upon by anti-union employers."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, p. 5.

"...the nomadic and declassed status of migrant workers requires the experienced helping hand of strong established unions and other groups to give them a start on the road to representation in industry and in our American government."

Holland Roberts, "American  
Untouchables,"  
Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 36.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. Due to the monopolistic and fascist character of the United States, the new nations building their independence are seeking help from the socialist countries.
2. Peace, the world's principal goal, will not be realized as long as the imperialists are allowed to oppress colonial and unfree people.
3. The United States military campaign in South Vietnam recalls to the inhabitants the oppression wrought there by the French colonialists.
4. United States intervention in the affairs of Portugal's colonial empire, in British Guiana, and in Thailand cannot keep them from gaining their independence.
5. The policy of capitalist countries toward colonial nations is not dictated by humanitarian interests but is aimed at securing potential military bases and markets for their surplus capital.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. New Nations Look to Socialist Countries

"...Who can deny that the colonial and oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are looking more and more to the world socialist system--the most advanced example of which is the Soviet Union--for their sustenance in securing their independence, self-determination, and dignity? They are not looking to the monopolists and racist class of our country, which oppresses and exploits the Negro and white working people at home, even as they uphold the colonialists abroad. It's a pity, for our country with its great democratic heritage--but it's the truth."

The Worker,  
February 11, 1962, p. 6.

"THE WORLD'S new nations, seeking economic independence by building basic industry, find their best help coming from the socialist countries."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1962, p. 8.



## 2. Colonialism Obstacle to World Peace

"...the struggle for peace has taken on three new dimensions--the struggle against the war danger and the ultra-right, anti-colonialism, and the fight for peaceful co-existence...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 2, 1962, p. 4.

"The success of the Soviet plan for tremendous productive growth, with the highest standard of living and the shortest work week in the world, will have an enormous effect upon the American people, and...upon the already crumbling colonial world... But in order to bring it about, it is necessary that peace become a real fact, that the scope for destructive action by imperialism be even further narrowed..."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 15.

"RELATED TO THE FIRST task of all mankind--the struggle for world peace--is the struggle of the colonial and unfree peoples for national sovereignty, freedom from alien domination and racial discrimination, for the right of peoples and nations to equal human dignity, unfettered economic and cultural development, and political self-determination."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

## 3. United States Directs Campaign in South Vietnam

"Undoubtedly, the South Vietnamese people are now recalling the terror, the brutality, the cruelty of the French colonialist troops, as the U.S. directed campaign uproots them from their native countryside, burns their homes and drives them into concentration camps, politely termed resettlement villages."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 24, 1962, p. 8.

"...Washington has taken over the 'dirty' war in South Vietnam that the French colonialists could not win. What does the Kennedy administration think is the reaction of the South Vietnamese with their bitter memories of the barbarism of the French colonialists?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 8, 1962, p. 2.

"Our soldiers in South Viet Nam...are asking, 'Why are we here?'..."

"The tidal wave proportion of the movement toward National Independence among peoples emerging from Colonialism has proven irresistible...Only the U. S. flies in the face of this reality..."

"Hands Off Southeast Asia!"  
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 1.

#### 4. United States Buttresses Colonialism

"SALAZAR still rules the third largest colonial empire.... But many UN delegates think that the empire's end is in sight.

"...The whole world saw that the Goan people refused to fight for the state that had enslaved them so long..."

"THE RESISTANCE of the Angolan people is amazing..."

"Salazar's biggest help comes from Washington..."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 6.

"A third of the business district of Georgetown, British Guiana, was destroyed last weekend in riots promoted by British and U.S. colonialists and their stooges in an obvious move to bar independence for British Guiana.

"Under the guise of a protest against a tax program initiated by Premier Cheddi Jagan, mobs were unleashed for looting and thousands, of working people immobilized by appeals to chauvinism."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. 11.

"THE ISOLATION of the White House in its invasion of Thailand is worldwide, press dispatches reveal. Even its major allies have made only the most formal and meaningless acknowledgement of the anxious bid for moral support by the Kennedy administration."

"Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, ... referred several times to the Pentagon adventure in his speeches..."

"The U. S. is trying to impose 'colonialism' on the Thai people, but the landing of the marines will serve, on the contrary, to arouse the people to struggle for their independence and freedom, he said."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 22, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

##### 5. Capitalists Exploiting, Not Helping, Underdeveloped Countries.

"...what has happened around Congo and Goa happens everyday in all parts of the world. The big business monopolies of the United States follow the same policies around the world as did the Portuguese around Goa. The policies and actions of the capitalist governments and their individual spokesmen are always dictated not from national interest or the interest of the people, but from the interests of the big monopoly financial octopus...."

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. 5.

"American imperialists supported Salazar not out of sentimental considerations alone. They wanted to keep Goa as a colony for several reasons....above all, Goa, as a NATO base could be used to bring pressure on India and threaten her security in case of 'need.'"

Ajoy Ghosh, "The Liberation of Goa,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 43.

"WHAT ARE the real reasons behind President Kennedy's undeclared war in Vietnam. Let us look behind the anti-Communist propaganda that covers so much blood-letting, and face the facts."

"...Kennedy is the titular chief of an empire that dominates hundreds of millions of people in the West and the East. And the rulers of this empire want control of Southeast Asia...

"...as a potential military springboard against China and neighboring lands....

"...for Vietnam's riches...."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1962, p. 4.

"...Everyone knows that American governments, directly or under the cover of NATO, have never stopped the dollars and military materials that permitted their 'proteges' from Paris to carry on their war in Algeria for so long. This fact cannot be denied, whatever 'anti-colonialist' statements Washington may make in the attempt to save face in the eyes of people recently liberated or still in bondage.

"It is therefore a great defeat for imperialism--this cease-fire in Algeria...."

Leon Feix, "France and Algeria:  
Democracy and Peace,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1962, p. 27.

"...contemporary imperialism gives a new function to the colonies-- that of a market for the placing of surplus capital. The purpose of the colonial regime is to create conditions which will bring exceedingly high profits on this capital, such as the granting of free or semi-free land, and cheap or even free labor through a system of forced labor."

Jean Suret-Canale, "Colonialism's  
Impact on Africa,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1962, pp. 30-31.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The McCarran Act has been substituted for the Bill of Rights and hence endangers the rights of all Americans.
2. For communists to register as required by the McCarran Act would be to admit the so-called communist conspiracy, which is a big lie.
3. The ultraright is intent on destroying our constitutional form of government.
4. Communists are the most ardent defenders of our constitutional liberties.
5. The House Un-American Activities Committee persecutes progressives and must be abolished.
6. The Supreme Court's reapportionment decision has brought political discrimination before the bar of justice and opened a new front for expanding democracy.
7. The American people want and will support progressive legislation.
8. Legislation is urgently needed for curbing unreasonable literacy tests in elections, liberalizing unemployment insurance, securing equality for the Negro, and aiding the migrant worker.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. McCarran Act Threatens All Americans

"...the McCarran Law perils all people, not just Communists...."

The Worker,  
February 11, 1962, p. MW 4.

"THE McCARRAN LAW 'is a concentration camp law'..."

"...a 'dragnet law' intended to 'fill the concentration camps without trial, without a jury.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 20, 1962, p. 1.

"Following is the statement issued by the Communist Party in New York..."

"The arrest of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, well known Communist leaders, and the indictment of the Communist Party, is part of the plot to substitute the McCarran Act for the Bill of Rights. That means a basic change in the way of life for all Americans."

"This is a police-state law....Our country becomes a nation of rumor and suspicion. neighbor informs against neighbor."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 4.

"...the McCarran Act is no longer 'just a law on the books'... it is a living danger to the rights of millions upon millions of Americans.

"...The threat is to every progressive, liberty-minded man and woman in the United States."

The Committee To Defend Gus Hall  
and Benjamin J. Davis, 'It Has  
Happened Here!' Political Affairs,  
May, 1962, pp. 1-2.

"JAMES T. TORMEY, executive secretary of the Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee,...

"...pointed out..."

"If the indictments against the Communist Party and its leaders are allowed to stand, where will this lead us? Which trade union, which national minority will be the next target? Which cherished civil right will we be called on to relinquish next?

"There is only one way to break the back of the McCarran monster. Stop all proceedings under the McCarran Act,..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

## 2. McCarran Act Embodies Big Lie

"It is the contention of the Communist Party in the present fight on the McCarran Act that anyone forced to register under it was being forced to confess violation of the Smith Act and being deprived of his protection under the Fifth Amendment against bearing witness against himself."

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. MW 4.

"The McCarran Act is not a mere registration act. It writes into law the Hitlerite Big Lie of an alleged Communist 'conspiracy' and that the CP is a foreign subversive agent. To register would be confessing to these lies and would be perjury."

The Worker,  
January 28, 1962, p. 5.



"WHAT ABOUT Communists then? Are Hall and Davis truly being prosecuted for 'failure to register?' Any realistic, rational and honest American...will concede that 'registration' is a specious gimmick, that it is not the real issue. They are being threatened with long prison terms not for a technical 'registration' offense, but for their political advocacy..."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 9.

"...The McCarran Act characterizes Communists as criminals. Therefore it would be perjury for one who is not a criminal to admit under oath that he is a criminal. Furthermore, registering as a member of a 'Communist-action' organization during this period of anti-Communist hysteria would be like painting phosphorescent bulls-eyes on deer in the hunting season. He would be fair game not only for government prosecution, but for persecution by self-appointed patriots and professional cold warriors."

"In the Mainstream,"  
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 3.

### 3. Ultraright Dangerous

"The ultra-Right in Congress, reinforced by the most reactionary cliques in the Pentagon, and backed by a spreading network of racist-minded local organizations, is expected to intensify its activities...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 16, 1962, p. 2.

"...How our land and its emblem have been sullied and defiled by the Birchers and the Goldwaters and the Un-American Walters' and the un-democratic and racist Eastlands!"

The Worker,  
March 25, 1962, p. 5.

"THE McCARRAN ACT is the 'weapon of the Birchites and political hooligans,' Benjamin J. Davis, told 500 students of Upsala College. . . ."

"The poison of the ultra-Right is not only politically dangerous and may throw the world into a nuclear ash heap, but it also obviously creates a mental insanity, as has been demonstrated by the performance of General Walker, Senator John Tower and Strom Thurmond,' declared Davis. . . ."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 2.

"Our People and Nation Face Grave Domestic And World Problems"

"-- The reactionary-right conspiracy hell-bent on destroying our constitutional form of government. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 24, 1962, p. 8.

#### 4. Communists Defend Constitution

"The defense of the Communists is the defense of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. It is the defense of America's past history. But even more truly so, it is the defense of America's future. "

"In the Mainstream, "  
Mainstream, January, 1962, p. 9.

"The Communist Party is under a weird indictment today, under the McCarran Act. It has thereby been designated by history as the defender... of the Bill of Rights and all its guarantees of democratic rights. This is no insignificant role...."

The Worker,  
January 21, 1962, p. 7.

"The Communists are defenders of the U. S. Constitution. In the eyes of the whole world they are saving religious and political freedom guaranteed in the constitution, which those who have placed them on trial are trying to destroy...."

The Worker,  
February 4, 1962, p. 8.

"In a statement issued from its national headquarters... the Communist Party declared:

"No Communist will support any move under the fascist McCarran Act or any other legal proceeding to destroy Constitutional liberties in the U. S. ...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 1.

"This work of explaining the truth about the McCarran law, which the Communists initiated and carry forward, confident in the people's ability to make a timely judgment against it, has now been taken up by many other patriotic individuals and organizations who have come to see how the McCarran law violates the national interests both at home and abroad."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 3.

5. Abolish House Un-American Activities Committee

"The Un-American Activities Committee has shown itself to be more un-American, according to our Revolutionary concept of American freedom, than the most reactionary foreigner who ever set foot on these shores.

"...our government, powerfully influenced by the worst bigots and reactionaries, did establish the Committee on Un-American Activities, not in order to get rid of crooks and criminals, or spies or saboteurs, but to persecute hundreds of first-class and law-abiding citizens, because Rankin, Dies, McCarthy and Nixon didn't like their liberal and political ideas or their efforts to organize progressive trade unions...."

"Millions of dollars have been poured down the drain into this un-American Activities Committee. The same money could be spent in promoting the good and welfare of all people, Negro and white, native or foreign-born."

The Worker,  
February 4, 1962, p. 8.

"...the House Un-American Activities Committee...has received another \$350,000 to continue its disgraceful hounding of even the mildest of progressives, it has not yet found a single Un-American among the rightists.

"Will Americans...awaken in time to stem the new conspiracy to put on horseback men who'd throw us back generations and into World War III?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 6, 1962, p. 2.

"The committee to abolish HUAS is in a drive aimed at producing the maximum number of votes for abolition of HUAC when its mandate is presented for ratification on the opening day of the new Congress."

"...the McCarran Act is the child of HUAC...."

The Worker,  
May 27, 1962, p. 4.

6. Reapportionment Decision Holds Promise

"ONE HAS EVERY right to look forward to a far more aggressive use of the Supreme Court's Tennessee reapportionment decision by trade unions and by political independents than has taken place up to now."

The Worker,  
May 27, 1962, p. 3.

"THE SUPREME Court broke a long-standing precedent in the reapportionment Tennessee case: it avowedly entered the field of political discrimination, extending the coverage of the 14th Amendment...."

"...the decision has opened up a new, broad front of struggle for expanding democracy. Racial and religious discrimination, both prohibited by the Constitution, stand legally outlawed and morally condemned, even though the prohibitions are far from truly enforced. The Tennessee decision has brought up political discrimination before the bar of justice. It might well be turned into the beginning of the end."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 3.

7. People Favor Progressive Legislation

"It is clear that mass movements and intensive campaigning will determine the fate of a peace program, civil rights and civil liberties, education and youth legislation, and the labor and social legislation promised in the 1960 platform. . . ."

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. 1.

"Analysis of the American people and their many organizations will show that action around the people's needs can win victories for peace and progress in the present period. Reliance on the President to act in behalf of the people without such popular pressure is folly. Such actions will also demonstrate the need for new political alignments, for new faces in the next Congress and new movements in the primaries and in the November elections to assure greater victories. The people's needs and the struggle for peace demand popular mass action, on an ever swelling scale. "

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 12.

"THE PRESIDENT was strongly supported by the overwhelming majority of the people for his crackdown on the steel trust. . . ."

"... The people want strong legislation to curb the steel and all other monopolies and a rigid ban on such extortionate profits as those exposed in the Senate hearings on missile manufacturing. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 17, 1962, p. 2.

"AN ALL-STAR CAST of dignitaries, headed by President Kennedy, addressed a rally of 20, 000 people at Madison Square Garden last Sunday in the kick-off to a campaign to get the King-Anderson bill, providing medical care for the aged through Social Security, passed in Congress. "

"The President said it was essential that the people support progressive legislation if it is to be passed."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 22, 1962, p. 1.

8. Needed Legislation Lagging

"THE KENNEDY Administration last week withdrew from its policy of no civil rights legislation, and introduced a bill to curb unreasonable literacy tests in Presidential and Congressional elections."

"The Kennedy moves followed increasingly heavy criticism by civil rights advocates who had played a decisive part in his election to the Presidency."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 30, 1962, p. 2.

"THE NUMBER OF CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED IS GROWING BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS IN OUR COUNTRY."

"The situation is crying out loud for remedy and solution. Of course there is no one thing that will cure this situation."

"The most elementary, most immediate thing that should be done is to change the present unemployment insurance Law so that unemployed workers will get unemployment insurance for the duration of unemployment."

The Worker,  
April 1, 1962, p. 8.

"NINETY-NINE years after the Emancipation Proclamation Washington has not yet secured to the Negro people their Constitutional rights of equality of citizenship...."

"No section of the population has been more urgently in need of direct representation on the bench of the Supreme Court than the Negro people, who are the constant victims of legal chicanery and aggressions against their civil rights at the hands of racist Southern states solicitors."

"...the demand for a Negro on the Supreme Court will not down...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 2.

"THE SENATE last Tuesday buried the Administration's literacy test bill..."

"...Its defeat leaves millions of Negroes virtually defenseless before hostile Southern registrars."

"The Kennedy Administration...under sharp criticism abandoned its policy of no civil rights legislation...and introduced a number of civil rights measures, but apparently it had little relish for them...."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 16.

"Daily, systematic denial of democratic rights to migrant workers under the American caste system can only be redressed by legislative and executive action in behalf of this submerged section of our people. In the struggle the right of children and adults to full education must not be forgotten."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream,  
May, 1962, p. 34.



## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Peaceful coexistence is the only guarantee of security; therefore, the building of useless bomb shelters should be discouraged; United States troops in Thailand should be recalled; and agreements for a coalition government in Laos should be supported.
2. Halting the arms race is a paramount duty of all nations, for until the world agrees to disarm, the demands of the military budget will continue to rob the American people of essential domestic functions.
3. Expenditures for a military budget are a grievous waste and serve only to increase the profits of armaments manufacturers.
4. Resumption of nuclear testing by the United States can only result in an armaments race that will end in an atomic war of extinction.
5. Reckless, irresponsible military leaders of the Pentagon, by their actions in Asia, are slowly but surely dragging the country into war.
6. The Government's belief in military supremacy and preventive war makes it impossible for the Soviet Union to negotiate for a peaceful world.
7. The American people are not behind the trumped-up emergencies in Europe and Asia but want their money spent on social welfare and on jobs not provided by war industries.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. PEACE Only Protection

"Peaceful co-existence has come to the fore... as the keystone in the struggle for peace...."

"... a new peace movement is on the upswing. The future of our country is in that new movement...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 2, 1962, p. 6.

"A FEW MONTHS AGO, one of the boomiest businesses was: building bomb shelters.

"Then came the opinions of experts to the effect that shelters in an atomwar were no protection whatsoever.

"The more people thought about the problem, the more they came to the conclusion that there is but ONE protection against A and H bombs: PEACE."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 6.

"The action of the U.S. military in Thailand and Laos, added to that in South Vietnam, clearly constitutes a threat to world peace. The build-up of U.S. military strength on the territories of these Southeast Asian countries can serve no legitimate interest of our own country and people, and threatens to trigger another Korea-type war."

"Let everyone concerned with the preservation of our country's honor, national interest, and world peace write President Kennedy to recall our troops from Thailand and support the agreements already arrived at for establishment of a coalition government in a free and neutral Laos."

The Worker,  
May 27, 1962, p. 3.

## 2. Armaments a World-Wide Burden

"IN THE STATE OF THE Union message, President John F. Kennedy began with a series of domestic problems and then related all of this to his cold war program. In the budget message, he made the primacy of his cold war objectives more clear and put the 'defense, international, and space activities' in one package for first consideration. Increases in appropriations for any of the 'domestic civil functions' were not to interfere with the military budget but were made only at the expense of other domestic functions."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 1.

"...the American people have been robbed of essential services by the ever-increasing demands for government spending on armaments..."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1962, p. 11.

"GUS HALL urged the United Nations to call an 'emergency world meeting' to end the deadly atomic arms race in his address to a crowded May Day rally in Union Square.

"The United Nations has no more important issue before it," the Communist spokesman declared. "Let the statesmen, governments, parties of the world put other matters aside until this issue is resolved. And let all human nuclear testing end until this meeting begins."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1962, p. 16.

"Titov's message to Americans is that the problems of complete disarmament must be solved with sincere and conscientious work by all powers negotiating in good faith, in order to release the vast wealth in material and scientific talent that is now being consumed in a potentially humanity destroying armaments race, so that these vast resources can be channeled into not only solving the problems of living on earth, but also for international cooperation in man's mastery of the very depths of the Universe."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 8.

"That the armaments burden is a universal curse... was further attested to last week, when the Soviet government announced that it was regrettably compelled to raise the prices on meat and butter... The explanation is that capital expenditures needed for affecting a rapid growth in agricultural productivity could not be diverted from the arms budget because of the continuing armaments race and the menacing cold war stance of the West in respect to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of the world."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, p. 2.

### 3. Wealth Wasted by War Economy

"...the total stockpile of strategic materials exceeds \$7.7 billion..."

"...Both cold war parties are responsible. Excess stockpiling is part of the systematic super-profiteering which is one of the main big business motives in promoting a garrison state."

"This waste is not accidental. It is systematically developed by power-hungry generals and profit-hungry munitions magnates... that goes far to explain why the Soviet Union is able to match the United States in military strength with less than one-third of our military budget."

"...the President's stockpiling investigation is a piece of demagoguery."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1962, p. 4.

"...The war economy is profitable not for the millions of unemployed persons, but for the millionaires who are seeking to become billionaires at the taxpayers' expense."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. MW 2.

"There is increasing recognition that the economic stimulus of militarism is playing out in the U. S. It is more and more overshadowed by the dead weight of the tax burden it places on the economy. It has a class effect--profiting big arms magnates at the expense of the people. But its main economic effect is to intensify stagnation and chronic unemployment. The stimulus of Kennedy's extra-big dose of militarism has almost petered out before Washington expected; so consideration is being given to throwing more munitions billions into the pot."

The Worker,  
May 6, 1962, p. 6.

#### 4. Nuclear Testing Invites War

"Throughout the country, in every imaginable form, people of all classes, races, religions and political beliefs are doing everything they can to express their demands for an end to nuclear weapons tests, for the destruction of all H-bomb stockpiles and for general and complete disarmament.

"These are people of whom all of us can indeed be proud--and whom all could well emulate."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 2, 1962, p. 2.

"The protest against the deadly tests has just begun.

"It is part of a nationwide people's upsurge for sanity and survival.

"It will not be intimidated, for it is directed against the greatest terror of all--an atomic arms race that can usher in a war of extinction."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 6, 1962, p. 2.

"...the entire nation and the world were plunged into gloom by the President's announcement Friday that the U. S. would resume nuclear weapons testing in the air. This new step in the arms race can mean only--unless checked--that the American people will have to learn to burrow themselves in the earth like moles instead of freeing themselves from the fetters of earth's gravity for the great adventures of space."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 6, 1962, p. 2.

"GUS HALL, leading Communist spokesman in the U. S., last Thursday, condemned bomb testing in the South Pacific as 'a devastating disregard for the peace of the people in all parts of the world.'"

"...and then added, 'While the fascists of the ultra-Right will cheer the decision, the responsibility for testing and the war preparations program must also be squarely placed on the big business war contract profiteers, the Pentagon brass, and the political spokesmen of American monopoly.'"

"The beginning of testing also indicates the increased power of the military in our country, and the growing danger of the 'strike-first policy' combined with the 'overkill stockpile' policy. The testing decision is not a defensive measure. It indicates that those forces are on the increase who advocate 'aggression as the best defense' and are shouting 'win the cold war by turning it into a hot war.' That is dangerous."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 1, 1962, p. 2.

##### 5. Pentagon Wants War

"THE HEARINGS now being conducted by the Special Senate Preparedness Subcommittee into the so-called muzzling of generals by civilian authorities are proving..."

"The need for civilian control over the military... So is the need for censoring these reckless, irresponsible ultras.

"But what is even more serious is the revelation of the dangerous warmaking plans of influential sections of the Pentagon and the kind of people who are promoting these plans."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 30, 1962, p. 4.

"THE PENTAGON is sucking the nation into a full-scale war against the South Vietnamese people...

"... U.S. military commanders are heating up a war of brutality and atrocity in South Vietnam. Great areas are being destroyed by poison chemicals sprayed from American-manned U.S. military planes. Napalm bombs are being used to burn villages. Entire villages of freedom-seeking South Vietnamese are being uprooted and transported to concentration camps for brainwashing."

"... many observers are beginning to worry about the possibility of a new Korean-type war...."

"Washington is therefore defying international law in South Vietnam, just as it did two weeks ago, when it broke solemn treaties entered into with Cuba and other Latin American nations, promising never to intervene in any way against any country of the Americas."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 13, 1962, p. 2.

"... peace and war are at opposite poles, and Americans want peace. So one may ask what pushed the Administration into this distant and perilous adventure.

"The answer is found in the Pentagon and Wall Street. Washington's war policy reflects the powerful influence of international investors, arms companies and saber-rattling generals and admirals.

"The Pentagon is now talking of expanding the Asian war...."

"How far the military will dare to 'escalate' this war against the peoples of Asia is another question, of course...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 15, 1962, p. 7.

#### 6. Government's Policy Bars Negotiation

"...contrary to the desires of the vast majority of the American people and of the world, the Kennedy Administration ordered the U. S. delegate to break up the Geneva test ban talks because the Soviet Union would not agree to Washington's terms."

"It is this policy of negotiating from a so-called position of strength, initiated by Truman, elaborated by Eisenhower and now deified by Kennedy which has kept the world in a state of dangerous turmoil. It has been the reckless belief in military superiority, beginning with the supposed monopoly of the atombomb, which has made impossible fruitful negotiations with the Soviet Union."

"But the issue is not military superiority. The issue is the survival of the human race."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1962, p. 3.

"If diplomatic threats, the tremendous buildup of nuclear weapons and the massing of H-planes and Polaris submarines does not intimidate other nations, it follows naturally to begin thinking in terms of using these weapons."



"That is the logic of the so-called deterrence policy of the Kennedy administration. The Pentagon brass, the Ultra-Right, certain Wall Street imperialists who have pressured the President into this policy understand its logic clearly--because they advocate preventive war."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1962, p. 3.

"THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION, driven frantic by the rapid dissolution of its positions in South East Asia, took the road to even more reckless actions when the President ordered U. S. naval, air and land forces to move toward the Indochina peninsula."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 15, 1962, p. 1.

"The dispatch of thousands of marines to Thailand. the massing of the U. S. Seventh Fleet on the shores of that dictator-ridden nation and the poising of an unrevealed number of U. S. military personnel on the Laos-Thailand border in readiness to march aggressively into the territory of the Pathet Lao fighters for Laotian independence--all these last week brought almost to the point of no return the disastrous Southeast Asia policy of the Kennedy administration."

"...the false assumption that the Pathet Lao forces are a communist puppet rather than a political organization seeking independence and freedom for Laos ... seeks to hide the truth of the situation."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 1.

## 7. People Question Military Emergencies

"IF WE'RE NOT fighting in Vietnam we ought to stop dying there. We ought to withdraw from the war we're not engaged in, and bring home the boys who aren't in it. Then the Defense Department can stop sending those telegrams to the families of our soldiers who didn't really die."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1962, p. 2.

"BOSTON--Unrest among the U.S. army reservists at Camp Devens was expressed here when some 100 angry wives from 13 states gathered at the home of...a reservist's wife. Most of the wives felt that their husbands were called up on a trumped-up emergency--the Berlin crisis. They said their husbands were bitter and felt they were made the fall guys of this phoney emergency."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 6, 1962, p. 6.

"...the war industries themselves are showing that they cannot provide the employment to fill the gap in the U.S. caused by automation and the shift from various types of manned armament to the huge single mass-destructive missiles and nuclear weapons of all types."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1962, p. 2.

"...Unemployment is caused by capitalism; not by armaments or the lack of them."

"...the government must provide the people with the benefits of disarmament; creating jobs by finally carrying out really massive programs in the areas of health, education, welfare, and housing, with part of the funds now wasted on munitions...."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1962, p. 4.

"While the tension grows in the Laotian crisis, the American soldiers already involved in the 'dirty' war against the fighters for freedom in South Vietnam are asking in ever-increasing numbers why they are in that country."

The Worker,  
May 20, 1962, p. 14.

### VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Employment practices in the United States victimize the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Indians.
2. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and similar low-income minority groups are the principal victims of the housing crisis.
3. Although there is a great exodus of Negroes from the South, many Negroes coming north do not find their lot improved.
4. This is the 99th year since slavery was abolished; yet the Negro, in spite of his attempts to help his race, is still denied equal rights.
5. Jews are not persecuted in the Soviet Union but, in the United States, it is traditional to discriminate against them.
6. Capitalism in the United States will give way to socialism because it fails to provide true democracy for which its people have begun to fight.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Job Discrimination

"No spectacular progress has been made in terms of reducing the rate of unemployment among Negroes still running more than twice that among the whites, or in significant cracks through the apprenticeship barriers and exclusion bars of some carft unions. But the economic struggle has now won national attention, an important pre-condition for winning tangible gains."

The Worker,  
February 11, 1962, p. 4.

"Although Indians do not suffer from outright job descrimination, they are all unskilled or semi-skilled when they come to the city...."

"Their major problem is their difficulty in adjusting to the 'cold and impersonal life of the city' and the competition for jobs. Such competition is alien to their beliefs and considered wrong. . . .

"A large percentage of the Indians who come to the city return to the reservation after a say of a year or more. . . ."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. MW 4.

"Most of the jobless are Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans who are the first to be fired because of racial discrimination and who bear the brunt of unemployment and misery that have stricken more than a hundred thousand workers in Chicago. . . ."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1962, p. MW 2.

"... Negroes are paid less, are hired last, are fired first, are promoted least; they are subjected systematically, and all but universally in the United States, to special and intensive deprivation and exploitation when it comes to this basic matter of earning a living."

Herbert Aptheker, "Civil Rights and the Federal Government,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1962, p. 6.

## 2. Housing Crisis

"Negro airmen... are finding it difficult to rent off-base homes for their families."

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. MW 2.

"... Puerto Rican people... are the people of whom perhaps 750,000 now live in New York City, segregated, discriminated against, packed into slums, allotted the most menial jobs and lowest pay along with the Negro population, and made the butt of screaming racism."

Sidney Finkelstein, "A Puerto Rican in New York,"  
Political Affairs, January, 1962, p. 64.

"Old established communities have been uprooted.

"Negro, Puerto Rican families and those of low income generally have been pushed out, their homes either leveled or renovated to make way for apartments out of their reach.

"Huge, plush luxury apartment buildings providing lush profits for real estate brokers have invaded these communities."

"...the greatest sufferers of all from the housing crisis are the low income and especially minority groups being overlooked."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, p. 8.

### 3. Migration from the South

"In the last 30 years more than 469,000 Negroes have fled from the South to Chicago, with 47 percent of them, or 223,000, from Mississippi.

"Forty percent of all people on relief in Chicago come from the former Negro residents of Mississippi. In Chicago, discrimination, high rents and harassment has been the lot of many of these the Southerners."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1962, p. MW 2.

"Denied the means of livelihood, without protection in the exercise of their political liberty, shorn of dignity, and the constant prey of brutal police and vigilante assault, a daily average of over 400 Negroes are forced into migration Northward in search of jobs and an atmosphere of human decency. "

"Let every man and woman of conscience write or wire President John F. Kennedy, Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy for vigorous intervention to meet the plight of the thousands of Negro DP's (Displaced Persons) who have been deprived of livelihood and liberty behind the Cotton Curtain and are now being coerced into migration via a system of 'transports' reminiscent of Hitler's free transports of 'non-Aryans. '"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 1, 1962, p. 2.

4. Ninety- nine Years without Equal Rights

"This year of 1962 marks the 99th year since the abolition of chattel slavery yet Negroes of the Southern states are still a disfranchised people and, in spite of some token integration in the schools, are the victims of all manner of discrimination and suffer a status of almost total segregation in American life. "

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. 3.

"The Negro people have to fight every inch of the way for equal citizenship. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 27, 1962, p. 1.

"... In this 99th year since the Emancipation Proclamation, the 20 million Negro citizens of our country still are compelled to wage unending struggle for their constitutionally-proclaimed yet generally withheld, equal rights...."

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 11.

## 5. Anti-Semitism

"... IT IS ANOTHER great treachery to spread all these vile rumors and fabricated fictions about Soviet anti-semitism. It is remarkable that not one real fact, not one recorded injustice, or one persecution has been turned up by the army of professional anti-sovieteers."

"TODAY THE WHOLE problem is really one of assimilation, not persecution. As in the United States, probably more than half the Jews have voluntarily dropped the Yiddish of their fathers and mothers. This is a process of history, not anti-semitism."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, pp. 4, 8.

"... Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, told a meeting of the St. Louis ADL."

"Anti-Semitism... did not die with Hitler or with the decline of organized bigotry in this country. Instead it lies embedded in the American subconscious rising to the surface in times of tension.."

"One fourth of the hotels in the U. S. will not admit Jews for a night's lodging... Here we have "quotas" of Jews admitted to our higher educational institutions. Likewise, discrimination in housing, neighborhoods and suburban locations exists here as an American tradition."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 4.

6. American Democracy Found Wanting

"...as slavery and feudalism gave way to capitalism, so capitalism will be replaced by socialism and communism. That is a day for the overwhelming majority of Negro...Americans to look forward to..."

"...Irrespective of differences in our political views, we are willing to and do work with people of all races, creeds, colors and opinion for the social good of our country in general, and for the full, free equality of the Negro people in particular.

"In the unity, militant action, and strength of the people lies the victory which is sure to come."

The Worker,  
February 11, 1962, p. 9.

"...to really make any effective social advancement the poll tax amendment brings too little. The proof of this lies in the fact that racism continues as a policy...and the fight against segregation is now national in scope."

"...The immorality of racism can no longer be concealed by platitudinous phrases about a 'free world' and the virtues of American democracy."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 10, 1962, p. 6.

"...the Negro in America has become the barometer of the effectiveness and realism of our economic system, as well as our political ideology.



"We face very realistically today the question: Will the Negro citizen in America become that pool of unemployed, that reservoir of surplus labor which Karl Marx contended in his Manifesto was essential to the survival of the capitalist system?"

The Worker,  
June 17, 1962, p. 8.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The crisis in American schools is caused by an insufficient allocation of funds for education.
2. In this period of student unrest, college students are showing an interest in Marxism which should not be suppressed.
3. Colleges and universities have made progress in their struggle for the right to hear communist speakers.
4. The educational achievements of the socialist countries put American education to shame.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Money Diverted from Schools Causes Crisis

"THE THIEF who steals pennies out of a blind man's cup has supposedly reached the bottom of the ladder. But where does his crime compare to those who deny our children the right to learn by depriving them of text-books for study?"

. . . . .

"Here in a nutshell is the shameful tragedy of our nation to-day.

"Cut to the bone when it comes to text-books for our children."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 30, 1962, p. 2.

"Many, especially parents, teachers groups, educators conscious of the critical condition our semi-starved schools are asking 'how long shall our children's schools needs be held hostage by those who seek to violate our basic constitutional rights'?"

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. 12.

"More and better schools, more and better teachers, at higher pay-- and security at home for the students.

"That's it in a nutshell.

"All this, of course, takes money.

"But consider.

"Our Government is about to spend billions of dollars for B-70 Bombers that they admit are outmoded, obsolete and useless.

"ONLY AN ALERT, informed and genuinely patriotic citizenry could bring the necessary change about."

The Worker,  
April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"The Teachers Union, in saying that 'there is no substitute for money, ' put its finger on the heart of the crisis of our schools.

"They are being starved to death."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 24, 1962, p. 7.

"Following the historic teachers strike Gov. Rockefeller made an extra \$13 million available to the city."

. . . . .

"The number one problem is: how to unite the fight for adequate pay and improved conditions for the long-harassed teachers and the need for smaller classes, total rather than token desegregation of the city's schools, special attention to raising the level of teaching in the 'so-called difficult schools' in segregated and border-line areas and adequate modern school buildings."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
June 5, 1962, pp. 2, 6.

## 2. Trend toward Including Controversial Issues in Curricula

"Now that the subject of 'Communism' is part of many College curricula, orders are coming in for copies of The Worker.

"One college class ordered four different issues, 245 copies.

"The students wish to hear what the instructor has to say. But at the same time they want to see for themselves and read for themselves, FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES."

"...we expect that some of the college students, reading our paper while studying the subject of communism, will subscribe for the paper, become steady readers..."

The Worker,  
March 18, 1962, p. 8.

"...the blanket of silence... covers Marxism in American universities... there are exceptions. Especially in this period of student unrest, teachers are being forced more and more to recognize that if they themselves think Marxism irrelevant, their students, in many cases, do not. Marxism is being discussed on campuses and communists themselves, in some cases, are speaking to large and interested crowds of students."

Editor's note introducing an article  
by William Wheeler, "Marxism in  
American Academic Life,"  
Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 40.

"THERE are two prominent myths currently circulating about American universities: one is that most college students are politically apathetic; the other is that where they are not apathetic, there is a groundswell of conservatism...."

Paul Phillips, "Cornell's Student  
Publications," Mainstream,  
May, 1962, p. 54.

"SEVEN MEN prepared a report telling how economics should be taught in high schools...."

"...included is a rather honest discussion of income inequality and poverty..."

"...in teaching about socialism the professors point out positive features as well as negative distortions. They find that Communist societies have achieved more economic stability than capitalist..."

"Finally, the professors urge that one-sided views not be rammed down the students' throats. Students should do their own research, and express their conclusions without fear of reprisal. Controversial issues should be examined scientifically, with all aspects and viewpoints examined..."

The Worker,  
May 27, 1962, p. 6.

### 3. Demand for Communist Speakers

"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS yesterday termed the 'screening' of speakers who are proposed by student groups at Queens College 'a ruse for getting around the lifting of the speaker ban.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 9, 1962, p. 2.

"Immense tasks are being accomplished by the students who have fought and have won the right to listen to speakers of all political views."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. 1.

"A Minnesota Freedom of the Press committee is seeking permission from school authorities to have Benjamin J. Davis, Communist leader, speak before a Central High School convocation in St. Paul.

"Ralph W. Taylor of Minneapolis, committee chairman, said the request was made because of the appearance of Movie Actor Ronald Reagan who severely condemned Communists in a speech before a high school convocation last January. . . ."

The Worker,  
April 15, 1962, p. MW 1.

"THE VICTORIOUS struggle of the students and faculty of the University of Oregon to hear Gus Hall speak early in February became a nationwide symbol last week for freedom of speech throughout America's colleges and universities. "

The Worker,  
May 6, 1962, p. 2.

4. Education in Socialist Countries Superior

"Cuba as of today is a land without illiteracy. It was done in a year.

"If history has shown a similar accomplishment in learning-- and in so brief a span of time--I have not read of it.

"One million Cubans--primarily of the countryside--learned to read and write. They were taught by a voluntary effort, perhaps unequalled in intensity, organization and enthusiasm. Latin American and other foreign observers here regard it as a 'miracle' of education.

"Actually it is an accomplishment of a revolution that is socialist. One that has the benefit of studying the experience of the other lands of the world that have departed from capitalism--about a third of the world's population. "

The Worker,  
January 7, 1962, p. 6.

"...at the Brooklyn Museum where arts and crafts of Soviet children are on display....

"...teachers...had a hard time keeping the exhuberant little critics from fondling the works of the Soviet children. This reporter had to restrain himself from doing some fondling of his own, so palatable was the art, so professional were the crafts."

"...One young girl from P. S. 12 expressed her enthusiasm to this reporter by criticising her own art instruction. 'We don't get taught like this,' she said angrily..."

The Worker,  
February 4, 1962, p. 6.

"THE GULF BETWEEN our vaunted American 'democracy' and our practice is nowhere more obvious than in education. In the same field, the achievements of Socialism are daily becoming harder to deny, from the Cuban liquidation of illiteracy to the overwhelming superiority of public education in the Soviet Union."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1962, p. 8.

"...So far our educational system has had little or no experience in developing vocational abilities among migratory workers. This serious neglect is only one more indication of the failure of our social and economic system to discover and develop fully the rich talents of Americans..."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables,"  
Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 35.

"...In the socialist world, education and training really can be co-ordinated with automation, and nobody becomes unemployed, while living standards go up and working hours go down."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 6.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. It is inevitable that capitalism and socialism will compete for adherents and, this being true, cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union are conducive to understanding and progress.
2. To television sponsors, advertising and sales are paramount; therefore, broadcasters give the public the programs that are money-makers, regardless of the tastes of the audience.
3. The motion-picture industry has a perfect medium for elevating man's cultural level but seldom takes the trouble to use it that way.
4. The successful scientific exploration of outer space emphasizes the wisdom of glorifying man and disparaging Heaven.
5. Marxism has a goal in common with the goal of the Enlightenment and the great religions, that is, to eliminate poverty, racial discrimination, exploitation of man by man, and war.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Achieving American-Soviet Understanding

"... The Soviet press..."

"...has also taken note of... the beginning of negotiations in Washington on an agreement for continuation of American-Soviet exchanges in science, technology, education and culture...."

"The Soviet public's attitude to American exchange artists visiting the USSR is one indication of the popularity of the official government's efforts to achieve an American-Soviet understanding...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 6, 1962, p. 8.



"No one can change the fact that capitalism and socialism... will inevitably compete with each other for the mind and allegiance of people everywhere. They will inevitably compete in the field of ideas; in the sciences; in their rates of industrial growth; in; hours and wages and conditions of working; in schooling and opportunities they offer their young generations; in cultural and moral values. Competition in such fields is inevitable and, what is more, it is generally a good and healthy thing that will stimulate social progress."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 11.

## 2. Dollar Emphasis on Television Programs

"It is only good business, after all, to encourage the kind of thinking that makes your product acceptable in the public mind. So that if you can't sell a tank or a howitzer on a family television program you can at least sell the idea the violence and death are an inevitable part of life. Consciously or unconsciously the sponsors tend to seek 'corporate images' which reflect their products, their thoughts, and their way of looking at life."

"There is not a single trade union who has a say, through newspaper advertising or TV sponsorship, in the cultural affairs of the nation. There is not a single university that competes with Anheuser-Busch (beers) or Schenley Industries (Whiskies) as an arbitrator of the literary tastes of the people. There is not a single church. There is not a single people's organization."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 30, 1962, p. 5.

"THE great limitation of television is that, like other privately owned big businesses, its primary goal is maximum profits...."

"... the Glenn flight serves to remind us that TV is still interested first and foremost in maximum profits. The telecast of the historic orbit has left a bad taste in the mouths of network officials. Why? Because it wasn't profitable."

"... As long as advertisers mediate between the viewers and programs there will be a miasma of commercials and a strict demand for political conformity by the big sponsoring corporations. So the public must demand an end to sponsor domination and influence in TV viewing...."

Robert Forrey, "TV: For  
Better or Worse,"  
Mainstream, May, 1962, pp. 5, 7, 9.

### 3. Hollywood Misses Opportunity

"'THE WEST SIDE STORY' is something to see."

"It is perhaps the best musical Hollywood ever made...."

"This theme, as you probably know, is the 'ROMEO AND JULIET' story...."

"... the truth is that this plot severely weakens the film's realism. It limits the scope of what it says and at times imposes artificial limitations on the action.

"... by focusing the theme, of brotherhood and equality, on the frenzied fighting of young hoodlums, the authors unwittingly reinforce in the audience's mind the very stereotype about Puerto Rican youth they seek to combat...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 16, 1962, p. 5.

"What's 'Lover Come Back' really about? Nothing at all--a subject that Hollywood handles so well!"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 13, 1962, p. 5.

"... Movies, perhaps of all the arts, can best best depict the new ideas, new dimensions of time and space, penetrate the secrets of the cosmos and the atom, and relate what this new world of knowledge means to man, as well as what, by this knowledge, man can learn about his relations to reality, to society, and to man, himself.

"Can--but seldom attempt to...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 3, 1962, p. 5.

#### 4. Space Exploration Minimizes Heaven

"... With the increasing exploration of Outer Space, scientists have shown less and less interest in Heaven."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 13, 1962, p. 5.

"MANKIND HAD BEEN electrified by his astonishing feat of courage and scientific mastery in girdling the earth from outer space some 17 times in 25 hours. Major Gherman S. Titov by his deed had extended man's realm into the cosmos to the glory of man and everymans gratitude...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 8, 1962, p. 2.

"COSMONAUT GHERMAN STEPANOVICH TITOV and his good ship Vostok II... adorned the earth with rainbow circuits in outer space, 17 halos of glory crowning the head of man. This phenomenon of science, this heroic exploit of unconquerable man, has demonstrated the breaching of the last major barrier that has kept man through the ages from direct communion with the stars

"AND IT WAS ALTOGETHER CONGRUOUS that this wonderous achievement was performed by one of those men of tomorrow who already dwell among us today--by a Communist man, that is. And that today's premier builders of space ships that will carry man through the heavens tomorrow are the scientists and workers from a country which was the first in the world to achieve a system of society without the exploitation of man by man, wherein the toil of man's labor and brain is wholly channeled to the cause of the fullest satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man."

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 9.

5. Marxism and Religion Share Common Aim

"...In dedication to the struggle to eliminate poverty, human indignity, racism, cultural deprivation and war, Marxism knows and emphasizes that these goals are common to those held by partisans of the Enlightenment and upholders of all the Great Religions. Were Marxists alone in this dedication, they would fail. They are not alone, however, and together all of us who stand opposed to systematized exploitation and extermination will--exactly because we do stand together--overcome the forces of evil and fulfill the promise that is Man."

Herbert Aptheker, "Marxism and  
Man's Destiny,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 23.

## **XI. WOMEN**

1. American women are mobilizing and working with women all over the world to bring about disarmament and peace.
2. Women have made greater achievements in the socialist countries than in the United States.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. American Women Work for Disarmament and Peace:**

"The Women's Strike for Peace in a leaflet advertising the massive mobilization on January 15, declared:

"We do not accept that our children may die--not even quietly--in our arms, but in an inferno of panic, anguish, degradation and filth. Nothing can justify this end. '"

The Worker,  
January 14, 1962, p. 1.

"THE 50 WOMEN who had gone to Geneva to lobby for peace returned last Saturday with the intention of asking President Kennedy that they be allowed to take over a military base near the Soviet Union and turn it into a cultural-exchange center. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 10, 1962, p. 2.

"ATLANTIC CITY -- A convention of 250 delegates to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL) meeting here adopted a resolution to President Kennedy calling for the suspension of atmospheric nuclear tests and to resubmit to the Geneva Disarmament Conference the United States proposal of Sept. 3, 1961, for an atmospheric test ban without on-site inspection.

"They also commended Kennedy for his proposed cooperation with the Soviet Union in the exploration of outer space.

"Another resolution adopted, said, they were in agreement with the stated objective of the Administration to neutralize Laos, and with its attempt to apply pressure on the Phoumi Nosavan faction through withdrawal of aid. "

The Worker,  
May 13, 1962, p. 14.

"While Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, the First Lady, was inside the Electric Boat Company shipyard here, christening the 11th and largest Polaris submarine, 250 ladies stood outside in the largest protest demonstration ever held there. "

"...an open letter to Mrs. Kennedy issued at the launching site... stated...

"...we believe there is no alternative but to eradicate the concept of war from the minds of men and to proceed immediately and independently with the dismantling of our weapons. '"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
May 15, 1962, p. 3.

"ANN ARBOR, Mich.--Hundreds of women will be here, June 8 for a national meeting to further peace activities in the U. S. and to explore plans for international sessions with women from other lands. "

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 5.

2. Socialist Women Have More Opportunities

"THE NATURAL superiority of women still remains a theory... and it will be a long time before history catches up with nature and women are free to prove the theory in practice. The question must first be settled as to the superiority of the productive classes over their parasitical rulers."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 9, 1962, p. 5.

"...According to the Census Bureau, women workers in the U. S. earn only 60 percent of what men make and only 20 of our 50 states have equal pay for equal work laws. Only 16 states and the District of Columbia pay women school teachers salaries comparable to those paid to men.

"In all socialist countries equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by law, as is the right of women to hold any job except those that might constitute a health hazard."

"These... are achievements that would be welcomed by most U. S. working women. There are many others, too, such as a much greater participation of women living under socialism in government and public life than in the U. S. and far superior employment opportunities."

The Worker,  
March 4, 1962, p. 5.

## **XII. YOUTH**

1. Youth's unprecedented political awareness and activity are scoring gains in the peace, civil rights, and civil liberties movements.
2. Today's college students, examining every phase of our society, want to probe the problem of communism, but they are not satisfied by anticommunist lectures; they want to hear real communists talk.
3. The danger of nuclear warfare blights the future of American youth.
4. A vital need for youth in leadership positions in the Communist Party is indicated by the increased activity of youth everywhere and the high age level of present Party leaders.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Youth's Unprecedented Political Awareness**

"A...youth peace demonstration...in Washington on Feb. 16-17."

"...shook the nation's capital for two days...."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1962, p. 3.

"A SPIRITED picket-line of 1,500, which later marched 16 blocks to join an additional 1,500 at St. Nicholas Arena, gave the lie last week to Sen. Barry Goldwater's boast that 'conservatism was the wave of the future.'"



"While many others participated, it was the students who gave a particular flavor to the picket-line and the St. Nicholas Arena meeting."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
March 13, 1962, p. 3.

"...the editors of New Horizons for Youth...

"...issued a statement..."

"...The last few years have been marked by unprecedented political awareness and activity on the part of the youth of the United States. Students have been instrumental in achieving gain in civil rights, peace, and civil liberties."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1962, p. 5.

## 2. Youth Wants To Know about Communism

"HALL EXPLAINED...'The right to probe fearlessly is a necessity for Youth, if they are to achieve answers that will solve their problems, which are actually the problems of mankind.

"One problem which has been often posed for Youth, in a false and hysterical way, is the problem of Communism. Their response at these meetings show that they are no longer willing to accept a discussion on Communism which does not include Communists in the debate."

The Worker,  
March 11, 1962, p. 6.

"...the editors of New Horizons for Youth...

"...issued a statement..."

"For the first time since before the McCarthy Era we see large numbers of youth examining and questioning every phase of our society. Today's student is not satisfied with a lecture on communism. He wants to hear a Communist speak on the subject. . . ."

The Worker,  
April 8, 1962, p. 5.

"...Miss Flynn said, . . .

"...Communists are news today, dramatic news. The splendid reception Gus Hall received on the Pacific Coast and Ben Davis received in Eastern colleges, and their TV interviews and news conferences illustrate the great interest in what Communists have to say. Anti-Communists are a dime a dozen these days, but a real-life Communist gets a respectful hearing, especially from the youth. . . ."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
April 10, 1962, pp. 3, 7.

"Over 2,000 students, by police count, crowded along the banks of the Red Cedar River and on the rear lawn of a fraternity house at Michigan State University, to hear U. S. Communist Party spokesman, Robert Thompson. . . ."

"Thompson won the crowd when he praised students for throwing 'off the smog of McCarthyism which had such an effect on freedom of education. This shows a growing realization that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine affects more than just one third of the world's thinking. It indicates a true realization of social philosophy that can't be gained by listening to professional anti-Communists,' he said. "

The Worker,  
June 3, 1962, p. 5.

3. Youth Faces Dark Future

"... school children... crouch in fearful anticipation of a nuclear bomb blast to rehearse the future laid out for them by the government in Washington. Is this not a horrible prospect for the youth of the nation to contemplate?... "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
January 2, 1962, p. 3.

"Some Chicago school children no longer say 'when I grow up' in speaking about their future but 'if I grow up.' "

"This is one of the by-products of the fallout shelter talk.... "

The Worker,  
February 4, 1962, p. MW 2.

"The youth of America faces an uncertain future. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
February 27, 1962, p. 1.

4. Communist Party, USA, Needs Youthful Leaders

"Of greatest importance is the regular renewal of leadership and the training and promotion of young people and workers to posts of leadership and to do it boldly. This has become a life and death question. This does not mean the discarding of old leaders, but a blending of old and new with great stress on new young forces. This is demanded not only by the rising popular movement in which youth plays a leading part, but by the high age level of the Party. What Lenin wrote at a time of rising governments in Russia is keenly applicable to the CPUSA. 'We have to recruit young people more boldly and widely and again more widely and again more boldly without fearing them.' \*\*\*

William Weinstone, "On the Communist Party and Democratic Centralism,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 51.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1962 -- DECEMBER 1962



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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1962--December 1962**

**January 1963**

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## PREFACE

This monograph summarizes the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, on the major current issues of national and international interest. The summary statements setting forth the communist view, at the beginning of each section, are supported by quotations selected from authoritative communist publications.

The Sunday and the midweek editions of the newspaper, The Worker, and the monthly periodicals, Political Affairs and Mainstream, for July through December, 1962, were reviewed to determine the Party's position.

During the period covered by this monograph, the Communist Party, USA, in the publications reviewed, has refrained from expressing its views regarding Albania or Yugoslavia and has made no comment on the rift between Communist China and the Soviet Union. It has preferred to quote, without comment, spokesmen of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Printed as a supplement to the December 23, 1962, issue of The Worker is the "full text" of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's report, "The Present International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union," wherein he sharply criticizes the Albanian leaders and forecasts Soviet-Yugoslav co-operation, without directly mentioning China in connection with either.

The supporting quotations appearing in this monograph were copied from the publications reviewed. No changes have been made to correct errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, spacing, or spelling. Misspellings are underlined, but no other errors are pointed out.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, proclaims over and over that it is for world peace and that the desire for war is alien to the very nature of any socialist state. By contrast, according to the Party, United States foreign policy, inspired by the ultra-Right, constantly threatens peaceful coexistence by its war-provoking actions, thereby necessitating extreme vigilance on the part of communist nations to defend themselves against possible nuclear attack. The American people, the Party says, are similarly concerned about the possibility of war; therefore, the Party urges them to demand that the Administration negotiate for disarmament and settlement of all disputed questions.

The Communist Party, USA, states that peace is imperiled by such features of United States foreign policy as threats against Cuba, neo-colonialist intrigues in Africa, paramilitary operations in Vietnam, support of the Bonn-Paris axis, arms shipments for aiding India to fight Communist China, and economic exploitation of Latin America and Canada.

Domestically, the Communist Party, USA, contends that the people's welfare is neglected under capitalism and that an alliance of Rightists is forming which will endanger peace and democracy. To

remedy these evils, the Party urges Government intervention and holds out the promise of socialism.

The Party blames big business and the ultra-Rightists for widespread unemployment, for putting profits above human welfare, and for an imminent recession. According to the Party, labor should have a political voice and trade-unions should support what the Left advocates for our economic ills--a shorter workweek, trade with all countries, disarmament, and public ownership of the means of production.

The Communist Party, USA, voices concern for the insecure status of the small farmer, because, it points out, he is either giving up his farm or is aware of his impending elimination by big farmers.

According to the communist view, although colonialism in Asia and Africa is fading, it lingers on because the major, exploiting capitalist nations co-operate to preserve it. Opposition to neocolonialist exploitation, communists claim, is possible if former colonial nations and the socialist countries form a bloc in the United Nations.

From the Party's point of view, legislation and justice are moving too slowly. The Party complains that the 87th Congress failed to pass much-needed social or civil rights legislation. It strongly advocates that, to insure the rights of the individual, the House Committee on Un-American Activities be abolished and the McCarran Act repealed.

Communists maintain that the United States, through its Armed Forces, is pursuing an aggressive, warlike policy of brinkmanship that creates international tensions. This country's readiness to use nuclear weapons and to attack Cuba, communists insist, can result in nuclear war. The alternative, it is pointed out, is to stop nuclear testing, provide for disarmament, and establish friendly relations with Cuba.

Party spokesmen claim that white supremacy is a blight on American society, and that the Negro is ready, able, and determined to gain equality but needs support from groups of labor and white Americans as well as from the President.

The Communist Party, USA, is critical of the American educational system. The Party asserts that school desegregation is making almost no progress and that dropouts deprive the Nation of needed talent. Other critical observations are that good teachers have been forced out of the profession by the McCarthyite hysteria and that universities are adversely affected by the cold war.

Art and artists in the United States are suppressed by capitalism, according to communist critics. They further maintain that this country's progress in science is slowed by the antiquated system of private enterprise while the Soviet Union, under socialism, forges ahead. It is also alleged

that this Nation's so-called Christian tradition is not so firmly founded as Americans have been led to believe.

Compared with the high regard shown in socialist countries for the contributions of women, the status of women in the United States is considered by the communists to be woeful. They manifest praise for the American women who are independently striving for peace.

American youth is lauded by the Communist Party, USA, for its efforts to end the cold war. The Party is portrayed as being in complete sympathy with the problems of youth and the steps youth is taking to solve them.

#### B. Conclusions

1. In the field of foreign affairs, the Communist Party, USA, may be expected to continue to condemn the foreign policy of the United States. The Party's position echoes the line of the Soviet Union, that peace is of paramount importance and that the desire for war is contrary to the true nature of a socialist state. Party spokesmen aim to discredit United States prestige and influence by endeavoring to demonstrate that plotting by Rightists, monopolists, and imperialists causes our foreign policy to be channeled into a course leading to aggression, tension, and ultimate destruction. They will demand that the United States cease its nuclear tests and its "undemocratic intervention" throughout the world and negotiate with the Soviet Union to bring about peaceful coexistence. The Communist Party, USA, looks toward the Soviet Union in taking a position on the differences and division existing between the Soviet Union and Communist China.

2. Domestically, the Communist Party, USA, will try to build organized opposition to military preparedness and so-called Rightist activities. It will endeavor to exploit segregation issues. It will also attempt to persuade the American people that their needs and rights are not respected and will be truly recognized only when socialism is achieved in the United States.
3. Claiming a natural kinship with labor, the Communist Party, USA, will seek to strengthen its identification with labor by advocating a shorter workweek, more jobs, trade with all countries, relationship with the Left, and organization to gain for labor a political voice. The Party will continue to charge that our economic ills are due to the manner in which the Government, in its efforts to buttress capitalism, favors big business.
4. The Communist Party, USA, will strive to convince the small farmers that their concern about insecurity could be minimized if they, as a group, would join other dissatisfied groups to form a solid front of protest.
5. A gain for socialism is seen by the Communist Party, USA, in the approaching termination of colonialism in Asia and Africa and the possibility of a so-called anti-imperialist majority in the United Nations.
6. The Communist Party, USA, will do its utmost to effect the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the repeal of the McCarran Act.
7. The Communist Party, USA, will continue to identify itself with Negroes and certain other minority groups in their struggle for equal rights.
8. The Communist Party, USA, will work tirelessly to persuade youth that it is being victimized by problems arising from the cold war and that the solution is to work with the Party, whose program, it is claimed, coincides with the interests of youth.

## I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The aggressive foreign policy of the United States heightens the war danger, compelling peace-loving nations to exercise extreme vigilance.
2. The American people demand that the Kennedy Administration change its foreign policy provoking war to a policy based on peaceful coexistence.
3. The Alliance for Progress, which is actually a plan to keep Latin America subservient to Washington's foreign policy and Wall Street monopolies, stands in vivid contrast to the good neighborliness of the socialist countries.
4. The increasing economic power of France and Germany, together with their acquisition of nuclear weapons, constitutes a serious threat to peace.
5. Although Communist China desires and seeks peace with India, the supplying of American arms to India will serve to prolong the military struggle between these two Asian countries.
6. Washington misleads the American people into thinking that the war in Vietnam, actually an undemocratic American intervention, is being won by the United States.
7. The economic exploitation of Canada by the United States is likely to be challenged by an awakening Canadian people.
8. The United States should abandon its policy of international lawlessness with respect to Cuba, normalize its relations with Cuba, and restore peace in the Caribbean.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Aggressive Policy Sharpens War Danger

"The bomb tests in the Pacific have entered a phase that constitutes a clear and present danger to all the earth's people and perils space exploration.

"Our national interest as well as the survival of humanity obligates the American people to accelerate all efforts to halt these tests and to demand that Washington negotiate a binding pact with the Soviet Union and other powers for permanently ending the arms race, for general and total disarmament."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 3.

"From preparations for military assault upon little Cuba, to para-military operations in Viet Nam and neo-colonialist intrigues in Africa, the aggressive nature of U.S. foreign policy is sharpening the war danger."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 25, 1962, p. 3.

"Izvestia, writing about the tax decision, notes President Kennedy's plan to call up 150,000 more armed men, and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's talk of using nuclear weapons. It points to the swelling American arms budgets, the interventionist threats against Cuba, the 'bellicose hysterics of U.S. reactionaries,' the U.S. nuclear tests, the 'spy satellites,' the U-2 flights, and the many naval and air bases near the Soviet border, and it stresses the impending military alliance of West Germany and France.



"All these facts,' adds Izvestia, 'impel the peace-loving nations and of course the Soviet people to be vigilant and take necessary measures for the defense of their country.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 8.

"...it was the ultra-Right, the Pentagon warmongers and their friends in Washington, who sought to take advantage of the artificially promoted Cuban crisis to provoke a military confrontation with the Soviet Union..."

"Luckily, the Soviet Union, aware of its responsibility for world peace, refused to be provoked...."

"But it must be realized that this is the seventeenth time Washington has pushed the world to the brink of disaster since the Truman administration started the cold war in 1946-1947."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 30, 1962, p. 1.

## 2. Cold War Policies Must Be Reversed

"... President Kennedy must not be permitted for a single moment to forget that the people demand that he put an end to the war provocations in Vietnam, Cuba, Berlin, Taiwan and that he execute the turn toward peace that the nation requires and the world demands."

The Worker,  
July 22, 1962, p. 3.

"The American people must understand what were the 'burdens' of British imperialism; they must understand what an analogous course has meant and will mean for our country in the twentieth century. The greatness

of the United States lies in the path of liberation, of human freedom, of economic well-being, of moral purification. That is the road of true national interest. At this moment in history, this means, specifically and precisely, U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and American commitment to support there a policy of genuine neutrality, independence and democratic society."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1962, p. 35.

"Gus Hall calls for an immediate reversal of the cold-war policies; such reversal would relieve the American people and the world of the nightmare of possible nuclear-doom, it would enormously lift living standards, reduce taxes, and provide billions of dollars for socially-constructive programs and needs. Such reversal would align our nation not with, but against colonialism; it would make our nation a leader, not an obstacle, in the drive for general and total disarmament."

Herbert Aptheker, "End the Cold War!"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1962, p. 2.

"Recent events around Cuba have demonstrated with more than ordinary vividness, to the world's people and not least the people of the United States, that so long as the Cold War and the armaments race continue the danger of nuclear war remains and intensifies. These events also have demonstrated that ordinary people in all walks of life must concern themselves with questions of foreign policy, and take a hand in determining our country's foreign affairs. The people must, by their organized efforts, press for the abandonment of the Cold War and preparations for war, and for a policy of peaceful co-existence and the settlement of differences through negotiations."

Jack Stachel, "American Foreign Policy  
and the Cold War," Political Affairs,  
December, 1962, p. 59.

3. Alliance for Progress Is Instrument of Exploitation

"The Kennedy administration last week moved with alarming and unprecedented swiftness to punish the Army junta and the people of Peru for refusing to approve the fraudulent 'election' of Haya de la Torre as president."

"The action made it clear that the Alliance for Progress would be used for supporting or bringing to power regimes in Latin America that would be subservient to Washington."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 24, 1962, p. 2.

"...struggles bear witness to the will of the workers and peoples of Latin America to defend their democratic and trade-union liberties and to resist a policy stemming from the so-called Alliance for Progress of President Kennedy, which aims only to keep in chains the workers, peasants and all working people in the Latin American countries by strangling their fight for thorough and complete national liberation."

Jose Rodrigo, "Mass Struggles in  
Latin America,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1962, p. 36.

"The objectives of the Alliance for Progress were not only to dampen the drive for democracy and to bring about subservience to Wall Street, it was also aimed at erecting a wall against competition by the European Common Market headed by West Germany's monopolists and neo-Nazis."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 11, 1962, p. 3.

"OBSERVERS are asking whether all the screaming in Washington about the 'military menace' of the fishing port to be built by the Soviet Union for Cuba is not a cover-up for the fear by Wall Street and Washington that the example of Soviet economic aid may not prove attractive to many other Latin American nations.

"The aim of this smokescreen, according to these observers, is to scare off the Latin American peoples from taking a good look at what the socialist countries offer in good neighborliness..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 3.

#### 4. Bonn-Paris Axis Menaces Peace

"...the Kennedy Administration is surrendering control of nuclear weapons in Western Europe to the trigger-happy megalomaniac, French President DeGaulle, and the West German neo-Nazis and monopolists....

"...as the result of their great increase in economic power, DeGaulle and Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer were challenging U.S. control of NATO\* and demanding the right to pull the nuclear trigger if they thought they should.

"The Worker...emphasized the danger of President Kennedy's surrender to these war-seeking madmen as the result of his desire to get Britain into the European Common Market and to get West Germany to lessen its economic aggression against American industry."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 2.

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"...As long as the West German militarists hold the torch with which to explode the powder keg that is West Berlin, world peace is in danger. That is the long and short of the Berlin issue."

The Worker,  
September 2, 1962, p. 11.

"The ultras in the United States, it is clear, want to have a government in Washington that will join up with the new Bonn-Paris axis in an all-out drive to prevent any relaxation of international tension. Adenauer, de Gaulle and the Barry Goldwaters--an alliance sinister enough that it should make even the most complacent do some serious reflecting on the danger threatening peace."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1962, p. 8.

5. China Desires Peace

"THE CENTRAL Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a message thanking the Communist Party of the U.S. for its congratulatory telegram... The message... said:

"We were happy to receive your fraternal greetings on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We extend our sincere thanks and wish you further achievements in the work of uniting the working people of the U.S., promoting friendship between the peoples of China and the U.S. and safeguarding world peace."

The Worker,  
October 21, 1962, p. 1.

"The Soviet Union has made another earnest appeal for peace on the India-China border."

"The appeal again emphasizes the Soviet Union's close bonds with Socialist China. The Chinese people, it says, are dedicating their efforts to constructive labor.... The desire for war is alien to the very nature of a Socialist State."

The Worker,  
November 11, 1962, p. 3.

"Washington last week continued the export of tactical weapons to the Indian military forces engaged with the Chinese in a bloody conflict over disputed borders in the Himalayas....

"The arms shipments by Washington to India can only help Wall Street and its cousins in Britain and West Germany, who will be the main beneficiaries of a protracted military struggle between China and India...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 13, 1962, p. 1.

"All who have a regard for the peace of the world welcome the initiative of the Government of the People's Republic of China in unilaterally effecting a cease-fire and pulling back its troops from the disputed territory which India claims..."

The Worker,  
December 2, 1962, p. 3.

6. People Deceived by War in Vietnam

"...reports from South Vietnam give the lie to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's boast that 'the Vietnamese are beginning to hit the Vietcong where it hurts the most--in winning the people to the side of the government.'

"After meeting in Honolulu with U.S. officials based in Saigon, McNamara apparently found it necessary to issue such a statement to placate the American people... The aim appears to be to make the American people believe it is a war for democracy against communism."

. . . . .

"While top officials in Washington are attempting to put an optimistic face on the situation, U.S. officials in South Vietnam are gloomy as to the prospects for a Washington victory in the dirty war, no matter how long it lasts. They give the Pentagon-led Ngo Dinh Diem troops a much less than 50 percent chance to win."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 2.

"BILLIONS of dollars have been poured into South Vietnam..."

"...Only a handful of the favored few, closely associated with the ruling family, get their hands on the American dollars that have come into the country from the American government, and then almost immediately have left, via\* American corporations, which live a parasitic life in the country...."

"To be true to our own past, to our own sacrifices, to our own heroes--every American will demand that we get out of South Vietnam, end the war there, and let its people, who have suffered so long, so heroically, so tragically, set up their own way of life, free of all oppression."

Phillip Bonosky, "Vietnam: The Untold Story,"  
Mainstream, July, 1962, pp. 60, 62.

"THE CRUEL and stupid and utterly anti-democratic intervention by the United States Government in South Vietnam has been opposed by the Worker since it began in 1958..."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, p. 8.

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

7. Canada Challenging United States Monopolists

"...U.S. dollars are now being withdrawn from Canada.

"The chickens of economic 'integration' with the U.S. are coming home to roost.... The post-war honeymoon is well-nigh over and Uncle Sam can be depended on now to reveal himself to Canada, not as the benevolent relative, but as a harsh and vindictive old sinner."

"One thing is certain: the U.S. government and the people of the U.S.A. do not have to the north a passive and supine people as their neighbor and ally. They have an 'ornery' folk 'up there,' who are challenging the Canadian bourgeois policies of capitulation to the power of U.S. monopoly and addiction to NATO and the cold war. This 'orneriness,' which can be said to be a national characteristic, more than peeped through the curtain in the June election, and it will likely take the center of the stage before many more millions of U.S. profits have been taken out of the hides of the Canadian people."

Leslie Morris, "The Recent Canadian Elections," Political Affairs, August, 1962, pp. 31, 32.

"CANADA IS A nation which has been stunted ever since its birth by outside domination and British colonialists... But the British were pikers at exploitation, as Wall Street imperialism has demonstrated so well ever since the British monopolists were weakened by World Wars I and II."

"'Anatomy of Big Business' shows how the leading Canadian financiers, for a small share of the swag, joined with government officials in clearing the way for Wall Street imperialism to carry through its stupendous robbery of the Canadian people.



"This book, while addressed primarily to Canadian, is worth the reading of every thoughtful American."

The Worker,  
November 4, 1962, p. 6.

8. United States Should Normalize Relations with Cuba

"The truth is that it is our government and no other that is guilty of pursuing a policy of arrant lawlessness in respect to Cuba. This policy is a policy that asserts the right of Washington to exempt herself from all norms of international law and the sovereign rights of nations in regard to her relations with Cuba...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 6, 1962, p. 2.

"THE TRUE NATIONAL interests of our country no less than those of the Republic of Cuba would be served by a prompt and positive response to the program set forth by Premier Fidel Castro for restoring genuine peace in the Caribbeans and normalizing relations between Cuba and the U.S...."

The Worker,  
December 2, 1962, p. 3.

"Why can't we stop this...finagling? The Kennedy administration should stop kidding itself. It is not going to be able to bring to its knees independent Cuba, which is supported by all freedom-loving people, and aided by all the countries who value their own freedom."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 18, 1962, p. 2.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Candidates for public office should be forced to take a stand openly on issues directly affecting the people's welfare.
2. "Voluntary" sterilization is a fascistlike scheme advocated by the rich to eliminate the poor.
3. Disarmament would speedily and noticeably improve the standard of living of the American people.
4. The obvious signs of decay that characterize capitalism show the validity of the historic law that the old system will be replaced by socialism.
5. An alliance of Rightist elements that will endanger peace and democracy is in the process of forming in this country.
6. The Meredith case in Mississippi is graphic proof that the Federal Government must take stronger and continuing measures to end racism and segregation.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Political Candidates Evade Issues Facing People

"...the Cold-War policies of the last three Presidents have brought decline...."

Herbert Aptheker, "End the Cold War!"  
Political Affairs, August, 1962, p. 1.

"The Unions can force the real issues facing the people into the election campaign, and should demand commitments from candidates as to where they stand and what they propose to do about: Jobs, Housing, Peace and Disarmament, Equal Rights For the Negro People, Lower taxes for low income groups etc."

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 9.

"...The entire membership of the House, a third of the Senate and numerous governorships are up for election, Nov. 6.

"Most voters have so far displayed a disturbing lethargy regarding the candidates of both major parties. With the issues of peace, Joblessness, insecurity in their old age and violation of their civil rights pressing hard upon them the masses of the people up till now have not been electrified into electoral action by the evasions of the candidates and their party leaders."

The Worker,  
October 21, 1962, p. 1.

## 2. Sterilization of Poor Constitutes Genocide

"In Warrenton, Va., just 45 miles from Washington, headquarters of the Voice of America and capitol of the 'Free World,' physicians of the moral stripe and social-political mentality of Hitler's 'Butchers of Buchenwald' are each week committing such crimes against humanity as the Nazi beasts Streicher and Eichmann were hung for. They are practicing the fascist doctrine of infanticide against the women of impoverished families as a beastly act of terror and intimidation against those on Welfare rolls, and as a long-term deliberately programmed scheme to eliminate the 'undesirable' Negro poor from the population of the future generation so that the wealthy may not have to pay taxes for their upkeep when there would be no work for them. Yes, this too is the United States of America in 1962."

The Worker,  
September 16, 1962, p. 1.

"The Malthusian theory of permanent overpopulation has been popping up frequently in our country of late. Such a theory rears its ugly head only in a society in which the rich feel that the problems of the poor are making the poor unmanageable. The answer of the wealthy is not to solve the problems but to cut down the population."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 18, 1962, p. 7.

"DETROIT -- A savage proposal that would commit genocide against the unborn children of the poor was advocated here in a speech by Dr. Curtis Wood, Jr., who called for 'voluntary' sterilization to combat what he called 'the population explosion.'"

"What's in the wind here is the start of a 'voluntary' campaign aimed at mothers on ADC\* to get them to accept sterilization, as one means to cut back ADC expenditures, which already have seen allotments cut from \$5 to \$99 for some families."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1962, p. 4.

### 3. Wasteful Expenditures on Arms and Shelters

"...disarmament would bring about a rapid and sharp improvement in living standards of American working people."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 17, 1962, p. 5.

\* Aid to Dependent Children.

"...Above all youth needs to exert every effort to help end the Cold War which is the chief immediate cause of youth's problems."

Daniel Rubin, "Youth and America's Future," Political Affairs, October, 1962, p. 7.

"Saturday was a busy day, with the Student Peace Union holding a demonstration at 1 p.m. in the UN Plaza, followed by the...Fair Play for Cuba demonstration...attended by over 1,000, primarily youths. At the same time,...Advance Youth Organization, Burning Issues and the Student Peace Union sent delegations to Washington to demonstrate in front of the White House. The 2,000 peace demonstrators were counter-picketed by about 300 members of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom..."

"The fight for peace is far from over...We should learn...to fight for peace with more intensity and determination and to build our campus...peace organizations."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 6, 1962, p. 3.

### 3. Youth Wants Opportunity To Vote

"...The magnificent direct action fights...would be greatly strengthened through the more active participation of youth on the electoral front. Youth should never forget that the terror it has experienced and which continues as it fights for equality of opportunity, could be ended instantaneously if the Government would respond in a forthright manner to their demands."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, p. 6.

"INCREASING NUMBERS of young people are acting positively on the vital issues which face our nation..."

"...there are few opportunities for youth to translate their demands into electoral activity.... The time has come for an all out campaign to give 18 year olds the chance to vote. This is a vital step in giving youth a meaningful political voice..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 4.

#### 4. Growing Communist Influence among Youth

"In the mass movements, the most important and most active contingent are the youth. They are the spark and the driving force in the struggle for civil liberties, in the drive for peace, in the Negro people's movement, in the struggle against the ultra-Right. Symbolic of this, and completely without precedent, is the student demand to hear Communist spokesmen. It is of such magnitude that no force is able to ignore it...."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 6.

"...one of the most important features of political reality today in our country is the mass dissatisfaction of its young generation with the old conditions and morality...."

. . . . .

"...Communists orient themselves on the future of the working class and of society, on the long-term interests of workers and mankind. They are activists and militants, exhibiting the highest morality and self-sacrifice. Their program represents the present and future interests of youth. That is why Communists consider that they have much to offer to youth and strive to make consciousness of youth and their problems an all-pervasive thing in their ranks."

. . . . .

"...The influence of Communists among youth has grown to some extent. Now, many students consider the CP a legitimate and necessary participant in the great debate on communism and our country's objectives."

. . . . .

"Communists have been taking a number of steps to increase their influence among youth. They proceed from the conclusion that improving drastically the size and quality of the Communist youth is essential for influencing the mass democratic youth movement..."

Daniel Rubin, "Youth and America's Future," Political Affairs, October, 1962, pp. 2, 4, 10.

5. Unselfishness of Soviet Youth

"...socialism in the Soviet Union has indeed produced a generation of young people in whom a dominant characteristic is unselfishness. This, let it be said, is among the greatest, most revolutionary achievements in the long life of mankind."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 11.

"...Soviet young people came here to teach our peasants."

. . . . .

"...what capitalist country could send abroad 300 young people with such good training and discipline as you have displayed, capable of such selflessness in work and such keen enthusiasm as you have shown?"

"No capitalist country could have done that.

"But the socialist country, the Soviet Union, can find not hundreds, but thousands, ...millions of such young people as you..."

"It is natural that the society which has abolished the exploitation of man by man has given birth to a new youth, a new man."

Fidel Castro, "A Speech to Soviet Technicians," Political Affairs, November, 1962, pp. 32, 34.

"SOME WEEKS ago The Worker reported the flop in the bomb-proof shelter caper... Now a new scheme has arisen. One hundred engineers have just wrapped up a study of potential fall out shelters in Detroit and say they found 6,000 buildings that will do. The firm that did the survey got one million dollars from the federal government for telling them what existing structures could be used for public shelters...."

The Worker,  
July 22, 1962, p. 4.

"It is difficult to imagine, but...expenditure during nine years of 'cold war' totals \$361.6 billions, or \$75 billion more than the nation spent on World War II from July 1941 to June 1946. And this is money spent not in defense, not to improve the conditions of the people, but to manufacture materials of death, that, if they are ever used, will devastate the world and kill almost all of us."

"This is the real source of the stupendous tax burden most of us are now forced to bear. We are also forced to sacrifice schools, hospitals, medical care and all other social needs on the altar of the god of war."

"The healthiest solution to the tax problem is total and general disarmament...A first step in this direction...could be a substantial reduction this coming year in expenditures for armaments."

The Worker,  
December 9, 1962, p. 3.

#### 4. Capitalism Will Be Replaced by Socialism

"...Capitalism is like an old three standing in the middle of the highway of our people's progress. As we help the masses to trim away its



most offending branches, let us be ever mindful that this is prelude and preparatory to felling this hoary barrier to our nation's progress."

"...Alongside of our better work in advancing the people's struggles for their daily needs, we must, with greater confidence in a favorable reception than ever before, place before our class and the Negro people and the youth and all who suffer distress under the yoke of the monopolists, the historic alternative of the peoples and nations who live in our epoch--socialism, communism."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 3.

"...There is not a single progressive social measure proposed in our country today which is not identified with or supported by the Communist Party...."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 7.

"THE ROOT CAUSE for our economic difficulties, including recessions and depressions, is capitalism...."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 3.

"Capitalism achieved its greatest development in the U.S. but by the turn of the century it had begun to go downhill; it had begun to feed on itself. This process of parasitism and decay has now become the dominant characteristic of the system."

"...Capitalism has prepared the soil for socialism to take root, and socialism will take root and grow in exact measure as the soil is prepared to receive it. It is a historic law...that each system through its successes and failures prepares the way for the growth of the new system."

The Worker,  
October 21, 1962, p. 10.

"...the American people will come to Socialism in their own way,...Socialism can't be imported or enforced,...it can be peacefully established through constitutional measures when the great masses of people desire that change."

The Worker,  
December 9, 1962, p. 4.

5. Rightist Conspiracy Forming

"...everywhere the pattern is basically the same: a terror drive by the most backward and degenerate elements under slogans of anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, racism and, of course, anti-labor."

"...The Barnetts and Eastlands were conspiring to overthrow the authority of the U.S. by force and violence while people looked the other way. The entire pattern of the current rightist violence throughout the world shows who really resorts to force and terror and whom the red-baiting technique really serves."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1962, p. 5.

"...an alliance of the most rabid, fanatical, fascist, ultra-right, racist, militarist, and anti-democratic elements is in the making..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 23, 1962, p. 1.

"The fullest mobilization of the electorate throughout the country is required to bar the road to the ultra-Right plotters who would place their candidates in a better position to seize open control of Congress and the White House in 1964.

"The common interests which together the working people of our land, the Negro masses and all forces for peace, all emphasize the importance of registering a record vote on Nov. 6 against the most rabid war forces and candidates backed by the ultra-Right...."

The Worker,  
November 4, 1962, p. 3.

#### 6. Segregation Must Be Ended

"When Meredith, bravest of the brave, took the cross of democracy and the Constitutional liberties of us all upon his manly shoulders and marched onto the campus to register at the University of Mississippi, he set in motion a complex of social forces which can come to rest only with eradication of the racist-segregation system."

. . . . .

"The time is at hand for the President to issue the long-deferred executive order to cancel out all jimcrow laws in the Southern states and to protect the Negro people in the total exercise of their equality of rights."

. . . . .

"The federal government must move in on... seditious forces, arrest their leaders and smash their organization. But the government must go behind these White Council leaders and find out what oil billionaires, what industrialists, what bankers, what plantation owners have provided the money and the ultimate dictation to this invisible government, which has poisoned the white people of the South with divisive white-supremacist ideology and brutalized them with incitement to violence. It's about time the American people be permitted to learn who are paying for the racist propaganda of Southern newspapers, radio and television; who are subsidizing the anti-American, anti-human pulpit-pounders; who use their control of the schools to corrupt the minds of Southern youth."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1962, pp. 1, 3.

"...the Kennedy administration was responding only to the mass pressure of an indignant American people when he belatedly ordered Federal troops into Oxford...."

"It should be clear to anyone that integration of the Negro people in Mississippi will take much more than entrance of one brave Negro into a university. If it took hundreds of federal marshals and tens of thousands of federal troops to insure the entrance of this one Negro into a school, is it not logical to assume that federal protection on an even larger scale will be needed as the Negro people of Mississippi seek the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

"Since this is so, it is clear that the masses of the people will have to show President Kennedy and his brother Bob that they want continuing and increasing moves by the national government to end segregation, south and north...."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1962, p. 3.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Monopoly-first policies are causing mounting unemployment leading to another recession. To stimulate the Nation's economic growth, there should be trade with all countries-- including socialist, newly independent, and Latin-American.
2. America's foreign trade is potentially threatened by its military preparations and the European Common Market.
3. Private enterprise under capitalism puts profits above human welfare; public ownership under capitalism would improve conditions, but socialism would be a cure.
4. Most trade-unions, instead of campaigning for a shorter workweek, organizing the unorganized, achieving world trade-union unity, and maintaining relations with the Left, are subordinating the interests of the workers to those of the monopolists.
5. A shorter workweek is necessary if conditions for the worker are to be bettered.
6. Big business, growing at the workers' expense, backs the ultra-Right and receives increasing protection from the Government.
7. Labor must mobilize its own forces for political action to meet its needs.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Faltering Economy Caused by Monopolists

"THE MORE than five million permanently unemployed begins

to appear as a minimum low for the army of victims of the monopoly-first policies here in the U.S.A...."

"For those who work the fear of layoff has become a permanent life-time companion. For the American who does not have a job, whether because of layoff, automation, runaway shop, or as a youth just entering the labor market, the prospect of a job has become hopelessly bleak."

"...They get war orders on the fraudulent claim of making new jobs and on false war propaganda. Then the profits are used for overseas investments which only add to the unemployment at home...."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 8.

"...the country is heading towards post-war recession No. 5...."

"Unemployment is climbing again after an upward climb in employment that was the shortest of all previous recoveries."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1962, p. 10.

"The rulers of America are trying with desperate means to build another story onto their economic house of cards, to slow down the loss of ground in economic competition with socialism and with capitalist rivals. The powers that be want to get a new stock market boom going--perhaps by the beginning of 1963.

"Inevitably the material basis for such a boom is a higher rate of exploitation of labor and curtailment of the rights of the people. While swindlers are permitted to roam, anti-strike injunctions and labor leader prosecutions are a dime a dozen. While speculation is encouraged and business taxes are cut, the Government does nothing to relieve the recession-level of millions of unemployed, nor to stem the accelerated slashing away at jobs through mergers, automation, and the runaway shop."

The Worker,  
August 5, 1962, p. 5.

"An end to the cold war would... open up new channels of trade with nations in which there is an enormous market for the goods produced by the skill and ingenuity of the workers, scientists, and technicians in our country. Trade with the socialist countries, with the new independent countries of Asia and Africa, with the peoples of Latin-America on a truly good neighbor policy, all such trade could provide for a great exchange of goods to the mutual benefit of all."

Jack Stachel, "The Battle for the  
Shorter Work Week," Political Affairs,  
September, 1962, p. 8.

## 2. Foreign Trade Threatened by Militarism and Common Market

"Hall\* characterized the European Common Market as a potential threat to American commerce and declared 'many Americans believe only an expansion of trade with all countries can establish conditions for peaceful coexistence and economic growth.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 17, 1962, p. 5.

\* Martin Hall, an American delegate to the World Conference for General Disarmament and Peace.

"FEAR of economic stagnation and crisis contributes to Washington's international provocations. The Administration believes in militarism as an economic tool, and may resort to it, reckless as that would be in the present supercharged atmosphere."

"...a rounded labor program is required.

"A major ingredient of such a program is suggested by the scheduled UN discussion of an international trade conference, proposed by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko...."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1962, p. 5.

"MILITARIZED and cut off from the socialist world, U.S. foreign trade does poorly...."

The Worker,  
November 4, 1962, p. 5.

### 3. Socialism Will Cure Economic Ills

"THE TRANSPORTATION industry is an extreme example of the mortal illness of capitalism...."

"...Full solution of transportation industry problems, as of all other economic ills, cannot be achieved without socialism. But public ownership, even within capitalism, can be a framework for limited progress."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 6.



"...capitalist morality puts profits above human life. The lives of millions of our fellow Americans are being destroyed for the profits of the biggest monopolies...."

The Worker,  
August 19, 1962, p. 6.

"...The insatiable lust of the trusts for profits threatens the welfare of the people."

Herbert Aptheker, "End the Cold War!"  
Political Affairs, August, 1962, p. 2.

"Robbery of public wealth for private advantage is not new to our country. The development of the railroads, mining, oil fields, is one of extortion and bribery for the enriching of a small group of exploiters. Congress and state legislatures were bribed and laws beneficial to the monopolists placed on the statute books. But all this is 'small potatoes' compared to the giveaway of today. We no longer deal in mere millions--what is involved here is the billions initially invested by the Government but now bearing the stamp 'Private property.' This is the story of Telstar."

"...In all fields from food to steel, from transportation to building construction, ...monopolies hold a grip which squeezes the people for greater profits."

The Worker,  
September 2, 1962, p. 7.

4. Unions Losing Ties with Workers

"Unfortunately, most unions are holding tight to their funds and are giving more attention to ways to increase treasuries than to organizing the unorganized.... There is a rapid rise in investment of union funds in common stocks.... The effect of such trend is to tie up union funds and to limit their availability for basic union activities...."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 5.

"There can be no meaningful improvement of the present conditions of insecurity without a 30 or 35 hour work week...."

"... Trade unions must find the path to closer ties, so that the workers of one country cannot be used as a club over the others. This will not become effective unless the Lovestone-Meany-Brown-Dubinsky-CIA conspiracy against world trade union unity is smashed."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 8.

"... The absence of basic progress for a shorter work-day during recent years is a reflection of the weakness of the trade-union movement, whose leadership for the most part abandoned those policies, and relations with the Left, that made possible the historic advance of the thirties and adopted instead policies of cold war and anticommunism, which in essence means the subordination of the interests of the workers to those of the big monopolies."

Jack Stachel, "The Battle for the Shorter Work Week," Political Affairs, September, 1962, p. 5.

"The tactic of drawing unions into the snare of a government study or a government-named arbitrator is becoming widely used as sucker-bait. If the labor movement continues to fall for this sucker game it will be used as a 'solution' for the problems arising from automation and other new technology and will become a substitute for the shorter workweek demand of the AFL-CIO. \*"

The Worker,  
October 21, 1962, p. 5.

5. Shorter Workweek Needed

"Following is the Anti-Depression Program released last week by Gus Hall."

"1. ...a 30-hour week with increased weekly pay...."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 3.

"A 'basic' and 'fundamental' change would come only if the profit system were abolished and the relationship is between producer and publicly owned and managed industries and institutions."

"The shorter workweek, under present circumstances is no doubt an advance goal, although it would not bring a 'fundamental' change...."

The Worker,  
September 2, 1962, p. 11.

\* American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"The immediate source explaining the urgency with which the workers view the struggle for the shorter work-day is the mass unemployment and the repeated depressions coming ever more frequently, with each succeeding one leaving more chronically unemployed. To a considerable extent, this results from the accelerated process of automation. But the need for the shorter work-day and work-week must also be viewed as part of the struggle for improved and better conditions, for progress and advance which has been the objective of the labor movement from its beginning. \*"

"The struggle for the shorter work-week has to go hand in hand with that for full employment, a minimum annual wage and for increasing the rate of growth of the economy. This in turn requires a tax policy which removes the present unbearable burden from the low income groups and places it on the very rich. It requires that the war economy and the burden of huge armaments be replaced by useful projects that will solve the acute questions of housing, medical care, education, transportation, recreation, etc., while at the same time providing employment at decent wages...."

Jack Stachel, "The Battle for the Shorter Work Week," Political Affairs, September, 1962, pp. 4, 6.

6. Big Business Dominant

"Big business continues to increase speedup, continues to raise labor productivity, continues to increase the already high cost of living-- and as a result continues to amass ever greater fortunes. Permanent mass unemployment as a result of automation and other factors becomes ever more acute...."

The Worker,  
July 15, 1962, p. 8.

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

"AMONG THE BACKERS of the Ultra Right are not only the top executives of Big Business but also their junior executives. These, like good organization men, troop loyally from 'seminar' to 'seminar' until 'anti-Communism' is, as one bright young fellow from Metropolitan Life Insurance told me, 'coming out of our ears.'"

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 4.

"...the economic activities of the modern capitalist state aim to consolidate the domination of big business....the trusts receive more and more gigantic subsidies and giveaways...."

"The recent new pronouncements of labor policy by the Kennedy Administration--providing for what amounts to compulsory arbitration by government appointed agencies in labor disputes, freezing wages to set productivity formula, and increased use of Taft-Hartley injunctions by the government--these are further evidence of the role of monopolies in government."

Irving Potash, "Unemployment in the United States," Political Affairs,  
October, 1962, p. 55.

"...when industrial corporations are up against new developments and the choice of either making a change or facing loss to competitors, they take it out on the workers they employ."

"IN FACE of...the increasing pressure for the shorter workweek, big business propaganda is still handing out the line that labor displacement technology makes for more jobs in the long run...."

The Worker,  
December 2, 1962, p. 5.

7. Labor Needs Political Voice

"LABOR WILL win only if its own forces are mobilized to improve the conditions of labor, with taxes prominent in its program. In these days of big government much rides on the tax question. It is eminently worth while for labor to organize a mass lobby to descend on Washington and stay there until the issue is resolved its way. And that's the only way labor can win."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, p. 5.

"The need of the moment still is an independent party of labor which meets the needs of the workers."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 14, 1962, p. 6.

"Seeking to maintain maximum profits at the expense of workers' living standards, monopoly is more and more pressing the government into active resistance against labor's demands."

. . . . .

"At this juncture the struggle of the Negro people in the South for full voting and electoral rights is of enormous political significance. It is a parallel current with labor's striving for independent political action, and when these two movements merge, the energy thus set loose will change the United States...."

. . . . .

"...Now is not the time to shy away from independent political action."

. . . . .

"...It is becoming increasingly clear that labor would be in a much better position to win...objectives if it had its own political apparatus...."

Frank Hester, "Ohio Labor and Political Action," Political Affairs, November, 1962, pp. 19, 20.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. All over the country, small farmers are leaving the farm to seek better paying city jobs.
2. Farmers protest the recommendation of the Committee for Economic Development for elimination of 2, 000, 000 farmers, which would benefit only the big agribusiness units.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Small Farmers Leaving for City Jobs

"...the Philadelphia milk marketing area reported that 814 dairy farmers in that section had dropped out of the business from mid-1961 to mid-1962. The dropouts are in line with the exodus all over the country of small farmers leaving to seek better paying jobs in the cities."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 21, 1962, p. 3.

##### 2. Plan for Displacing 2, 000, 000 Farmers

"...the Committee for Economic Development's Five Year Plan for removing 2, 000, 000 from the land...."

. . . . .



"...does not ask industry to adapt itself to the absorption of the 2 million to-be-displaced farm people, many of them in their 50's and 60's. It does not recommend an effective comprehensive social security and old-age assistance program for people in the land. It does not even suggest that the market for farm products at home should be widened by narrowing the ever-widening farm-to-market price spreads and abroad by lifting restrictions on the sale to socialist countries, including the embargo on China. Instead of the 'greatest good of the greatest number,' the CED callously demands that in agriculture the many be sacrificed for the benefit of the few, the big agribusiness units."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, pp. 5, 8.

"TWENTY THOUSAND farmers overflowed the 15,000-capacity Veterans Memorial Building in Des Moines, Iowa, Tuesday..."

. . . . .

"The demonstration was probably the largest farm outpouring since the 1930's."

. . . . .

"The rally was preceded last week by a rising swell of protest against the proposal to eliminate 2,000,000 farmers which was issued last month by the big business Committee for Economic Development..."

The Worker,  
September 2, 1962, p. 1.

"Who can lack sympathy for the farmers who dumped their catalogues at the doors of Sears, Roebuck and boycotted Ford because their representatives were on the committee that recommended the plowing under of 2,000,000 farmers?"

The Worker,  
September 16, 1962, p. 2.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The major capitalist and imperialist powers co-operate in their exploitation of the Afro-Asian countries.
2. African countries striving for their independence continue to be shackled by the evils of colonialism and imperialism, which the United States and Western Europe support.
3. The formation in the United Nations of an anticolonial, anti-imperialist majority composed of the newly liberated former colonial nations and the socialist countries is now a possibility.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Imperialist Countries Co-operate To Save Colonialism

"...There are the major capitalist and imperialist powers who formerly ruled the entire world. These nations have combined their efforts to resist any further change in the world. They co-operate to resist the advance of the working class. They co-operate to prevent the ending of colonialism.... there are the Asian and African blocs of nations who have combined their powers for ending colonialism and for world peace."

Claude Lightfoot, "Negro Nationalism and the Black Muslims," Political Affairs, July, 1962, p. 6.

"...all interests, American, British, Portuguese and Belgium's are tied to one common knot which in South Africa forms the 'solar plexus' of the colonialism of the second half of the 20th Century.

"One will understand in the light of these things the attitude taken by the stooge Tshombe, who has a hinterland much deeper than that of Union Miniere, from which he gets tens of millions of dollars. For the international monopolies Katanga is the advance guard in the war on African popular national liberation movements. This gives one also an insight into the material facilities that the imperialist powers have for collective action against the Congolese people's national interests."

The Worker,  
October 28, 1962, p. 8.

"The six West European Common Market countries are all rival industrial exporting countries, with no common economic interest except joint plunder of colonies or former colonial countries.

"Lenin said long ago that 'a United States of Europe under capitalism is tantamount to an agreement to divide up the colonies.'

"Now, in the era of the downfall of colonialism, the Common Market represents the latest model for the neo-colonialist exploitation of the newly independent states of Africa."

R. Palme Dutt, "Britain and the Common Market," Political Affairs,  
October, 1962, p. 42.

"The European Common Market is in fact an expression of collective neo-colonialism...."

Moustapha Sarr, "Africa and the Common Market," Political Affairs,  
November, 1962, p. 37.

## 2. Africa's Independence Stifled by Imperialists

"THE WEAKENING of the political position of Premier Cyrille Adoula in the Republic of the Congo has put the Kennedy Administration in the embarrassing place of having to criticize openly secessionist Moise Tshombe, head of Katanga province."

. . . . .

"... For months now Washington has been stalling on punitive action against Tshombe, because the monopolists of London, Brussels and Wall Street have disapproved."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 24, 1962, pp. 1, 2.

"Washington's machiavellian trickery in installing Adoula as premier of a handpicked regime last August in an outright effort to stifle the independence mood of the Congolese people and of the new nations of Africa and Asia. Adoula had pledged that he would bring Katanga province back into the Republic of the Congo and subordinate Moise Tshombe to the central government."

The Worker,  
August 19, 1962, p. 3.

"The reality of colonialism, which must be taken into account from the start, is a very heavy inheritance,\* and this for several reasons: the advance of the West over the Arab and African world since the 16th century; the worsening of this situation due to 130 years of colonial exploitation and oppression, and finally by the ruins accumulated by the army of occupation during seven years of war. To this should be added the stranglehold of the French colonialists who, supported by the imperialists of Western Europe and the United States, are determined to stay on in our country."

. . . . .

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

"The immense majority of the Algerian people have it to their advantage to turn socialist. How could it be otherwise when our people becomes aware of the great achievements of the USSR and those of other socialist countries, or when it compares the rhythm of growth in the countries that have followed socialism and those which have followed capitalism."

"For Algeria's Total Independence,"  
(Program of the Communist Party of  
Algeria), Political Affairs,  
September, 1962, pp. 32, 37.

### 3. Colonialism on Way Out

"... Colonialism is on its way out. Can it be successfully argued that this could be possible without some basic and fundamental changes in the world relationship of forces?... This tremendous phenomenon is very much connected with the advent of socialist nations in the world... When colonial peoples are in trouble with imperialism, Moscow becomes the Mecca. It is this new feature in world politics which accelerates the disintegration of world imperialism...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Negro Nationalism  
and the Black Muslims," Political Affairs,  
July, 1962, p. 18.

"... The sweeping advance of colonial liberation of which triumphant Algeria is now the latest example, has brought to the world scene a new group of nonaligned states. A progressive anti-imperialist majority in the United Nations is now a possibility..."

John Gollan, "New Developments in  
Great Britain," Political Affairs,  
August, 1962, pp. 43 - 44.

"THE MILLIONS of Indians, Negroes, white workers and peasants and others--products of the centuries old mixture of these races--are heart and soul with Cuba and for the speedy elimination of colonialism and the Alliance for Progress--Peace Corps style of neocolonialism."

The Worker,  
September 23, 1962, p. 8.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The 87th Congress failed to enact social or civil rights legislation, although it approved heavy military expenditures and measures favoring big business.
2. Regardless of differences, all groups whose liberties are endangered by the House Committee on Un-American Activities should co-operate to abolish it.
3. The McCarran Act is an edict camouflaged as a law; and, while its immediate target is the Communist Party, it threatens the rights of all.
4. It would be a violation of the Bill of Rights to force communists, under the terms of the McCarran Act, to say that they are "foreign agents."
5. To defeat the McCarran Act, a massive campaign must be launched to test its constitutionality and effect its repeal.
6. Justice all too often moves slowly or blindly in protecting the rights of individuals.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. 87th Congress Favored Military and Big Business

"AS THE FINAL session of the 87th Congress grinds to a close its record thus far is even worse than that of the 79th, which ex-President Truman labelled the 'do nothing' Congress. This session has thus far either failed to take up, or has defeated all proposed legislation that would benefit labor, the Negro people and the people generally. But it has not hesitated to vote to record peacetime funds for armaments and other cold war measures. It has shown an undeviating bias for Big Business."

. . . . .

"...The labor movement cannot advance anywhere, whether in Washington or in the state legislatures; whether on the legislative or economic fronts without coming to the support of the Negro people...

"...Congress can be compelled to enact civil rights legislation guaranteeing equal rights all along the line, and enforcement by the federal government."

The Worker,  
August 5, 1962, p. 3.

"BIG BUSINESS sees in the politics of the right a lever by which it hopes to upset the social legislation of the 'last thirty years.'"

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 4.

"...a rundown of the work of the 87th Congress shows that almost all the meaningful bills on social legislation, such as medical aid for the aged and federal standards for unemployment insurance, were either killed or sidetracked; requests for military and other coldwar appropriations were overfulfilled; and business interests won substantial profit incentives and tax bonuses. On top of all this, Congress reflected the efforts of reactionaries to build up an anti-Cuba craze to the weirdest proportions."

"If the 88th Congress is to be better than the 87th, the labor movement will have to develop far greater vigor and pressure on the legislative front, come January.... as the 87th proved, the 'great victory' of November, 1960, didn't win medical aid for the aged or any of the other goals the President so eloquently listed..."

The Worker,  
October 21, 1962, p. 3.



"The 87th Congress, as we have seen to our sorrow, did not come through with much for the mass of people... But luscious tax favors to the corporations, more billions for profitable military orders and other help to business were enacted."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1962, p. 5.

2. House Un-American Activities Committee Must Be Abolished

"COMMUNISTS have well known differences with the Black Muslims...

"That, however, in no way prevents Communists, along with others of varying political opinions, from condemning unequivocally the threatened investigation of the Black Muslims by the House Un-American Committee."

"For all other opponents of the Un-American Committee, the true test of the struggle for civil rights is when we oppose injustice against those with whom we may strongly disagree."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, p. 4.

"...in relation to civil liberties, the peace movement has two major needs: (1) Remove the 'Devil' theory of Communism and the Soviet Union and (2) seek the abolition of repressive social legislation and un-Constitutional committees such as HUAC.\*"

"Letters from Readers," Political Affairs,  
September, 1962, pp. 57 - 58.

\* House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings in San Francisco, May\* 1960 (Folkways (FD 5530)... compares poorly with Sounds of Protest, the record made by the Bay Area Students that does bring across the intensity and idealism of the national struggle to abolish HUAC."

Josh Dunson, "Off the Record,"  
Mainstream, October, 1962, p. 64.

### 3. McCarran Act Is an Infamous Law

"...the McCarran Act in all its dangerous ramifications needs a lot of explaining to people. It is different from any law ever passed in our country--in fact it is not a law at all, but an edict masquerading as a law. It is a weapon in hands of enemies of free political expression, of labor, of the Negro people, of free speech and press. Its immediate target today is the Communist Party, as we know. But it does not stop there."

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 7.

"...A bill of attainder is a law which punishes a person for the guilt of others (as everybody knows, Justice Hugo Black has said the McCarran Act is a bill of attainder, and therefore unconstitutional); an ex post facto law makes an act a punishable crime although the act was not illegal when performed (this is one reason we object to "lists of subversive organizations," because people who join them when they are legal are later punished because they once belonged!)."

"...the McCarranite demand that alleged Communists register as something they aren't is both a bill of attainder and a denial of due process as well as a kind of legislative bearing of false witness."

The Worker,  
September 30, 1962, p. 8.

\* Underlined portions italicized in the original.

"...unless all are ready to defend our rights\* to hold and advocate our views, and unless they are willing to tell the truth at least about our views, to refute the McCarran Act lies, what happened in Nazi Germany is likely to be repeated here. Shortly after the Communists were excluded from their 100 seats in the Reichstag, labor unions, women's organizations and churches were outlawed and the horrible anti-Semitic Nuremberg laws were passed...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The McCarran Act Today," Political Affairs, October, 1962, p. 16.

"...the Party has never had its 'day in court' on any of the charges in the McCarran Act's built-in verdict of guilt..."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1962, p. 6.

#### 4. McCarran Act Destroys Bill of Rights

"...To agree to register under the terms of the McCarran Act is to subscribe to the lie that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is an agent of a foreign power, pledged to overthrowing our Government by force and violence...."

Hall-Davis Defense Committee  
"The Attorney General's Latest Harassment," Political Affairs, July, 1962, p. 2.

"The resolute stand of the Communist Party and its leadership was rooted in the conviction that the American people would not stand idly by and allow the Bill of Rights to be torn to shreds. It was based on a sound estimate that the people would not permit a return to the days of McCarthyism.

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

It expressed an abiding confidence that the people would not accept the outlawing of a political party but would in ever-growing numbers rally to halt the use of the McCarran Act, finally wiping it off the statute books. It was based on the firm belief that the fight could be won. "

James J. Tormey, "Toward Victory  
Over the McCarran Act,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1962, p. 5.

"Registration under the McCarran Act is impossible, because it is automatically self-incriminating.\* It means to register to the definition of Communist in the built-in verdict of guilt of the Act--as a foreign agent, engaged in conspiracy, treason, espionage, sabotage, violence and other crimes. This description is a Hitlerlike lie...."

... .  
"...To nullify the McCarran Act is the moral obligation of all who treasure the Bill of Rights. "

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The McCarran  
Act Today," Political Affairs,  
October, 1962, pp. 14, 17.

"For the first time in the history of our country, a political party has been brought into a criminal court and put on trial. This violates the Constitution of our country and denies the American people their right of political choice."

The Worker,  
December 16, 1962, p. 2.

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

5. Program for Defeating the McCarran Act

"The question before us is: What must be done to defeat the McCarran Act?\* There are two main approaches.

"First, there must be a growing mass movement to back up the legal struggle in the courts for testing the constitutionality of the Act and demanding freedom for Gus Hall and Ben Davis, as well as the quashing of the indictment against the Communist Party; second, we need a massive campaign--which would include a legislative struggle--geared to the 1962 elections, directed toward the repeal of the law by Congress."

. . . . .

"What kind of program of action would the Hall-Davis Defense Committee like to see emerge in the months ahead?"

. . . . .

"Around what key slogans should the work develop?

"1. Free Hall and Davis. Quash the indictment against the Communist Party;

"2. Halt all proceedings under the McCarran Act;

"3. Demand formation of a Civil Liberties Commission by the President along the lines of the present Civil Rights Commission.

"4. Repeal the McCarran Act.

"5. Demand amnesty for all political prisoners such as Junius Scales, imprisoned under the Smith Act; Hy Lumer, Jim West and other Taft-Hartley victims; Morton Sobell, and others."

James J. Tormey, "Toward Victory Over the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, August, 1962, pp. 8, 12, 13.

\* Underlined portions italicized in the original.

6. Where Is Justice?

"In his letter to the Times, Soblen had said that the Courts are not interested in justice in his case, that 'while chasing "Reds" this country became blind to justice.' The plaintive plea of this desperate man trapped in the toils of a soul-less judicial maze--'where's justice?' 'where is fairness?'--echoes back without answer. And the whole sordid record of the justice Departments prosecution gives this case more and more the aspect of a legal lynching."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1962, p. 3.

"A BROOKLYN FEDERAL judge extended a ban on the strike of Pan-American's flight engineers for the second time, this time for almost a month, to August 1. The original injunction was slapped on the flight engineers on June 23, about two hours after their strike went into effect. Such high-handed court rule over the rights of unions was not surpassed since the old injunction-mill days prior to the enactment of the Norris-La Guardia Law that was supposed to bar such injunctions...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 10, 1962, p. 2.

"Confronted with the first dreadful fruits of the revived Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils' terror drive in the South against the Negro people's desegregation and right-to-register-and-vote drive, the Government has taken no positive step to safeguard the lives and secure the liberties of the Negro people."

The Worker,  
September 23, 1962, p. 3.

"...in a democracy, where the discussion of justice and equality is but a cover for moral nakedness and racism, a Human Rights Week is blasphemous demagogery...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
December 11, 1962, p. 4.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The aggressiveness of United States military and foreign policies serves to increase international tensions.
2. The United States is pursuing a warlike policy which can lead to a nuclear war that would be catastrophic for mankind.
3. Since the United States was the first to hold nuclear weapons tests and the Soviet Union has conducted similar tests only in self-defense, it is the responsibility of the United States to cease such tests first.
4. The United States must halt its invasion plans and establish friendly relations with Cuba, for a military attack on Cuba would imperil peace and could plunge the world into a nuclear war.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. United States Policy Heightens World Tensions

"GEN. MAXWELL TAYLOR, President Kennedy's new Pentagon chief, last Thursday heightened world tensions by reiterating the policy that Washington would use nuclear weapons first if that were necessary to defeat an enemy. This policy was first enunciated last spring by President Kennedy in a comment to a journalist, who is his close friend.

"That this is to be an established base of the present administration's military and foreign policy was made clear two weeks ago when the Defense Department declared bluntly that U.S. is not committed to refrain from the use of any weapon in any manner dictated by the circumstances of enemy attack."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 14, 1962, p. 2.



"More attention is being given to the overall aggressive plans of the U.S. military organization. 'Krasnaya Zvezda' (Red Star), the army newspaper, warns against the danger of a 'sudden attack' from the West. This newspaper points to the concentration of power in bases of Western Europe and the Far East.

"'The U.S.,' says 'Red Star,' 'is striving to bring its armed forces as close as possible to the borders of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.... In their opinion this will ensure definite strategic advantages for a sudden attack on the socialist states.'

"Even more emphasis is being given to President Kenedy's request to Congress for permission to call 150,000 reservists back to active military duty. 'This shows the great influence of the supporters of international tension in Washington,' says Igor Orlov, a Tass commentator."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 11, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

"The U.S. is using 'its armed forces and armaments', Tass said 'for interfering in the internal affairs of other states and for the realizing its aggressive designs.'"

"Not a day passes without statemen and military leaders as well as the press of the U.S. threatening that American submarines with polaris missiles which are prowling many seas and oceans could strike a nuclear blow at the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states."

The Worker,  
October 28, 1962, p. 10.

## 2. United States Following Path to Abyss

"The United States is steadily improving its nuclear arms and is even ready to use them first...', the Times said.

"As long as this is Administration policy we can expect other attempts to cover up the sabotage of the test ban talks.

"It would be foolish, possibly fatal, for the American people to let themselves be beguiled by the Administration's latest maneuver. Instead, the Administration should be confronted by a massive demand from the entire nation that it quit, once and for all, the path that leads to the abyss."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 7, 1962, p. 2.

"...the U.S. government, pursuing a war-like policy, has opposed disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons, while the Soviet government, pursuing an anti-war policy, has favored disarmament and sought the elimination of nuclear weapons."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1962, p. 15.

"...THE U.S. government designated as 'offensive weapons' certain of the arms which had gone to Cuba precisely as a response to the U.S. threat to invade Cuba, and declared that their presence in Cuba justified the U.S. armed forces invading Cuba because they menaced the security of the U.S."

"The capitalist government of the U.S. announced in rapid fire a series of military moves on its part..."

"This series of moves of the government of the U.S. had brought the world to the brink of the abyss of nuclear war...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 13, 1962, p. 2.

"... With U.S. soldiers now being brainwashed and incited to fight blindly... the danger now exists that these men will recklessly pull the trigger on these tactical nuclear weapons without orders from anywhere and precipitate a world crisis from which there can be no turning back."

The Worker,  
November 18, 1962, p. 2.

### 3. United States To Blame for Nuclear Tests

"ANYONE WHO cherishes the sense of justice, any unbiased person cannot but agree that since the United States was the first to start nuclear-weapon tests and has held many more of them, with its allies, than has the Soviet Union, the other side, the Soviet Union, which has invariably held its nuclear tests only in reply, has the right to be the last to hold nuclear tests in the world."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 24, 1962, p. 7.

"THE ABORTED nuclear weapons tests last week over Johnston Island in the Pacific underscored the hypocrisy of the Kennedy administration's sanctimonious criticism of the Soviet's announcement of a new series of tests. The echoes of the Washington 'protest' had not even died out before the countdown began on a third U.S. high-altitude nuclear weapons test to disrupt the dangerous radiation belts around the earth once more. Before Kennedy had begun these tests, scientists all over the world had urged him not to, warning of the peril to the entire planet."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 2.

"This strategy of terror, however, cannot logically remain one-sided. Is it reasonable to expect the Soviet Union to permit the U.S. to promote its strategy of terror unchallenged?..."

"BACK IN 1958, when the testing moratorium began, U.S. scientists admitted that they had the instruments to detect any kind of atomic blast. Last week, a member of President Kennedy's Disarmament Advisory Board revealed that machines in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union could monitor nuclear tests, and even stages in the disarmament process. He emphasized that it was not even necessary for the two nations to have trust in each other.

"If this is so, what need is there to prolong the nuclear tests' stalemate."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, p. 3.

4. Hands Off Cuba!

"THE WARNING by the Soviet Union that a military attack on the Republic of Cuba could plunge the world into a horrible nuclear war, underscores the dangerous international situation into which the Kennedy administration's irresponsible foreign policy has pushed the world."

The Worker,  
September 16, 1962, p. 1.

"GUS HALL, leading spokesman of the Communist Party, said yesterday in a press statement:"

"Now is the time to halt this dangerous brinkmanship. Let the people demand of the government that the naval vessels now ringing Cuba's territory be withdrawn and that the aircraft and potential invasion troops which are assembled at advanced staging areas be recalled. Now is the time to come forward with a peaceful solution to the issue of U.S. -Cuban relations."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 23, 1962, p. 1.

"...there is no mystery about the 'line.' That line is for peace; it is against United States intervention in the affairs of Cuba; it is for a re-establishment of diplomatic--and friendly--relations between the New Cuba and the United States. Communists are for this for no devious or complicated reason; Communists favor this because it will redound to the economic and political and moral benefit of our country and because it will stamp out one source of international tension, thus bringing nearer the termination of the Cold War."

"Since the days of Mussolini's assault upon Ethiopia and fascism's rape of Spain, there has not been so clear-cut a case of right and wrong as in the current threat by the United States government to destroy the New Cuba. He who values decency, desires peace, and cherishes the good name of the United States, will devote every ounce of his energy to preventing an American attack upon the Cuban people. Let your neighbors, your newspapers, your organizations, your Congressmen, your President know that in your heart is the cry: HANDS OFF CUBA!"

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs,  
October, 1962, pp. 24, 25.

"The people must demand...no invasion and no intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba, and take measures to bring an end to the war-provocative massing of U.S. armed forces on its perimeter."

: The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 20, 1962, p. 1.

## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The existence of white supremacy is a deplorable but obvious fact in this country.
2. Negroes and other minority groups deserve and demand their share of elective and appointive positions in government.
3. Oppression of the Negro shames our Nation, and racial equality can no longer be postponed.
4. Negroes struggling for their rights need and want the support of labor and white Americans.
5. The fight for Negro liberation will continue despite terror, brutality, and intimidation.
6. A resurgence of anti-Semitism is becoming a source of increasing indignation and concern in the United States.
7. The President possesses sufficient constitutional power, if he chooses to exercise it, to outlaw racism, which threatens the security of the country.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Myth of White Superiority Perpetuated

"MISSISSIPPI, Georgia, Alabama, Texas and other Southern states through open white supremacist governments based on violence and terror, extract maximum profits from black labor. The profits from this wholesale robbery of a people are divided between the monopolies who behind the scene control the situation, and the racists who operate the machinery of government for them."

. . . . .

"Police brutality against Negro Americans is rampant. There are obvious reasons. It is resorted to in an attempt to curb struggles that might go beyond the limits prescribed by the ruling class, to prevent social mingling between the races and to degrade the Negro...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 10, 1962, p. 4.

"The state has become an accomplice to the political crimes against Negro and other colored citizens, visitors, and guests. It is past time to change the situation. Who can regard this failure other than a green light to terrorists?"

"Peace and an end to racism, white supremacy, and terror are inseparably related. White supremacy, the myths of white superiority, are on their way out with colonialism...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, pp. 4, 6.

"...The majority of all Negroes are still consigned to the lower layer of the working class, as the 'hewers of wood and haulers of water' for the white owners of America."

The Worker,  
September 30, 1962, p. 5.

## 2. Minority Groups Seeking Government Posts

"A fight should be relentlessly waged to get a Negro candidate for the U.S. Senate."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 10, 1962, p. 6.



"Negro Americans take justifiable pride in the career of Dr. Robert Weaver, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in Washington...there is no more capable man in Washington than Dr. Weaver."

The Worker,  
July 22, 1962, p. 3.

"...Negro citizens and other minority groups--the Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans--are making strenuous efforts to break through the barriers of racial discrimination on the electoral front."

"...Now minority groups are working as never before to win places in the Government...."

"...Republicans and Democrats have shared the power of state since the Emancipation Proclamation of a century ago. Yet, at no level, Federal, state, or city, have profound improvements been made in the political or social status of colored Americans."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, pp. 4, 6.

"Henry Winston's\* first stop during his tour of the people's democracies was in Hungary..."

"One of the high points of Winston's visit was his meeting at the Party Academy...."

\* A member of the Communist Party, USA, who went to the Soviet Union in September, 1961.

"The director of the academy told the gathering, 'many of you have wondered where the African people winning their independence would get the leaders to guarantee their newly won freedom. In Comrade Winston you see a glowing example of the kind of man the Negro people have produced and who can measure up to any white man anywhere in their ability to lead and govern.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 13, 1962, p. 4.

3. Negroes Press for Full Equality Now

"...the President must heed the demand of the Negro people, which has risen to a mighty roar, to immediately issue appropriate executive orders abolishing segregation in housing, discrimination in employment, disfranchisement in suffrage rights, and for the nullification of all laws and practices which perpetuate segregation and discrimination against the Negro people as American citizens."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1962, p. 3.

"Particularly thrilling was the sight of the Negro teenagers kneeling and praying on the steps of the Albany library. They were massed there to break down, through prayer, the doors of the library, and to acquire the knowledge that will give them the equal opportunity, promised in the Constitution, to make their own fortunes. They no longer rely on gradualist fortune-tellers."

The Worker,  
August 19, 1962, p. 7.

"...the atrocious attacks upon Negro citizens, now centering in Albany, Georgia,...is shaming our country before all mankind...."\*

"End the Terror in Albany, Ga.!"  
Political Affairs, September, 1962, p. 1.

"Struggles like those of the Negro people in Albany, Ga., Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee, or the heroism of a James Meredith, reflect the new mood of the Negro people--and their pressure for full equality, for freedom now. We also saw it dramatically last week in the hearings of the House Labor Committee chaired by Rep. A. Clayton Powell where a parade of Negro actors and other performers raised the banner of the fight for an end of discrimination in the performing arts and for presentation of the image of America as it is and not as a 'white America.'

"We also see it in the ranks of the 1,500,000 Negro workers in the trade unions of America who are dissatisfied and angered because the trade union movement, that should be in the forefront of this 'civil rights revolution,' is far short of reflecting the new level of the struggle...."

The Worker,  
November 11, 1962, p. 12.

4. Struggle Needs Solidarity Action, Not Side-Line Sympathy

"...militant mass action of the Negro citizens of Albany has set a new standard in the surging struggle of the Negro people for the full measure of their rights as free and equal citizens in this. 99th year since these rights were formally proclaimed. It remains for labor and white Americans everywhere with a sense of justice to develop solidarity actions with their Negro brothers and sisters..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 2.

\* Underlined portion italicized in the original.

"...a bi-racial group of 103 Eastern Seaboard Protestant, Jewish and Catholic ministers...decided to march in waves on Albany after failing earlier in their bid to see the President in Washington.

"The crusading ministers told the embattled Negroes that they were ready to go to jail in support of their fight in Albany, because it had now become the 'focal point of the civil rights struggle'.

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, p. 1.

"...time and experience have already proven that unless the Constitution is upheld, in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and points south, for the Negro, it will be upheld for no one elsewhere in the country. And this necessitates activity and not passive side-line sympathy."

. . . . .

"The struggle of the Negro people in Albany, it appears, is entering a new and second stage, the stage in which so-called 'outside' support must spell the difference between the present stalemate and victory."

. . . . .

"If the great and united power of the 20 million Afro-Americans is released--irrespective of the different philosophical currents among them--in direct support of the Albany struggle, and in sharp demands for practical Presidential intervention in the South--something's got to give...."

The Worker,  
September 2, 1962, p. 3.

5. Fight for Equality Goes On

"The main forces of the Southern Negro Peoples movement--vanguard of the national Negro liberation movement--are concentrated in Albany seeking a break-through in the enforcement of the Constitution and in implementing the recent antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, in the teeth of brutality, terror and intimidation."

"...with all their terror and brutality, official and unofficial--including the savage assault upon a pregnant Negro woman, the brutal beating of a Negro attorney, the illegal imprisonment and maltreatment of hundreds of political prisoners--the authorities have not been able to smash the Negro movement."

"Should the Negro people win in Albany, the victory will dynamite open the whole path toward full citizenship now. Should they lose, the loss is America's and correspondingly a victory for Dixiecrat-ultra-right forces who are the main enemies of peace, democracy and the general welfare...."

The Worker,  
August 19, 1962, pp. 3, 11.

"The Negro people in Albany are heroically, as well as peacefully, upholding the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Their stubborn refusal to be downed by terror, whether from the Klan or from an unlawful court injunction, is in the finest American tradition of democratic people's struggle. On their banner rests the fate of labor and the whole American people..."

"End the Terror in Albany, Ga.!"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1962, p. 2.

"The adverse postwar turn contains a political lesson. An economy militarized for reactionary international ends is an unfavorable environment for internal democratic progress. Peace and civil rights will have to be won more or less simultaneously."

The Worker,  
October 7, 1962, p. 5.

6. Anti-Semitism Gaining

"THE RESURGENCE of neo-Nazi violence against Jews in several countries of Latin America is beginning to worry many circles there."

"Observers note that this sudden open resurgence of Nazi outrages occurs at a time when the United States is showing special friendship for Franco, when in the United States the ultra-Right groups are freely spreading anti-Semitic doctrines, and, in addition, when in the Pentagon section of official Washington a mood of cold war anti-Sovietism is intensifying."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 3.

"THE NEW WAVE of Nazi hooliganism and anti-semitism that broke out after the execution of Adolph Eichman had its counterpart in the U.S.

"The anti-semitic propaganda and incitement is, however, not limited to such openly Nazi groups as Rockwell's Nazi Party and the American Nationalist Party. This is shown by a report of a mass rally organized by the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, led by Dr. Fred Schwarz in Cleveland recently."

"Jewish leaders in Cleveland are indignant about these developments and are looking to Washington for an explanation and action. All Americans who cherish peace and democracy ought to express their concern and indignation and demand that President Kennedy and the Attorney General act against such incitements."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 4.

7. President Has Power To Destroy Racism

"THE FOLLOWING statement on the terror in Albany, Ga., was issued by the Communist Party:"

"Protest to President Kennedy and Attorney General Kennedy. Make these demands:

"1. End the terror and violence against the Negro people of Albany. Prosecute the Georgia officials and racist organizations responsible for violations of the Constitution.

"2. Immediate release of all Albany political prisoners and indemnification for their arrests.

"3. Immediate enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments in Albany and all over the South.

"4. President Kennedy should issue immediately an executive order against discrimination and segregation in housing.

"5. President Kennedy should issue an executive order outlawing and barring all Jim-Crow, discriminatory, and segregation laws and practices as of Jan. 1, 1863, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
July 31, 1962, p. 4.

"Throughout the country, the hucksters of racial hate and the persecutors of the Negro people are being emboldened by the failure of President Kennedy to take firm executive measures, to issue an executive order that would outlaw all jimcrowism. "

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 3.

"...the Ku Klux Klan ought to be outlawed, its leaders prosecuted along with the Georgia officials who use their positions to deny Negroes their Constitutional rights. The imprisoned Negroes in Albany should be freed and compensation should be made for the destruction of the Negro churches and other property. Whatever measures necessary to accomplish these lawful and desirable ends, the President has full power to use by virtue of the Bill of Rights and the U. S. Constitution. "

The Worker,  
September 30, 1962, p. 5.

"Cuba has outlawed jim-crow and segregation....

"...our President... cannot find time to organize a holy crusade against racism in America but... can marshall a half million men to destroy a government which made racism a major point of attack from its inception. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 13, 1962, p. 3.



## IX. EDUCATION

1. The American educational system needs renovation, for unless education is made more democratic, dropouts will continue to deprive the Nation of talented youngsters.
2. At the present rate of progress toward desegregation in education, racial equality in American schools will not be attained before the year 2230.
3. Many of the best teachers in the United States have been forced out of the teaching profession as victims of the McCarthyite hysteria; in Communist China, by contrast, teachers are honored and rewarded.
4. Institutions of higher learning in this country are being heavily subsidized by Federal funds for the express purpose of developing military projects.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Education Needs Overhauling

"Unless there is a real overhaul in our educational system, the drop outs will continue to deprive our nation of lost talents."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, p. 16.

"...Let's face it, American education and publishing are as 'democratic' as Standard Oil Corporation...."

Leslie Woolf Hedley, "The Poetry of John Beecher," Mainstream,  
September, 1962, p. 55.

"Educational standards, particularly in working class areas, have dropped...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 4.

2. Creeping Pace of Desegregation

"SCHOOLS in the South last week began their new terms with no sign that the new season will witness any change in the creeping pace of desegregation that has from the first met the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954."

The Worker,  
September 9, 1962, p. 2.

"IN 1950 the average adult white had completed 9.7 years of school, the average non-white 6.9 years. By 1960 these figures were 10.9 and 8.2 years respectively. The gap declined from 2.8 years to 2.7 years in the decade. At this pace, equality in education will be attained by the year 2230."

The Worker,  
September 23, 1962, p. 5.

3. Status of Teachers

"Schoolteachers Are Treasured in China"

. . . . .

"Devotion to her profession, deep love of the children and excellent teaching methods have won Kuan Chi the honored title of advanced worker several years running."

. . . . .

"Teachers are entitled to free medical care..."

"Child care facilities..."

"A pension of 40 to 70 percent of their salaries..."

"A teachers rest home...in the beautiful western hills of Peking..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 11, 1962, pp. 3, 6.

"Many of the best teachers, some outstanding in the field of science and mathematics, were driven out of the school system as a result of the McCarthyite hysteria."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
September 18, 1962, p. 8.

"The...cold war gave birth to McCarthyism which spread a cloak of fear over the minds of our students and teachers, and drove hundreds of the best teachers out of the schools."

The Worker,  
December 9, 1962, p. 7.

#### 4. Universities, Adjuncts of Cold War

"Like most other institutions of higher learning, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia is heavily subsidized by the Armed Forces. This militarization is in the form of big grants for conducting scientific investigations that will improve the means of mass slaughter in the current Cold War...."

"The income for the university from these military sources has tended to grow with the huge increases in the national budget connected with the waging of the Cold War. The appropriations also reflect the increasing importance of Philadelphia as a strategic center of militarism in our country."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 21, 1962, p. 2.

"...at the annual congress of the National Student Association...."

"The Liberal Study Circle...focused on the aims of higher education. Tom Hayden, Students for Democratic Society Chairman, singled out the Cold War as creating the main problems of higher education. Universities ask, 'What can we do to get more defense contracts?' he said. As a result 'they were not independent and critical.' There is 'an enormous stamping of secrecy on university projects,' according to Hayden. He tied the Cold War in with racism and pointed out that Dixiecrat power in Congress over such matters as Federal aid to education resulted from Cold War deals. Violations of academic freedom were also cited, the non-objective approach of Marxism, Hayden saw as another result."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, p. 3.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. So-called culture in the United States is the product of crass commercialism.
2. It is the lot of the artist in a capitalist country to be maligned or discriminated against and to be prevented from fulfilling individual artistic aspirations and goals.
3. Unhampered by the outmoded concepts and practices of private enterprise, the Soviet Union is setting the pace in science and progress.
4. If war can be avoided, mankind will benefit immeasurably from the fruits of socialist achievements in many fields, particularly in science.
5. Tradition and current trends and events belie the claim that the United States is a Christian Nation.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Distorted Values

"... if the former residents of the area in the West 60's where the Lincoln Center now stands are so scattered and so denuded of money because of the high rents they now must pay, that they cannot buy tickets, they will at any rate see on their TV screens the N. Y. . . . Philharmonic Hall, and join with varying degrees of enthusiasm in the triumphal chords celebrating the slum clearance that cleared them out."

"... by the steel broom of progress, ... the tenants of the West 60's were cleared away to make room for Art with a skyscraper A?"

The Worker,  
September 16, 1962, p. 7.

"MANY are the factors that push TV culture steadily down into the valley of despond...."

"But the main factor remains the clutching, itching hand of the advertiser...."

"...at present, in the U.S., the hawkers... have their tentacles on our TV sets and on the throats of TV writers, and to all appeals, by the FCC\* or by the viewers and writers, they act like the hawk in the LaFontaine fable who caught a nightingale. Let me go, pleaded the nightingale, and I will sing for you the sweetest of my songs. But the hawk answered, 'The stomach has no ears,' and ate the nightingale."

Ben Levine, "TV: The Hawk and the Nightingale," Mainstream, September, 1962, pp. 36, 37.

"Our human needs in literature and life are for honesty, intellectual stimulation, the responsible language of progressive imagination, clarification of the changing human situation, while a growing list of magazines dispense obscurantism, incoherence, specious jargon, inversion--some in the name of revolt.... Perhaps, after all, we're still in the stages of pre-literature, and someday soon, when genuine Resistance and Underground Movements are ignited a literature for and by the people will become reality...."

"Little Magazines in America: A Symposium," Mainstream, November, 1962, pp. 29 - 30.

\* Federal Communications Commission.

## 2. Artists Suppressed

"... GEORGE CUKOR, the firm director,...

"... declared Hollywood created Marilyn Monroe, it didn't kill her.

"The capitalist fancies himself a creator when he transforms a human being into a commodity."

"... Izvestia, the Soviet newspaper, after reporting that Miss Monroe was an actress whose artistic aspirations had been 'stifled and made fun of,' declared, 'this tragedy pronounced a sentence of death on a monster that makes a travesty of art, virtue, truth and nature. The name of this monster is Hollywood.'"

The Worker,  
August 26, 1962, p. 7.

"... In one of many shameful episodes presided over by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Hanns Eisler was commanded to appear before the Inquisition.... And so a deportation order was issued...."

"... in East Germany... Hanns Eisler found himself in a society eager to see him move further along the lines he had announced, 'Music must work for the enlightenment of the consciousness of the most advanced class, the working class, and attempt to influence the practical actions of the listeners.'... The time will come when we will be properly grateful for what Hanns Eisler and others like him have done for us and for a peaceful world."

The Worker,  
September 23, 1962, pp. 7, 8.

"REPRESENTATIVES of unions in the performing arts gave the House Labor Committee chaired by Rep. A. Clayton Powell assurance of a greater awareness in their ranks of discrimination in the field and the need to combat it. . . .

"...witnesses, including Negro actors, ...underscored with more of their own agonizing experiences the tragic fact that there is little room for the Negro performer in American life because the 'image of America is presented as white.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
November 6, 1962, p. 1.

### 3. Soviets Ahead in Science and Progress

"...The launching of the Vostok ships serves the further conquest by man of boundless expanses of the universe. It proves once again the peaceful aims the Soviet Union pursues in exploring outer space."

The Worker,  
August 19, 1962, p. 10.

"...How antiquated our economics, politics and thinking have become, in the face of the giant strides of science, and the new pace of progress set by the fast-growing socialist influence in the world!

"...Our captains of industry and leaders of science and technology may be crying over being so badly beaten by the USSR on the space front, but they are not slow in turning America's resources to profit."

The Worker,  
August 26, 1962, p. 5.

"...the great social problems, including public health, can no longer be solved by horse-and buggy 'private enterprise.' The modern world



has grown too huge and too dangerous to be handled by the petty shopkeeper mind, even less, by the monopolist mind, so inflated with imperial power and out of business control."

"Soviet science has many... contributions to make to the welfare of the American people, if we could only break down the Dollar Curtain we have raised around ourselves."

The Worker,  
October 14, 1962, pp. 5, 8.

#### 4. Happiness Depends on Peace and Socialism

"Soviet scientists are predicting a wonderful future for mankind if war is kept out of the world in the atomic age. An amazing quantity of needful goods will come with the development of immense new sources of electrical power. Cancer will be vanquished. Life will be prolonged. Culture will become universal. And humanity will unravel the secrets of the universe and make use of the planets."

"These predictions... are made by world-renowned Academicians like Professor Nicolai Semenov..."

"The secret of abundance, the scientist emphasized, is electricity and Socialist power."

"Only now," he said, "is the greatness of Lenin's definition becoming clear: Communism is Soviet power plus electrification..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 4.

"Many Americans understand that the Soviet achievements, in their economy, in science in the arts and education, in advancing the welfare of their citizens, are due to the socialist society which they established. In such a society there is free rein for the expansion of the forces of production, all the benefits of the people's labor accrue to the people; exploitation of man by man has been abolished. It is a society devoted to creating the conditions for the fulfillment of all man's needs--economic, social, cultural and spiritual as envisioned in its historic program for building communism."

The Worker,  
November 4, 1962, p. 3.

"...What importance has an individual in a society where money-making for its own sake is considered the highest of virtues, and profit-earning is accepted as a justification for any form of behavior? Obviously under such an ethical system human beings can only become another commodity...."

Paul Phillips, "A Note on E. E. Cummings,"  
Mainstream, November, 1962, p. 24.

5. Status of Religion in United States

"THE SUPREME COURT..."

"For the first time...has ruled categorically on the constitutional question of the relation of the state to religion.

"By declaring that the state had no right to issue or compose a prayer for use in the public schools, the court was finally calling a halt to the mainly conservatives who have been attempting to use the state for imposing their religion on the entire people."

"...James Madison, the father of the Constitution...."

"...gives the lie to those who claim that the U.S. is a Christian nation...."

The Worker,  
July 1, 1962, pp. 1, 15.

"IT IS WORTHWHILE recalling that atheism has always been a trend in American thought and tradition...."

"...most of the founding fathers either did not believe in a personal God or professed pantheism or deism, shamefaced fronts for atheism...."

The Worker,  
September 16, 1962, p. 8.

"...With Gargarin, Titov, Glenn, Sheppard, Nikolayev and Popovich going to the very spot where St. Peter's door was supposed to be, (and finding no door), the missionaries' promise to all those who humbly submit on earth to the exploitation of the fair-haired men from the North, does not have the hold it used to have in the old days."

The Worker,  
September 23, 1962, p. 8.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women, being pacifists by nature, strive to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. The capitalist system degrades women, but in socialist nations, such as Communist China, women enjoy equality and respect.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women Strive for Peace

"...at the womens panel meeting of the World Disarmament Conference."

"Every speaker stressed the common interests of the women in the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. and the need for constantly broadening contacts between women in the two countries...."

"Great tribute was paid to the U. S. women's peace efforts...."

The Worker,  
July 29, 1962, p. 6.

"...women are pacifists by nature, standing in the way of war...."

Y. Hoshino, "Defending Japan's Peace  
Constitution," Political Affairs,  
July, 1962, p. 46.

2. Equality of Women in Socialist Nations

"And God created woman, it says in Genesis. But it took the capitalist system to turn woman into 'a piece of meat.'"

"... Hollywood and its 'star system' is based on the selling of personalities, of 'luminous qualities' and for this type of merchandising it is not necessary to act. In fact acting can get in the way."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 21, 1962, p. 5.

"GROWING NUMBERS of women are working on a par with men in practically every department of China's expanding railway network, except in jobs requiring heavy physical labor."

The Worker,  
August 26, 1962, p. 8.

"One in every five researchers in the Chinese Academy of Sciences is a woman. Women work in every institute of scientific research, from botany to atomic energy."

"Not only are experienced women scientists who have an established reputation in research work enjoying respect in China today. Young students of science are given every encouragement and help...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
August 28, 1962, p. 3.

## XII. YOUTH

1. Despite opposition in this country to the Eighth World Youth Festival in Helsinki, Finland, the majority of the American delegation supported it. This mingling with youth from socialist countries is a step toward ending the cold war.
2. Youth must intensify its efforts for peace to bring about the end of the cold war, which is the chief immediate cause of all youth's problems.
3. Youth is increasing its participation in the vital affairs of the Nation and should demand and be given the right to vote.
4. Communists and the younger generation are drawing closer together, because they have similar objectives.
5. The Soviet Union has produced a generation of selfless and dedicated youth unmatched by any capitalist country.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Eighth World Youth Festival

"THOUSANDS of students and working youth from 117 countries are meeting in Helsinki at the Eighth World Youth Festival this week.

"When the Festival opened on Monday, July 30, more than 10,000 youth, chanting 'Peace and Friendship,' marched through Helsinki streets for some two hours..."

. . . . .

"The popularity and increasing success of these festivals--devoted to peace and friendship among nations and strongly supporting disarmament and an end to atomic testing--have disturbed imperialist circles. The United States state department particularly has openly propagandized against the Helsinki festival and attempted either to dissuade delegates from going or to 'brief' them on the stand they should take..."

The Worker,  
August 5, 1962, p. 2.

"LETTERS COMING from the Eighth World Youth Festival just concluded in Helsinki, Finland, at which 18,000 youth from 142 countries participated, tell what happened there..."

"The U.S. delegation made a statement which indicated that the vast majority of our youth there were behind the festival...."

"U.S. newspapers and wire services have emphasized only the hooliganism displayed by youth on the streets of Helsinki. Such hooliganism was inspired mainly by American and West German 'tourists' who set up a table outside the stadium and gave whiskey to passersby who said they were opposed to the festival."

The Worker,  
August 12, 1962, p. 3.

"The 8th Festival in Helsinki was the most representative of diverse political trends and backgrounds since the start of the Cold War...."

"... Leaders of many of the country's major liberal student organizations were there. Such participation represents the first major contact with youth from socialist countries and the beginning of the end of the Cold War on the youth level."

Daniel Rubin, "Youth and America's Future," Political Affairs, October, 1962, p. 1.

## 2. Youth Fights for Peace

"... The Cold War robs two years from the lives of millions of youth...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition,  
October 2, 1962, p. 7.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1963 -- JUNE 1963

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**January 1963--June 1963**

**July 1963**

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United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker, as well as the monthly magazines Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the period from January through June, 1963, the Communist Party, USA, continued to emphasize the theme of peaceful coexistence. The Party asserts that peace is uppermost in the minds of the Soviet people and that the Soviet Union and other socialist nations do not want war, but want peace to build communism and to attain the highest living standards and conditions known to man. Through their press, the communists in this country portray the Soviet Union as the leader in seeking the establishment of peace throughout the world. The United States is condemned as an imperialist nation that exploits underdeveloped nations, incites war, antagonizes its allies, and uses the manufacture of arms and the stockpiling of war-preparation materials as a means of bolstering the economy and gaining profits for big business.

According to the Party, the men in the Pentagon look with horror upon the prospects of peaceful coexistence and have tried to sabotage negotiations for banning nuclear tests. Not only are these Pentagon men protecting their own power and authority, but they are doing the will of their Wall Street friends. President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk, as the Party tells it,

are "precisely following the demands of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd." Pointed out as dangerous men, in addition to the "atomaniacs" in the Pentagon and elsewhere in the Government, are "their friends of the ultraright, the Republican leadership, and the Dixiecrats."

The Party has been critical of the position the United States has taken on matters of international interest. In attacking United States policies in Western Europe, the Party charges that by allowing West German Armed Forces to become the "largest and most powerful in West Europe," the United States, along with France and Great Britain, has violated an agreement to keep Germany unarmed.

American policy toward Latin America, especially Cuba, has been the subject of much Party criticism. The communists insist that Cuba is no threat to the security of the United States, but has been used by this country as a smoke screen for meddling in the affairs of other Latin-American countries.

In connection with the ideological differences between Communist China and the Soviet Union, the Communist Party says that China has taken the wrong position on peaceful coexistence in general and on the Caribbean crisis in particular. According to the communists, the resolution of the Cuban crisis was not a victory for the United States, nor did the Soviet Union

capitulate through fear or weakness. The facts are, says the Party, that world peace was saved through the correct application of the policy of peaceful coexistence by the Soviet Union and that Premier Khrushchev stood forth as one of the great statesmen of our times. In spite of its support of the Soviet Union in the ideological dispute, the Party continues to insist that Communist China be admitted to the United Nations.

Early in January, the Party stated that it would support issues developed by labor, the Negro, and other "progressive forces." For consideration by the 88th Congress, it offered a program embracing a tax cut, a shorter workweek, unemployment compensation, medical care for the aged, benefits to youth, and civil rights. The proposal for civil rights legislation specified that it was designed not only to assure equal rights to Negroes but also to "protect the rights of labor, of minority political parties whose constitutional rights in recent years have been whittled away by the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, McCarran Act and other reactionary laws." In May, a Party spokesman set forth suggestions for a "new Federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights."

In addition to the shorter workweek, communists in the United States advocate expanded trade with communist countries as a means of providing more jobs--in the factory and on the farm. But, they theorize,



capitalism offers no genuine solution to the unemployment problem and would collapse without artificial stimulation. They say that idle men and idle machines are symptoms of capitalism's inherent inability to use the productive resources it has itself created, even though one tenth of the national product is deliberately wasted on arms.

The only real solution to unemployment and our other problems, the Party says, is socialism. In directing its program toward the working class, the Party says that the working class has within its reach all the possibilities of changing the world--for putting an end to war and impoverishment forever, for ushering in an age of peace and well-being for all mankind. What it needs to do is to strengthen militant working-class unity, to eliminate all "divisive barriers of racist practices and anticommunist prejudices" and to further strong fighting alliances with all strata of the population "who suffer under the weight of the tyranny of the monopolists." The trade-unions are urged, particularly, to speak out for youth, for whom unemployment is a critical problem.

The Communist Party, USA, asserts that the Soviets have many advantages over the people of this country: automation is a blessing; there is no unemployment; racial discrimination is unknown; higher education is free; and women and minority groups have greater opportunities.

The Party claims world-wide victory for socialism and eventually communism. It says that already one third of the world's peoples have shaken off their chains of economic slavery and are marching along the road to socialism; that the balance of power has shifted on the side of oppressed peoples everywhere; and that Latin America and the new nations of Asia and Africa are determined to win their freedom from American imperialism. For the United States, the communists say, socialism and communism will come, because socialism alone can provide a lasting solution to all our problems.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, continues to condemn United States foreign policy. Through its criticism, it tries to lessen the confidence of the American people in their leaders and in the democratic system, to cause distrust among the Western nations, and to gain for the Soviet Union and the communist system the confidence of underdeveloped countries, as well as the emerging African nations. The Party has expressed itself as opposed to "the arms race and all manifestations of colonialism in U.S. foreign policy."
2. The Party supports the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence. It says that the growth of "liberation" movements throughout the world, as well as the devastating character of new nuclear weapons, has changed the conditions and meaning of coexistence of opposing social systems; that peaceful coexistence does not mean the preservation of the status quo, but rather a new system of international relations. The communists try to make it appear that only the communist countries

want peace. The Party may be expected to increase its efforts to exploit man's desire for peace and to direct its attention to any groups that promote peace. Special targets will be religious and women's groups.

3. In line with the theory that communism is a working-class movement, the Party concentrates much of its attention on the workers. It exhorts labor to wage a militant, united struggle for the rights and needs of all people, particularly the Negro and youth. Labor is urged, too, to work for the repeal of the McCarran Act and other "fascist" laws, as well as antilabor legislation. As always, the Party will attempt to exploit any discontent arising from unemployment.
4. The Party will continue to exploit the civil rights issue. In trying to divert attention from injustices in communist countries, the Party points to the grievances of the American Negro. It will seek to identify itself with protest demonstrations and any achievements resulting therefrom. The communists will continue their efforts to acquire the status of a legitimate political party. They will insist that antidiscrimination laws should cover minority political parties, as well as other minority groups. They may be expected to use the civil rights issue to intensify their drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to repeal the McCarran Act.
5. The communists are expected to continue their boast that communism will achieve victory on a world-wide scale.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. Expanded trade with communist countries would get the American economy moving again.
2. The Soviet Union does not want war and feels encouraged by the rising strength of the world's peace forces. Premier Khrushchev averted war over Cuba and stood out as one of the great statesmen of our times.
3. United States policies, such as the action against Cuba and the attitude toward Franco as well as the rearming and rebuilding of West Germany, could affect world peace.
4. For the benefit of big business, the United States exploits underdeveloped countries and antagonizes its allies.
5. Cuba is no threat to the security of the United States.
6. The United States used Cuba as a smoke screen for meddling in Latin-American affairs and is now afraid that the "hungry illiterates" of other Latin-American countries will be fired by the Cuban example.
7. The Chinese Communist Party has taken the wrong position on peaceful coexistence in general. The Chinese leaders erred in charging the Soviet Union with a "second Munich" and in asserting that the settlement of the Cuban crisis was a victory for the United States.
8. Communist China has a rightful place in the United Nations and should be admitted.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U.S. Needs Trade with Communist Nations

"With the U.S. now afflicted with a constant chronic unemployment between five and six percent, and with the rate of economic growth practically stalled, improvement in trade relations with the Soviet Union would appear to be one of the healthiest ways to get the American economy off dead center and moving again."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 2.

"...the interests of the American people call for the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations with Cuba.... Even from a dollars and sense view, the present hostility is stupid. Before the reckless anti-Cuba policy was adopted, there was yearly trade of more \$700 million between Cuba and the U.S. Certainly, the cutting-off of this amount has not helped the sickly economy of the U.S."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1963, p. 3.

"IT IS TIME to act in the spirit of May Day, in the spirit of the crusading thirties. It is time to unite and fight:"

"For jobs through expended trade with socialist countries."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 5.

"If Washington can strain its foreign policy far enough to reach out for normal dealings with Duvalier, isn't it about time Washington stopped horsing around with the idea of destroying Cuba to revenge Wall

Street imperialism, and move for reestablishment of diplomatic and commercial ties with that beautiful Caribbean republic in the best interest of both the U.S. and Cuba?"

The Worker,  
June 11, 1963, p. 2.

## 2. USSR Wants Peace

"...confidence in peace is uppermost in the Soviet people's minds. They are much encouraged by the rising strength of the world's peace forces. These peace forces are getting much attention in the Soviet press. The people I talked to believe that the more sober American leaders are becoming conscious of the disasters that a reckless course would bring."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

"Catastrophe was averted by the firm policy of peaceful coexistence flexibly and correctly applied, in the first place by the Soviet Union and adhered to by virtually the entire world Marxist movement..."

"...World peace was saved; peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition were vindicated; and the right of Cuba to determine her own way of life and her own social system was preserved. Premier Khrushchev stood forth as one of the great statesmen of our times..."

The Communist Party, U.S.A.,  
"On Cuba, China and the U.S.S.R.,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1963,  
pp. 1, 2.

"...The Soviet Union and the socialist countries do not want war. They want peace to build communism, to attain the highest living standards and conditions known to man. In the Soviet Union now there is no

unemployment, no poverty, and living standards continue to rise without interruption."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 5.

3. U.S. Policies Lead to War

"One of the most significant and revealing developments of United States foreign policy in the years following the end of World War II was the reversal of our attitude toward the fascist government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco."

. . . . .

"The future of world peace and democracy, as well as the well-being of the Spanish people, will be affected by the stand of the United States on the ending of the Franco era."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 8.

"The West German armed forces are already the largest and most powerful in West Europe. The new buildup adds to the menace of a third world war. These actions violate the agreements of the U.S., USSR, Britain and France to keep Germany unarmed."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1963, p. 2.

"KENNEDY and Congress must be made to realize that the present anti-Cuba policy could ignite a war whose consequences are even today unimaginable. Kennedy has on a number of occasions emphasized his awareness of his responsibility to block nuclear war. However, the Washington policy on Cuba is an incitement to such a war."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1963, p. 3.

4. U.S. Protects Big Business

"THE PRESENT bloodshed need never have occurred in Katanga... If Washington, London, Paris and Brussels had not been so anxious to protect the profits of their greedy monopolies wrested out of the exploited labor and precious resources of the Congolese people..."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 1.

"The President and Mr. Rusk are precisely following the demands of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd."

"For some tentative, temporary economic advantage to the oil trust and political advantages to the war hawks, the U.S. Government follows a policy which antagonizes its allies, defeats the drive to increase exports, and pushes unemployment upward..."

The Worker,  
April 7, 1963, p. 5.

"For Wall Street imperialism and its allies in Washington, the maintenance of domination over Haiti is of crucial importance. In the first place, they cannot afford the establishment of a second example of freedom and independence in the Caribbean."

"Wall Street exploitation has beaten the Haitian people down so far that the average per person income is only a little more than \$50 per year."

The Worker,  
May 14, 1963, p. 4.



5. Cuba No Threat to U.S. Security

"Cuba does not threaten our security. Its only 'crime' is that it has driven out the imperialists, is ending illiteracy, poverty and is building a new, decent life for its people...."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 5.

"Not only does Cuba proclaim time and again its sincere desire for peace with the U.S. but it has demonstrated by its actions that it wants peace."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1963, p. 3.

6. U.S. Imperialists Meddle in Latin-American Affairs

"This talk about a Soviet military buildup in Cuba, and about the menace of an invasion of the U.S. from Cuba thus is revealed as only a smokescreen behind which to proceed with intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American nations, where the peoples seek to free themselves from Wall Street imperialism."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, p. 3.

"It is...above all the U.S. imperialists--who dominate the economy of the nineteen 'free' Latin-American republics--who look with growing fear on what these 'hungry illiterates,' fired by the Cuban example, might do."

Sam Russell, "Latin-American Realities,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1963, p. 63.

7. Chinese Communist Party Policy Wrong

"...the Communist Party of the U.S. regretfully finds it necessary to take sharp public issue with the policy of the Chinese Communist Party in respect to the Caribbean crisis and in respect to its wrong position on peaceful coexistence in general."

The Worker,  
January 13, 1963, p. 3.

"Is it any wonder...that people everywhere become concerned when the Chinese government reverses its policy in relation to India and allows itself to become a party to armed conflict that could touch off even greater conflagrations?..."

"And it was indeed unfortunate that at the very time that they were withdrawing voluntarily from the positions taken during the armed clash with India and asking for negotiations with the Indian government, the Chinese leaders had to charge the Soviet Union with a 'second Munich' because it had refused to be provoked and had saved the world including China from nuclear war over the Cuban crisis...."

The Worker,  
January 13, 1963, pp. 2, 11.

"In effect, the position of the Chinese Communist Party, like that of certain powerful U.S. monopoly circles, is that the resolution of the Caribbean crisis is a victory for U.S. imperialism, its 'policy of strength' and 'toughness' over the alleged weakness, fear and capitulation of the Soviet Union...."

The Communist Party, U.S.A.,  
"On Cuba, China and the U.S.S.R.,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1963, p. 3.

8. Communist China Should Be Admitted to United Nations

"The CPUSA... will continue its policy of passionate opposition to the denial of the Peoples Republic of China's rightful place in the United Nations...."

The Communist Party, U. S. A.,  
"On Cuba, China and the U. S. S. R.,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1963, p. 4.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Jobs and job security are more than ever the Number 1 domestic problem.
2. Only socialism can solve our problems. The ownership of the mines, mills, and factories by the people will enable us to take our place in the front ranks of all nations. The whole world is heading toward socialism and eventually communism.
3. The United States spends billions for war and armament and neglects or ignores education, health, social security, and other needs of youth, the aged, and labor.
4. There is a need for tax relief. More severe limits should be imposed on upper-bracket taxpayers. Those persons who live on substandard levels should not be reduced to greater poverty and deprivation by taxation.
5. The ultrarightists and "atomaniacs" are dangerous men who are truly unconcerned with what happens to their country.
6. Discrimination against minority groups and minority political parties does a grave injustice to the concept of democracy. The Communist Party, USA, is devoted to the expansion of democracy, but is persecuted under the McCarran Act, when it should be recognized as a working-class movement and body of social thought.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Jobs and Job Security Are Number 1 Domestic Problem

"A SIX-DAY WEEK of eight hours each seemed like a dream to workers in 1886..."

"Today, 77 years later, jobs and job security remain more the No. 1 domestic problem for America than ever...."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 6.

2. U. S. Needs, and Will Have, Socialism and Communism

"...the world is heading toward socialism and eventually communism and...this development is both desirable for mankind and inevitable.

"For the U.S. the course of development will be the same because socialism alone can provide a lasting solution for our problems..."

The Worker,  
April 23, 1963, p. 3.

"WE ARE CONFIDENT that the workers of our land...will...in the not too distant future move towards a Socialist America. The achievement of socialism in our country--of ownership of the mines, mills and factories by the people and the planning of production for their benefit, in a world of peace, will bring out the best in our people and enable us once more to take our place in the very front ranks of all nations and peoples advancing to new heights of human endeavor and achievement."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, pp. 5, 9.

"...Now millions have passed into the orbit of Socialism, where automation is a blessing and unemployment is unheard of. The youth of today will surely equal and surpass the militancy of their ancestors. Life will force them to act. Before another half-century has passed the contradictions of

capitalism, its incompatibility with human welfare, and the growing demands of the people for peace, security and happiness, will result, I believe, in a Socialist America...."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 7.

"We would defend with our lives the democratic institutions of this country,' Davis\* is quoted as saying, 'We believe in it. We believe, though, that socialism is a higher form of government than capitalism, and communism higher than socialism. Communism would alleviate the evils of capitalism, such as poverty, the exploitation of the majority working class by a minority of capitalists, and such things as racism.'"

The Worker,  
June 2, 1963, p. 8.

### 3. Social Needs Neglected for Arms

"The President's proposed budget is the greatest in the history of the nation, with expenditures for armaments even larger than during any other year, including those of World War II.

"The budget, calling for \$98.8 billions for the year starting July 1, 1963, is overwhelmingly balanced toward arms spending, with social needs ignored."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1963, p. 1.

\*Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary and Chairman of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA.

"...while a tax cut would be of some relief, to tell the people that it will achieve a basic reversal of the job trend is to foster false illusions. Far more basic is a brake in wartime production in time of peace....A country's economy cannot grow if almost 80 percent of its budget goes for future and past wars--for products of destructions rather than for things that enhance the welfare of the people...."

The Worker,  
March 31, 1963, p. 1.

"...The government under big business rule spends billions for cold war and armaments, while education, health, social security and the needs of labor, youth and the aged get a mere pittance."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 5.

#### 4. Tax Relief Needed by Low Wage Earners

"Rightfully, more severe limits should be imposed on upper-bracket taxpayers...A better approach would be to leave existing regulations unchanged, except for a ceiling of say \$2,500 on deductions for each taxpayer."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 5.

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY entered the tax fight in the 88th Congress by filing a 3,500 word statement on taxes..."

"The need for tax relief is indisputable," declared the Communist Party...."

. . . . .

"The Communists declare, 'Those who live at substandards should not be reduced to greater poverty or deprivation by taxation....'"

The Worker,  
March 17, 1963, p. 12.

5. Ultrarightists and "Atomaniacs" Are Dangerous Men

"The evil in the Ultra war inciters is that they are truly unconcerned with what happens to their country...."

"What this nation needs now is unequivocal, emphatic, and aggressive attack on the Ultras and their Cuba-war plans. They should be branded for what they are: atomaniacs who are so poisoned by their outlook that they would direct their own country to destruction without a backward glance."

The Worker,  
February 12, 1963, p. 2.

"From the fragmentary evidence already revealed, it is obvious that the Bay of Pigs invasion was intended by the Central Intelligence Agency, and the atomaniacs in the Pentagon and elsewhere in the government, along with their friends of the ultra-Right, the Republican leadership, the Dixiecrats, not only to smash Cuba, but to provoke a military confrontation with the Soviet Union, which could have touched off a world nuclear war.

"These are dangerous men...."

The Worker,  
March 17, 1963, p. 1.



"Now is the time to take up the bid of the Cuban government for talks to normalize relations with that island republic. The only people, whose interest it is to keep the U.S. and Cuba separated and in a state of tension, are the Wall Street monopolists and bankers, who want to place Cuba again under their imperialist control, and the atomaniacs, who want to use Cuba as the starting point for a world wide thermonuclear war."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1963, p. 3.

6. Discrimination against Minority Groups and Political Parties Is Undemocratic

"Carl Winter, Michigan Communist leader..."

. . . . .

"...said that the American CP is devoted to the expansion of democracy..."

. . . . .

"The cold war he declared, and its anti-democratic effects are reflected in the persecution of a political party like the CP through the McCarran Act...."

The Worker,  
January 27, 1963, p. 4.

"Gus Hall, leading Communist spokesman, tore into some cliches on Communism before 500 students and faculty...in Yale University."

. . . . .

"Hall reminded the audience that Yale once had socialist traditions and said he brought with him a 'political skeleton' from its 'socialist closet.' He introduced Alexander Trachtenberg\*...

"Hall recalled that Trachtenberg as a graduate student in 1911-1914, was chairman of the Yale Society for the Study of Socialism, which had 100 to 200 members."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, p. 2.

"Just as discrimination against a minority group does a grave injustice to the concept of democracy, so discrimination and persecution of a minority political party undermines the foundations of the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

The Worker,  
March 17, 1963, p. 4.

"Brandeis University students provided the center for press, TV and radio to cover Hall at a campus meeting..."

. . . . .

"...They got a fresh picture of the real Communist article instead of the absurd caricature generally broadcasted."

The Worker,  
March 17, 1963, p. 2.

"...Just as Marx was exiled from his homeland, so Gus Hall and Ben Davis are to be exiles within theirs--if the Monarchs of the Empire of High Finance are to have their way.

\*Long-time member of CPUSA.

"...I propose that Gus Hall and Ben Davis be unconditionally freed from further prosecution, that the McCarran Act itself be outlawed as a disgrace to our Constitution, and that the Communist Party be given its full co-existence rights as a movement and a body of social thought that belong to the working class."

Oakley C. Johnson, "Karl Marx and the United States," Mainstream, May, 1963, p. 19.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. The shorter workweek, the central economic issue facing organized labor today, is the most effective weapon for counteracting displacement through automation. A 35-hour week, with no reduction in pay and with a \$1.50 minimum wage, would increase mass purchasing power.
2. Big business, the Kennedy administration, and the majority of Congress are antilabor and interfere in the internal affairs of the trade-unions.
3. Capitalism offers no genuine solution to the problems of unemployment and would collapse without artificial stimulation. The Government primes the pump of private monopoly capital with armament orders, war-preparation stockpiles, and subsidies to many industries.
4. Labor unity could change the world. Trade-unions should speak out for the needs of all people--particularly, the youth and the Negro.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Shorter Workweek; \$1.50 Minimum Wage

"Today when one sees the huge profits of the Big Three of auto, almost two billion dollars, there is no doubt they could have paid the 35 hour week at 40 hours pay...."

The Worker,  
February 10, 1963, p. 9.

"IN THE FIGHT for jobs, the demand for shorter hours occupies a unique position. Unlike wage increases, reduction of hours with no cut in pay compels the capitalists to employ more workers, at the same wage per worker as before, to produce the same quantity of goods.... it is the most effective weapon of the working class for counteracting its displacement through technological advance...."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 5.

"...no tax program can serve as a panacea that will solve all of these problems.... Other desirable measures to increase mass purchasing power--many of them not requiring Government outlays--are:

"A reduction in the workweek to 35 hours without reduction in pay...

"Minimum wages of \$1.50 per hour, applied to all workers without exception..."

Arnold Johnson, "A Tax Program for the United States," Political Affairs, April, 1963, p. 10.

"...Hyman Lumer says: 'The shorter work-week cannot be treated as merely another demand, but must be clearly recognized as the central economic issue facing organized labor today....'"

A. Krchmarek, "Automation and the Steel Workers," Political Affairs, May, 1963, p. 23.

2. Big Business and Government Are Antilabor

"THERE IS...mounting evidence that Big Business is deliberately inciting strikes..."

"...they seek new legislation in Congress to impose curbs on unions and their right to strike.... They want unions prosecuted as 'trusts' or forced to accept compulsory arbitration of disputes."

"...Only the full solidarity of labor behind those on the firing line... can meet the current battle plan of the employers. And only that type of fighting unity can block the plans of big business in the legislative halls of Washington or the states."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 1.

"The fact that the great majority of the members of the House and Senate are anti-labor, that the Kennedy Administration too represents Big Business and that in recent years these bodies have passed many anti-labor bills including the vicious anti-labor laws interfering in the internal affairs of the trade unions, does not mean that through joint and effective struggle they can not be made to enforce the constitutional rights for all the people."

Communist Party, USA, "Strengthen the  
Negro-Labor Alliance," Political Affairs,  
April, 1963, p. 43.

### 3. Capitalism Depends on Artificial Stimulation

"Capitalism cannot function as a private venture or in the old form of private enterprise. If it tried it would collapse. It is staying in business only by eating up the future and by artificial stimulation.

"In the past, there was stimulation only during crisis. Now, there is constant pump priming. Each year, demands more and more. This is not private pump priming. The government primes the pump of private monopoly capital. That is the reason for the \$100 billion budget of people's money--taken from the people in taxes and put into so-called private enterprise.

"The government bolsters monopoly capital with armament orders, war preparation stockpiles and subsidies to many industries."

. . . . .

"Can capitalism correct itself? Only for short periods; but not for the long range outlook. Monopoly capital is now, and ever increasingly, an artificially stimulated system. It is hooked on the stimulants, like a drug addict to junk. In the same way, it demands more and more."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 11.

"...there are signs that it is beginning to dawn on a mounting number of workers, and on some labor leaders as well, that capitalism offers no genuine solution to the problem of unemployment...Idle men and idle machines are coming to be recognized as growing symptoms of capitalism's inherent inability to utilize fully the productive resources it has itself created, and this even though one-tenth of the national product is being deliberately wasted on arms--a disease whose only real cure is socialism."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 8.

4. Labor Should Work with Other Groups

"The fight for free tuition... should not be left to the students. Just as the trade unions played a historic role in winning the fight for a free public school system, so can they strike a much needed blow in defense of free tuition in the colleges of the city and state."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1963, p. 8.

"...More and more the Negro people, and especially the Negro workers recognize that their aims can only be achieved in united struggle with all the people against the common enemy responsible for the Jim-Crow system--the handful of Big Business monopolists."

"...a joint struggle by labor and the Negro people within the trade unions and in Congress for equal rights for the Negro people everywhere can help defeat new anti-labor legislation now being proposed by a coalition of the Goldwater Republicans and the Dixiecrats with Senator McClellan in the forefront."

Communist Party, USA, "Strengthen the Negro-Labor Alliance," Political Affairs, April, 1963, pp. 41, 43.

"...Trade unions should take heed and speak out in time for their rights and for the needs of all people, particularly the youth and the most oppressed and discriminated against--the Negro people. It should oppose and help to wipe out the McCarran Act and other fascist legislation, which had been enacted under the phony cry of a 'Communist danger.'"

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 5.



"In our times the working class has within its reach all the possibilities for changing the world--for putting an end to war and impoverishment forever, for ushering in an age of peace and well-being for all mankind. What is required is a strengthening of the militant unity of the working class and the elimination of all divisive barriers of racist practices and anti-communist prejudices, and the furthering of strong fighting alliances with all strata of the population who suffer under the weight of the tyranny of the monopolists."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 3.

"...A youth movement, particularly as part of a strong alliance, can achieve some amelioration of the problems which confront the young. But in the long run, the youth question will be solved by abolishing the capitalist conditions that create it...Hence, the solution to youth's problems lies in the hands of the working class."

E. Lawrence, "Notes on Youth  
Question," Political Affairs,  
June, 1963, pp. 62 - 63.

IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. The American farmer would benefit from increased trade with communist countries.
2. Big business, instead of helping small farmers, is helping large farmers to get rid of smaller ones.
3. Farm prices are fixed in Washington. The farmer will have to enter politics if he wants to stay on the farm.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Trade with Communist Nations Would Aid Farmers

"Our factories and farms can benefit from many billions of dollars worth of business with the socialist countries which is now prohibited. Foreign aid can become a means of sending countries goods made by American labor and needed for their independent development, instead of surplus munitions and bribes for dictators."

Arnold Johnson, "A Tax Program for the United States," Political Affairs, April, 1963, pp. 10 - 11.

2. Big Business Seeks End of Small Farmer

"Getting rid of farmers seems to be an old 'solution' for the farm problem dating back several decades. Just as 'back to the land' was an easy 'solution' for unemployment in the 'good old days,' so was 'back to the cities' an easy way of sweeping farm poverty under the rug...."

. . . . .

"...the Committee for Economic Development, a 'private, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization' composed of executives from 200 of the country's largest corporations, last summer came out with their farm program with a 5-year plan to get rid of half of the rest of the farmers during that time.

"...Actually the plan made no pretense of 'helping' farmers, instead it was a plan to help large farmers and ranchers get rid of smaller ones."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, pp. 6, 9.

"... Last month the House passed a new feed-grains bill..."

"...We've heard of paying for not raising pigs, and for knocking every third peach off the tree. This is better still. Just switch your corn and wheat acreage, and Uncle Sugar will pay you a double subsidy.

"The pretense of economic regulation covering up government handouts to favored capitalists becomes thinner and thinner. And if the means hasten the demise of the remaining working farmers, so much the better for the consolidating agricultural monopolists!..."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1963, p. 5.

### 3. Farmers Need To Go into Politics

"...in the last analysis, the farm prices are made in Washington and are political. And like the labor organizations that one time looked at politics as dirty business--which it was--they will have to go into politics and know pretty much what they are doing if they are to remain on the farms."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, p. 9.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. Communism opposes all forms of colonialism. The legacy of colonialism--poverty, illiteracy, and racism--must disappear forever.
2. The Latin-American nations of Asia and Africa are determined to win their freedom from Wall Street imperialism. Already one third of the world's peoples, formerly slaves of imperialist masters, have struck off their chains and can now make their future with their own hands.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communism Decries Colonialism

"...U.S. Communists and other progressives are not only defending the rights of American workers, but are also opposing the arms race and all manifestations of colonialism in U.S. foreign policy..."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1963, p. 4.

"THERE IS AN organic relationship between the struggles to end poverty, eliminate illiteracy, extirpate colonialism and racism, and terminate the systematized slaughter of human beings by other human beings; the name for that system which expresses this relationship is Socialism. This is the view of Marxism-Leninism..."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, p. 9.

"...On the African continent, 100 million men and women have had no education. That is the legacy of colonialism, the shame and evil of our age, which must disappear forever."

Lise London, "The Advance of Women in Africa," Political Affairs, March, 1963, p. 29.

2. Colonial Chains Being Broken Everywhere

"A new morality has emerged in the world. Its most dramatic expression is the unqualified aid given by socialist countries to peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America where human life has been warped, distorted, and destroyed through the rapacity of American monopolies."

William L. Patterson, "Negroes and Guns: An Exchange," Mainstream, February, 1963, p. 47.

"The Latin American nations are in a ferment now. Like the new nations of Africa and Asia they are determined to win their freedom from Wall Street imperialism."

"At this very moment, they are being ground by the colonialist exploiters between the prices of the raw materials they sell to the capitalist world and the skyrocketing prices of imports from these same sources."

"The Latin American people want to put an end to such a situation. They want to determine their own economic and political destinies."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 3.

"No longer can the monopolists, the imperialists dictate the future of mankind. The triumph of the working class in the Soviet Union, the

victories of socialism in eastern Europe and Asia have made the working people and their allies everywhere the decisive force in history.

"Already they have been able to win freedom for themselves in many countries in Africa and Asia."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 3.

"Already, on this May Day...

"The toiling masses of another third of the world's peoples, who were yesterday's slaves of alien imperialist masters, will march proud in the knowledge that they have struck off their chains and can now make their future with their own hands."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 3.

"THE MEETING of 30 African states at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, a week ago decided to wipe out the last stronghold of colonialism in Africa by whatever means are necessary."

. . . . .

"The moves... was speeded by four factors:

"Failure of the UN to act positively to oust the Portuguese from Angola and Mozambique...

"Refusal of the UN to put an end to the oppression of the African majority in the Union of South Africa."

. . . . .

"The possibility that the British Tory government will present the tiny minority of white exploiters of southern Rhodesia with a peculiar type of 'independence' that will leave the vast majority of that nation's people, the Africans, in practical bondage for all time to the white-supremacists.

"The failure of the Kennedy administration to move aggressively in the defense of the Negro people in Birmingham."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1963, p. 3.

**VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line**

1. A tax cut is needed. It should be directed toward workers and small business, not big monopolists.
2. A shorter workweek should be established by law.
3. Legislation to help the growing number of unemployed is needed.
4. Congress must enact legislation to provide elementary medical aid to the aged. The legislation must include hospitalization, medication, and means of recuperation.
5. Laws that benefit youth are important. These laws must provide for obtaining jobs and continuing schooling, as well as for unemployment insurance.
6. There must be civil rights legislation to protect the rights of Negroes, labor, and minority political parties that have been deprived of their rights through the McCarran Act and other reactionary laws.
7. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has served as a nest for fascist influence and must be abolished.
8. The McCarran Act, under which the Communist Party, USA, was convicted, violates the Bill of Rights and jeopardizes the liberties of all Americans.
9. This country needs a new Federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights--a system of basic Federal laws to supersede state laws.



## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. An Immediate Tax Cut

"DURING THE NEW SESSION of Congress which begins on Jan. 9, the Communist Party will 'support issues developed by Labor, the Negro people and other progressive forces'..."

"...we propose for immediate consideration the following...

"...An immediate tax cut. Such a cut should be directed towards helping those who need it most--the workers and small business--not the big monopolists...."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

"THE ADMINISTRATION'S tax-cutting proposal comtemplates a Federal deficit of \$15-\$20 billion, regardless of what figure may be officially released....The economic effect of a budget deficit depends on its character and the surrounding circumstances. This project includes higher military spending, lower or stagnant civilian spending, lower taxes on the wealthy and corporations, unchanged or insignificantly lower taxes on the poor."

"What kind of tax cut would have good effects? Its benefits would all go to the working people and to lower middle brackets. It would be accompanied by a sharp cut in military spending, and a more moderate rise in welfare spending. It would lead to a more balanced budget. It would stimulate employment more, lower prices and aid peace above all."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1963, p. 5.

"The Communists declare, 'Those who live at substandards should not be reduced to greater poverty or deprivation by taxation....'"

The Worker,  
March 17, 1963, p. 12.

2. A Shorter Workweek

"...It is necessary to establish by law a cut in the work week to 36 hours. \* This is an urgent need for the workers of this country. They are initiating steps for a shorter work week and can be greatly aided by such legislative action."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

3. Legislation To Help Unemployed

"...Legislation to help the growing number of unemployed is needed. This requires amendments to the present law to create uniform unemployment insurance benefits nationally and for the whole period of unemployment."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

4. Medical Care for the Aged

"...Congress must erase the disgraceful defeat of medicare and pass such a bill in an early session of the next Congress in order to assure

\*Later press items advocate 35-hour workweek.

elementary medical aid to the aged. This legislation must include hospitalization, medication and means of recuperation for the aged. "

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

5. Laws in the Interest of Youth

"... Laws directly in the interest of youth are of paramount concern. It is essential to obtain jobs, assure the means of continuing their schooling, as well as unemployment insurance for the large number who enter the labor market with no unemployment funds for them. "

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

6. Civil Rights Legislation

"... Civil rights legislation to assure the complete elimination of jimcrow, the right to vote, abolition of discriminatory practices in industry and government on a national level.

"It is likewise necessary to have such civil liberties legislation as will protect the rights of labor, of minority political parties whose constitutional rights in recent years have been whittled away by the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, McCarran Act and other reactionary laws. "

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

7. Abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities

"... There has been a growing movement to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Its despicable action against the Women

Strike for Peace only added additional disgrace to its already reactionary history. In the organization of congressional committees, all support must be given to help in abolishing this reactionary committee which has served as a nest for fascist influence."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

"...existing anti-labor legislation--...an off-spring of HUAC Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin....further repressive legislation is now in the offing and the ranks of labor can be aroused to fight against HUAC when they see more clearly the involvement of their own self-interest."

Betty Gannett, "HUAC Must Go!"  
Political Affairs, May, 1963, p. 64.

8. McCarran Act, a Violation of Bill of Rights

"...a Federal District Court pronounced a verdict of 'guilty' against the Communist Party, U.S.A., under the provisions of the fascistic McCarran Act..."\*

"The conviction, today, of the Communist Party of the U.S. in the Federal District Court in the nation's capital is a black day for the Bill of Rights and for the liberties of the American people.

"It is the first time in the history of our country that a political party has ever been put on trial--to say nothing of having been convicted."

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

people." "It is a question now of saving the liberties of the American

Communist Party, USA, "On Being  
Found 'Guilty,'" Political Affairs,  
January, 1963, pp. 1, 2.

"GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS AND THE COMMUNISTS UPHOLD  
THE LIBERTIES OF ALL AMERICANS against the madmen of the ultra-Right  
who are trying to drive the dagger of the McCarran Act into the heart of the  
peoples Bill of Rights."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 3.

"...It is well known that the Communist Party is the first  
victim of an enabling law of the Birchites and McCarranites called the  
McCarran Act. This act, which calls for the registration of Communists,  
would nullify the Bill of Rights."

The Worker,  
June 9, 1963, p. 8.

9. New Federal Charter and Addition to Bill of Rights Needed

"...are we not now mature enough to become a united nation--  
a nation with one Constitution and one Bill of Rights, that applies uniformly to all  
of our citizens in every state?

"The doctrine of states rights served some purpose when the  
colonies were in the process of forming a federation of states. Today it is  
nothing more than a smokescreen to cover up the evils of special rights for  
privilege groups....

"States rights is an instrument of the anti-labor monopolies.... States rights provides dozens of havens for tax-dodging monopolies and financial manipulators.... What is needed is a new Federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights.... a system of basic federal laws that will unify and revitalize all of our democratic institutions... that will... supersede all state laws in these areas."

"Such a charter should include:

"A basic law that sets up uniform systems of voting and registration in all states. Reapportionment of all electoral districts on the basis of population. Extension of the right to vote to all who are 18 years of age.

"A basic law protecting the rights of labor, guaranteeing to it the right to organize, to strike, and to use its finances and strength in political campaigns.

"A federal law that will eliminate all special restrictions against the participation of minority parties in elections, and will remove the special privileges now given to the two-party monopoly.

"A federal law that prohibits discrimination or segregation in any form because of race, religion, nationality or political beliefs.

"A federal minimum wage law that will guarantee to all workers without exception a standard wage well above the bare subsistence level.

"A uniform federal system of unemployment insurance, old age benefits and sick benefits, adequate to provide a standard of living above the deprivation level.

"Federal legislation that will establish some measure of democratic safeguards against the power of the monopolies.

"A federal law restricting the use of city and state police, and prohibiting the use of dogs, water hoses and horses against people petitioning to redress grievances, whether on a picket line or a demonstration.

"Uniform federal traffic, tax, marriage and divorce laws.

"A law establishing uniform standards of education in all states.

"A federal law prohibiting the advocacy of war, and of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic or other racist propaganda."

"It is far-reaching measures of this type that we as the vanguard Party should boldly project to the nation. We should become identified with such basic solutions to the problems of our country."

The Worker, Supplement,  
June 23, 1963, p. S-4.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. The men in the Pentagon are influenced by their Wall Street friends and, in seeking profits for them, sabotage negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for banning nuclear tests. These men do not want peaceful coexistence.
2. American boys are dying futilely in South Vietnam for a cause that historians will inscribe as a shameful chapter in the Nation's record.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Pentagon Mirrors Wall Street's Will

"THE ATOMANIACS in the Pentagon couldn't even wait two days to begin their campaign of sabotage against the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for a nuclear test ban agreement...."

"The aim of these warmongers is to dash the hopes of the American people, raised by the exchange of letters between Khrushchev and President Kennedy last December, which cleared the way for the renewal of test-ban talks last week. These Pentagon mischief-makers want to block any parley between U.S. and Soviet negotiators on any aspect of relations between the two countries. They are afraid that such talks might lead to agreements that could pave the road to peaceful coexistence.

"The madmen in the Pentagon look upon such a prospect with horror...."



"That would be really terrible for the Pentagon brass. Their power and authority would be curtailed. Their buddies in Wall Street would have to look elsewhere for super-profits."

The Worker,  
January 29, 1963, p. 2.

"Now the Pentagon is indicating that it intends to involve U.S. troops even more completely in the war now taking place in South Vietnam. This flies directly in the face of advice from a bipartisan Senate group that U.S. troops in South Vietnam remain strictly an 'advisory' group and not engage in field military activity.

"The Pentagon brass are just as contemptuous of the will of the Senate as of the masses of the American people, when doing the will of their Wall Street friends...."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1963, p. 10.

## 2. Americans Dying Futilely in South Vietnam

"BY LAST week it should have become obvious to everyone that there is absolutely no excuse for American soldiers to be in South Vietnam, for U.S. planes and armament to be used to murder South Vietnamese, for Pentagon generals to mastermind a vicious, brutal, dehumanizing war."

. . . . .

"Every day the U.S. casualty list in South Vietnam grows larger. American boys are dying futilely for a cause that historians will only inscribe as a shameful chapter in the nation's record. Isn't it about time we put a halt to this disgrace?"

The Worker,  
January 13, 1963, p. 2.

"AMERICAN family No. 26 has officially lost a son as the latest of Washington's human sacrifice to Wall Street imperialism's attempt to strangle the struggle for independence of the people of South Vietnam...."

The Worker,  
March 3, 1963, p. 10.

"The real interest of the United States demands the most rapid disentanglement from the interests of Diem and from the politics of South Vietnam. U.S. Troops and instruments of war-making should be brought home...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1963, p. 32.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. Soviet minorities have made greater advancement in 45 years than has the American Negro in the 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. Negro-labor unity is essential to freedom for the Negro.
3. The balance of forces on a world scale has shifted to the side of oppressed peoples.
4. Negro freedom should be of greater concern to the United States than conditions in Cuba or behind the Berlin Wall.
5. Desecration of synagogues and cemeteries shows rising anti-Semitism in this country.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Soviet Minorities Have Greater Opportunity than American Negro

"In the Soviet Union, for example, formerly Czarist oppressed nationalities, deprived of even a language, have in less than the 45 years of Soviet power, flowered into enviable levels of technical, cultural and democratic achievement--while after 100 years of the Emancipation Proclamation, gradualism has brought the Negro to the point that his son or daughter risks mob violence and even death merely to enter a school."

Benjamin J. Davis, "Tokenism and Gradualism in the Struggle for Negro Rights," Political Affairs, February, 1963, pp. 17 - 18.

"...If American Negroes had been given the chance that the Russian peasant has had since 1917 his contribution to the uplift of the world might easily have been startling...."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 9.

2. Negro-Labor Unity Essential

"...Without a higher level of Negro-Labor unity there can hardly be any thought of a real economic advance for the Negro people and the great strength that would add for the labor and progressive movement."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 5.

"Like the shot at Concord in 1776, which was heard around the world, so Birmingham is the opening gun in the final struggle for complete freedom in the U.S."

"But to forge this unity that will be the only real guarantee of fulfillment of the new Emancipation Proclamation, the labor movement must assume the leadership."

The Worker,  
May 19, 1963, p. 3.

3. Balance of Forces Shifted to Side of Oppressed Peoples

"If those in power cannot in a hundred years make honor, justice and democracy work for all it must be because these attributes are

not all inclusive in our society. Or in other words, if national dishonor, injustice and unconstitutional procedure can prevail for a hundred years these are attributes of government in the society in which we live used in the interest of some privileged group."

. . . . .

"The power of those who for a hundred years have used the vast machinery of government for the destruction of liberty and the violation of constitutional government is waning. Although they 'elevate' a hundred times a hundred individual Negroes to well paying positions this will not change the course of history. The Negro question belongs to those who embrace policies calling for the peaceful use of the resources of the nation in the interests of its people. The interests of the people occupy the center of the stage."

William L. Patterson, "Negroes and  
Guns: An Exchange," Mainstream,  
February, 1963, pp. 44, 47.

"At no time since the Civil War have the times been so opportune for a general victory in the struggle for Negro rights. For we live in an age in which every wind brings news of new victories of the oppressed peoples over their oppressors. Already a third of mankind, one thousand million people, have shaken off the chains of economic slavery and are marching along the road of socialism.

"THE POWERFUL growth of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world--which knows no racism or exploitation of any kind--has shifted the balance of forces on a world scale to the side of all peoples struggling to free themselves from social and national and adverse-caste oppression...."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 6.

4. U.S. Should Be More Concerned with American Negro than with  
Cubans and East Germans

"... The entire Cuban people regard their revolution as a great individual and national liberating event.... The Cubans have won freedom; they have made progress; they will make much more if our government will let them alone. Most Americans who learn that, I think will support the Cuban people and oppose attacks on them. They will tell the President and Congress to keep hands off Cuba; and instead to do their proper job of helping the Negro people win freedom in the U.S., and providing decent jobs for the unemployed."

The Worker,  
March 31, 1963, p. 5.

"Look Homeward, Adlai

"LAST THURSDAY, Adlai Stevenson gazed at the Berlin Wall from the Adenauer side and proclaimed the event 'one of the most depressing experiences in my life.'

"Come back Adlai, and shift your sorrowful gaze southward to Greenwood, Miss."

The Worker,  
April 9, 1963, p. 2.

"No conscientious American can continue to remain silent. This is not a matter that can be met with passivity on the part of the majority, and left to the Negroes and whites of the South to fight it out among themselves. What is going on down there today is an infinitely greater threat to American freedom than Cuba, for indeed, if we cannot and do not protect American freedom in southern America, then where can we and where will we protect it?"

The Worker,  
May 28, 1963, p. 6.

5. Anti-Semitism Is Increasing

"It has...been true that the religious leaders among the Jewish people, of the Orthodox, the Conservative and the Liberal congregations, have repeatedly made declarations for peace."

. . . . .

"They see the danger of the ultra-Right and note the rising anti-Semitism in our country as shown in the repeated desecration of synagogues and cemeteries."

Arnold Johnson, "The American Peace Movement," Political Affairs, March, 1963, p. 4.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. Schools might well use the large sums now being spent in preparing for war.
2. College education is free in communist countries, but this is not the case in the United States.
3. The trade-unions could strike a much-needed blow in defense of free tuition.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Schools Could Use Funds Now Spent on War Preparation

"... We believe there should be no cut in relief, school construction, education, etc. What is most essential is a cut in armaments appropriations and the stockpiling of armaments which only help to fan the war flames and to make huge profits for the big armament monopolists."

The Worker,  
January 6, 1963, p. 3.

"Just think how many schools could have been built with that \$48 millions that was sunk with the Thresher. The talents and the skills of the 129 victims could have been employed in the construction of these schools and the teaching that would come afterward."

The Worker,  
April 21, 1963, p. 3.

"Our harassed and frustrated teachers driven to desperation by the continued refusal of City Hall and Albany to remedy the situation, are threatening to strike again in September."



"In face of this crisis, the Board of Estimate last week reduced by \$2 million the \$5,633,710 increase to the school budget voted by the City Council.

"But it voted a \$312,651 increase to the 'useless' budget for Civil Defense. The Mayor's budget provided \$1,813,048 for this purpose.

"No one can say that the transfer of this sum to the school budget will solve the crisis.

"But, is it not a crime to deny a single seat, a single textbook, a single teacher, to our children while almost \$2 million goes down the drain?"

The Worker,  
May 28, 1963, p. 2.

## 2. College Education Free in Communist Countries

"SEEING OUR struggle for an equal right of workers to carry their children through college, my mind goes back to my visits four years ago to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia. People looked at me in amazement when I told them how much it costs to get a college education in the USA. What would they say of the 1963 figures?

"There is no such thing in those countries like a tuition fee. The student IS PAID a stipend for incidental expenses and is housed and boarded free if he is from out of town. Free college education is just one of the many items in the living standard of a worker in a socialist country that isn't reflected in his pay envelope...."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 5.

"... Polish youngsters have greater opportunities for a higher education--and all its consequences in respect to future life and work--than the youngsters in the far wealthier Britain."

"...in all Europe only four countries surpass Poland in this respect. And each one of them is a socialist country."

"...One of the primary aims of a socialist society is to create true equality of opportunity--and I hear say that in respect to education this fully prevails in Poland."

The Worker,  
April 30, 1963, p. 7.

3. Labor Should Fight for Free Tuition

"THREATS of tuition fees at all 55 branches of New York's state university loomed larger last week."

"The fight for free tuition therefore should not be left to the students. Just as the trade unions played a historic role in winning the fight for a free public school system, so can they strike a much needed blow in defense of free tuition in the colleges of the city and state."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1963, p. 8.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. Censorship hampers art.
2. The newly rich class stamps its vulgarity on the Nation's culture.
3. The use to which Telstar has been put is further evidence of the gap between science and capitalism.
4. Pre-Civil War minds shackle Americans' talents in the race for scientific progress.
5. New nuclear weapons and the growth of liberation movements changed the conditions and meaning of coexistence. Peaceful coexistence cannot mean preservation of the status quo; it means a new system of international relations.
6. Communists welcome Pope John's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris."
7. While Marxism has no place for the "supernatural," communists recognize religion as a social force and reject any attempt to divide the working people on religious grounds.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Censorship Hampers Art

"Since the left trend in American trade unionism was liquidated and lynched out of existence by undemocratic methods, there has been no educational and cultural activity in the trade unions."

. . . . .

"One would like to see the Longshoremen's and other unions in San Francisco set up their own theatre for example, which would give this region its own democratic art. Why not a labor school, to educate young leaders of the future?"

The Worker,  
January 27, 1963, p. 6.

"Conformity to...anti-Communist loyalty oaths have been ridiculed, but usually kowtowed to, formality...."

"There has been a gradual realization among performers that censorship in the arts, begun at one level and supposedly against specific works of art and artists, soon spreads to other levels until it engulfs and hampers the whole of art. It has been inevitably been so throughout history...."

The Worker,  
April 16, 1963, p. 5.

## 2. Nation's Culture Influenced by Newly Rich Class

"As in every capitalist boom, a newly rich class has formed and it stamps its Philistine vulgarity on the nation's culture. All this frenzied stock market gambling and inflationary real estate speculation and the rootless new flashy jerry-built suburbs, and all these gaudy fat-pooped cars that asphyxiate the cities, all these endless gadgetry and commercial swindling and sex perversion on every stage and in every novel, do not give the nouveau-riche American the simple happiness of feeling secure."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 8.

3. Gap between Science and Capitalism

"...though the Telstar-tinkers have won the world's admiration, the same thing cannot be said of the uses to which the satellite has so far been put. The greetings and after-dinner speeches beamed over it are not worth sending even by slow freight.

"Telstar is one more bit of evidence of the gap between science and capitalism."

The Worker,  
January 22, 1963, p. 5.

4. Science Shackled by Pre-Civil War Minds

"Soviet scientists employ the same instruments and penetrate the same secrets of nature as their colleagues of the West,' Academician A. Topchiev explained in Izvestia this week. 'The difference is not in the subject of scientific studies and discoveries, but in the social conditions under which they are made and utilized.'"

. . . . .  
"TOPCHIEV...continued:

"In fact, by laying bare the laws of development of nature and human society, science enables man to harness the forces of nature and keep them under control. In this lies the greatest mission of science.'

"The significance of this does not penetrate the unscientific, pre-Civil War minds of the Eastlands, Barnetts, and 'ultras' who shackle Americans' talents in the race for scientific progress."

The Worker,  
January 20, 1963, p. 7.

5. New Nuclear Weapons Help Change Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence

"...the unprecedented growth of liberation movements throughout the world, as well as the devastating character of new nuclear weapons, changed the conditions and meaning of co-existence of opposing social systems."

"...peaceful co-existence cannot mean the preservation of the status quo but, rather, a new system of international relations."

The Worker,  
June 9, 1963, p. 4.

6. Comments on Pope John's Encyclical, "Pacem in Terris"

"...Gus Hall...

"...leading spokesman of the Communist viewpoint, made it clear that American Communists welcome Pope John's encyclical..."

"Hall declared that this indicated a forthright, if belated, recognition by the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church that the world wide Communist movement sincerely represented and fought for the aspirations of mankind.

"...it would be nice if the Kennedy administration...and others...would at long last come to a similar recognition of the sincerity of Communists."

The Worker,  
April 21, 1963, p. 1.

"Responding to the will of the masses, the Pope urged an end to meddling by the big powers in the internal affairs of other nations.

"But powerful elements in the Kennedy administration still responding to pressure from the ultra-Right, persist in the bankrupt policy of seeking the overthrow of the socialist society of sovereign Cuba and refuses to resume normal relations with that republic."

"The Pope urged the guarantee of political rights to every individual and the recognition of Communism as a legitimate political movement. But Washington last week added new victims to the McCarran Act."

The Worker,  
April 21, 1963, p. 3.

"...No Marxist interprets the Pope's encyclical to mean that the Vatican has shed its opposition to Communism and is now ready to reconcile Catholicism with Communism, no more than Marxists view coexistence to mean reconciliation of the antagonisms between capitalism and socialism or the reconciliation of bourgeois and socialist ideology. The Cold War rejects living with the Communist one-third of the world. Coexistence implies living together in one world of two diametrically opposite systems, striving to resolve international tensions without the resort to war. This is how Pope John understands it."

Betty Gannett, "The Pope's  
Encyclical," Political Affairs,  
June, 1963, p. 44.

## 7. Communists Recognize Religion as Social Force

"...While the Marxist materialist world outlook has no place for the supernatural, Marxists at the same time recognize that

religious motivations are a social force, sometimes on the side of reaction and sometimes on the side of progress...."

"Marxism differentiates between religion as an ideology, which is idealist and anti-scientific, and religiosity. Marxists, therefore, respect the religious sentiments of Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and any other sects. Above all, they reject any attempt to divide the working people on religious grounds."

Betty Gannett, "The Pope's  
Encyclical," Political Affairs,  
June, 1963, p. 45.



XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Women have achieved a more advanced position in the Soviet Union than in any other country.
2. Women want peace. Their militant struggle for peace could be a factor in the establishment of socialism in the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Opportunity for Women Greater in Soviet Union

"Look at these items:

"More women elected deputies to the supreme Soviet of the USSR alone than women Congressmen in all the capitalist Parliaments combined.

"...Nearly 400, 000 Soviet women engineers...and they include 16 percent of chief engineers of industrial enterprises.

"About 150, 000 Soviet Women are scientific workers...

"Soviet women also are:

"75 percent of the country's economists, planners and statisticians.

"74 percent of physicians.

"70 percent of teachers

"59 percent of all highly skilled specialists--operators of automatic controls in steel mills, welders, jet plane pilots and other important jobs in industry, construction and transport."

The Worker,  
March 10, 1963, p. 2.

"...in the USSR... The advanced position of women\*--who have achieved a status of equality never approached before by any society--also is a matter of fact universally agreed to and...so far as I know, uncontroverted...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Is the Soviet Union a Progressive Society?"  
Political Affairs, April, 1963, p. 49.

2. Women's Struggle for Peace a Factor in Establishment of a Socialist America

"...in this most powerful capitalist country in the world... there is a rising tide of traditional militancy among the people.

"WE WITNESS...the determined struggle of women for peace...

"...Before another half-century has passed the contradictions of capitalism, its incompatability with human welfare, and the growing demands of the people for peace, security and happiness, will result, I believe, in a Socialist America...."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 7.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"...like the heroes and heroines of Birmingham, aren't there more women, mothers, who march with the pictures of their babies as badges of their sacred intent? And many more who hold with them even though, as yet, they do not walk physically at their side. These mothers tell the Inquisitors they will include everybody in their ranks who want an end to wars. They cross oceans and talk to the Pope in his sanctuary. They are button-holing destiny and making it go their way. They and the Birmingham mothers belong to the same family."

The Worker,  
May 26, 1963, p. 8.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. Today's younger generation is no longer silent; it defends its right to hear all points of view, including the communists'.
2. Unemployment among American youth has reached a critical stage. Socialism is the solution to this problem.
3. If American young people can learn the truth about life in communist nations, they will take steps to abolish capitalism in this country.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Youth Demands Right To Hear All Viewpoints, Including Communists'

"The more than 1,000 students of the University of Virginia... to hear Gus Hall, leading Communist spokesman. and the equal number who were turned away were proof that the probing mind of youth knows no geographical boundaries.

"They demonstrated that Youth wants to know about Communism from Communists below the Mason-Dixon line as well as their fellow students above it who last year jammed campus halls all over the U.S. to listen to Communist spokesmen."

The Worker,  
February 17, 1963, p. 1.

"...Today's younger generation is no longer a silent one, as at the height of McCarthyism. Youth today are aroused to hear, to speak, to demonstrate on all matters which affect their lives, their interests, their

future. They demand the right to hear all points of view, to discuss, to come to their own conclusions and to act upon their decisions...."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,  
"Parallelism and Democracy,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1963, p. 17.

"OUR YOUTH IN THE SCHOOLS DEFEND THEIR RIGHT  
TO KNOW against the anti-communist witch hunters...."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1963, p. 3.

## 2. Socialism Is Solution to Critical Unemployment Problem

"The present unemployment rate among young people is a condition which has reached critical proportion...."

. . . . .

"...the challenge to our society is indeed clear. Something has to be done and done fast."

Susan Devra, "Youth Need Jobs,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1963,  
pp. 33, 34.

"...the youth question will be solved by abolishing the capitalist conditions that create it. Socialism will make it possible to deal with the causes of youth's problems rather than attacking only its

symptoms. Hence, the solution to youth's problems lies in the hands of the working class."

E. Lawrence, "Notes on Youth Question,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1963, pp. 62 - 63.

3. American Youth May Try To Abolish Capitalism

"The students of California--of America--have performed a great thing in the past five years. They have brought a turn in the American climate, that has helped to wipe out some of the poisonous doubt and fear left by McCarthyism."

. . . . .

"After years of suppression and silence, Marxism is being ressurrected by the latest generation of college youth...."

The Worker,  
February 24, 1963, p. 6.

"WHAT WILL BE the road of America's youth in the next decades? To million of youth, living under socialism, automation is not a threat but a blessing. The right to work is guaranteed to all. Education and training are free. If American youth can break through the lies and distortions of the capitalist press and learn how goes it with their generation in the Socialist countries, they, too, will take the path to curb and finally to abolish capitalist control of their means of life...."

The Worker,  
March 24, 1963, p. 7.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

MAY 1955 -- AUGUST 1955

**DO NOT  
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FOIPA # 1023533-000



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

100-10092-188

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**May 1955--August 1955**

**September 1955**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative Communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of national and international significance.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers, Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals, Political Affairs, Masses & Mainstream and Party Voice, the latter being the organ of the New York State Communist Party.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Big Four Conference in Geneva in July 1955, was the focal point in the Communist Party line during the period from May through August 1955. According to the Communist Party, USA, the conference was held in response to a world-wide demand and over the objections of the United States. The Conference itself, in the Party's analysis, represented "the beginning of the end of the cold war." Since the conclusion of the conference, Communist propaganda has stressed the importance of preserving the "Geneva spirit."

Using the Big Four Conference as a point of departure, the Communist Party, USA, intensified its demands for further disarmament and the outlawing of nuclear weapons; for the admission of Communist China into the United Nations; for the reunification of Germany within the framework of an all-European security pact; for the expansion of East-West trade; and for an increase in the exchange of labor, cultural and educational delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the foreign policy of the United States was continuously attacked as dominated by "Wall Street" and designed to insure

American political and/or economic domination over the rest of the world.

In the field of national affairs, the Party called for a crusade to restore the Bill of Rights through the repeal of all anti-Communist legislation, particularly the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950. The "Big Business" Administration with its alleged antilabor bias was subjected to a steady barrage of Party criticism.

To cope with the rise in unemployment due to increased productivity and automation, the labor movement was urged to press for a shorter work week and to organize the unorganized workers in the Southern States. Party propaganda also urged the passage of legislation setting the minimum wage at \$1.25 an hour.

The Party decried all delays in the implementation of the United States Supreme Court ruling on desegregation in public education and called on the Department of Justice to protect the civil rights of Negroes in the South.

American science and culture were pictured as suffering from the effects of Congressional investigations and security regulations. The Party viewed the outlook for academic freedom as showing a slight improvement over the past few years.

Issues relating to women and youth were not afforded strong emphasis during the past four months. Party propaganda regarding women was restricted largely to alleged discrimination against women in industry. Regarding youth matters, the Party claimed that such factors as the cold war tensions and racial discrimination were largely responsible for juvenile delinquency.

B. Conclusions

The Communist Party, USA, at this time is emphasizing the following major issues:

1. Peaceful coexistence
2. Outlawing of all nuclear weapons
3. Disarmament
4. Admission of Communist China to the United Nations
5. Diplomatic recognition of Communist China by the United States
6. Reunification of Germany in accordance with Soviet proposals
7. Repeal of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950
8. Continued criticism of the current administration
9. Exchange of delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union
10. Full social, political and economic equality for Negroes



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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The influence of the United States in international relations is decreasing.
2. The United States is primarily responsible for prolonging the cold war which is highly profitable to "Wall Street."
3. The Geneva Conference marks "the beginning of the end of the cold war."
4. Asian and African nations asserted their independence at the Bandung Conference.
5. Germany can only be reunified under conditions which will not permit her to enter military alliances.
6. The United States should recognize the Communist Government of China, and China should be admitted to the United Nations.
7. The United Nations should be a stronger force for world peace than it has been in the past.
8. The United States is responsible for international tension in the Far East.
9. The United States proposals to insure peace in the Near East require further study.
10. The rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has increased the hope of world peace.
11. An increase in East-West trade would stimulate the American economy and help to promote world peace.

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## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"... U. S. foreign policy ran into one crisis after another, and with each defeat its influence in the world arena became weaker. The Dulles line suffered a setback in China, Korea, Indo-China. At Bandung the colonial peoples defended their independence and rejected the U. S. cold-war policies in Asia. The defeats of the Eisenhower-Dulles policies have tended to isolate it from its 'allies' in Western Europe. U. S. foreign policy was criticized by British and Canadian governments as it created war provocations against Quemoy and Matsu. The Eisenhower Administration was forced to recoil under the hammer blows of the peace movement after it introduced the Formosa Resolution which joined the Administration with the Knowlands and McCarthys on this issue...."

Martha Stone, "A New Stage in the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, July, 1955, p. 5.

### 2. The Cold War

"... It was the U. S. Government that was primarily responsible for launching the cold war and the frenzied preparations for a hot world war. Whether under the Truman Administration's slogan of 'containment' or the Eisenhower Administration's slogan of 'liberation,' efforts were launched to overthrow the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and to prevent the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for freedom from establishing the kinds of government they wished...."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 4.

"... The cold war has been the most profitable thing that ever hit the Wall Street buccaneers in the history of the world. Profits have

been running at a rate double those which they made during World War II. And who can deny that those wartime blood profits were unconscionable?

"So there's a powerful vested interest in maintaining tensions. There are forces operating to prevent the settlement of outstanding issues...."

Daily Worker,  
July 11, 1955, p. 5.

### 3. The Geneva Conference

"GENEVA is a turning point. After nearly a decade of cold war, the 'little' wars in Korea and Indochina, and the threat of atomic world war, the heads of the four great powers concertedly have taken a long step away from mass annihilation and toward the goal of peaceful coexistence."

"... Thus Geneva marks the beginning of the end of the cold war. But these potentialities will be realized only through the struggle of the peoples of all countries."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 4.

"THE GENEVA conference of the Big Four was a very important victory for the peace-loving forces in the world...."

"Geneva was a major defeat for the war drive of American imperialism. It wrote 'bankrupt' all over that policy, both in its domestic pro-fascist and its aggressive foreign phases...."

"The Eisenhower Administration, true to its reactionary record, resisted the Geneva conference as long as it could. The President laid every possible obstacle in its way, seeking by various devices to keep it from being

held, to delay it, and finally to restrict its scope. But in the face of the world-wide demand this sabotage was ineffectual. The peoples of the world forced the Geneva conference upon American big business."

"The historic action at Geneva was to block the imperialist wormongers, to thrust their war program into the background, and to provide a mandate for continued negotiations to adjust the various problems now dividing the powers...."

"Geneva gave a powerful impetus to the policies of the peaceful co-existence of the countries of capitalism and those of Socialism and people's democracy, which is the very heart of the world peace program. The big job now is to drive further along this constructive way.... This is a time for intelligent and persistent action by the workers and other peace forces, not for complacency and inactivity."

Daily Worker,  
July 27, 1955, pp. 5, 7.

#### 4. The Bandung Conference

"... The great conference of Asian and African peoples at Bandung was a massive blow against the warmongers and one of the decisive world forces that led to the constructive conference of the Big Four recently in Geneva...."

Daily Worker,  
August 5, 1955, p. 5.

"Bandung... marks the march forward of the once-subjected peoples of Asia and Africa...."

"...Bandung marks the culmination of a victorious phase in the battle of the Asian masses against imperialists..."

"...Bandung stands out as a great landmark. For it showed what mighty strides Asia has taken towards the building of solidarity not only among her own peoples but has also extended it to embrace the struggling peoples of Africa."

Ajoy Ghosh, "The Bandung Conference," Political Affairs, June, 1955, pp. 14, 15, 18.

#### 5. German Reunification

"...But the Soviet government has been working for a solution of the German question in terms of an all-European collective security system such a system, including Germany, including the USSR and also the U. S. A. would be a guarantee against future German militarism and aggression."

The Worker,  
June 19, 1955, p. 5.

"...abandon the idea of rebuilding under Nazi generals the German war machine that was responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of American boys. The whole idea of uniting Germany for the purpose of bringing it into NATO, a war alliance directed against the Soviet Union, runs counter to the meaning of Geneva, to the peace desires of the American and other peoples and to the need of the German people for unification based on non-alignment with any military bloc...."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 12.

"...a unified Germany which is pledged, as Austria is, not to line up in any military pact directed against any of the powers would be removed as a source of aggressive infection. It would be a solution beneficial to the countries on both sides in the world today. It would be the most enormous step to ending the whole cold war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 16, 1955, p. 5.

"But the last thing that Wall Street will tolerate is such a Germany, securely oriented toward democracy and peace. Instead, it wants a Germany divided, one with West Germany manned by reactionaries, armed with atomic weapons, largely fascist, and resolved upon a war of revenge. Wall Street calculates that it has achieved just a setup in present-day Germany."

Daily Worker,  
May 12, 1955, p. 5.

"No agreement on unifying Germany will be possible if one part is remilitarized and incorporated into a military pact directed against the other side. The solution is an Austrian-type agreement."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 19, 1955, p. 5.

#### 6. Diplomatic Recognition of China

"Part of this struggle should be directed toward filling a major gap in the Geneva conference by insisting on direct negotiations between our government and the People's China for relaxing tensions in the Formosa area and for recognition of China by the U. S. and its admission into the UN. One of the fruits of Geneva and the generally improved international atmosphere was the State Department announcement of talks to be held at

the ambassadorial level with People's China on the repatriation of civilians and similar matters. This is welcome news, but the American people should insist that the talks also include more basic questions: that they should lead to an end to Washington's provocative and war-provoking policy toward China and result in full recognition of the legitimate rights of that great nation comprising one-quarter of the population of the globe--so essential for U.S. security and for bringing about peaceful relations in the world."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 4.

"In Geneva the ambassadors of the U. S. and of the Chinese People's Republic are meeting to discuss one source of friction between our countries, the exchange of detained civilians. There are differences remaining between them but if the give-and-take of Geneva continues operative, they will no doubt be resolved. The job then is for our government to agree to proceed with further conferences with Peking so that the big questions of Formosa, of recognition and a UN seat for the bonafide government of 600 million Chinese, can also be resolved...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 14, 1955, p. 5.

## 7. United Nations

"TEN YEARS ago the United Nations was launched in San Francisco amidst the hopes and prayers of mankind. By and large the hopes were not realized. But the outstanding fact about today's anniversary ceremonies, is that the possibilities are stronger now than at any time in the past several years, to achieve the lasting peace to which the UN was originally dedicated."

"Today, however, the forces for peace within our own country and throughout the world--are so strong that it is possible to make a new

start and have the future years of the UN succeed where the first ten did not. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 20, 1955, p. 5.

"UN is coming out of the doldrums at the precise point that the Big Four are beginning to talk things over. This is the major factor giving new life and vitality to UN.

"If the big powers start working together and if China is admitted to its rightful place in UN, there would indeed be a chance for UN to regain the promise the world held for it 10 years ago in San Francisco."

Daily Worker,  
June 27, 1955, p. 2.

8. Far East Crisis

"... Obviously the root of the Far Eastern crisis is the U. S. military occupation of Chinese territory (Formosa, Pescadores, Quemoy, Matsu) in behalf of a discredited despot, Chiang Kai-shek."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 1, 1955, p. 5.

"STILL ANOTHER plane incident last week off the coast of China gave clear evidence that Washington was responsible for the tensions in the Far East."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1955, p. 5.



"THE SOURCE of the Formosa crisis is not hard to discover, Chiang Kai-shek occupies the Chinese territories of Formosa, the Pescadores and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu only with U. S. armed support. These territories are Chinese as a result of 1, 000 years of Chinese history...."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1955, pp. 6, 7.

9. Near East Tension

"SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES has made a widely publicized speech on the situation in the Middle East. According to Dulles, Washington is ready to guarantee the borders of Israel and to insure the borders of both Israel and its Arab neighbors against attacks from each other...."

"On the surface, Dulles' speech seemed good. His position, as stated, was quite different from previous attitudes of the State Department.."

"There will be many interpretations going the rounds on Dulles' speech. Until it becomes clearer whether this is really a constructive step or a plan to make Washington the boss of the Middle East--which could not bring peace--Dulles' speech cannot be taken at its face value."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 31, 1955, p. 5.

10. Soviet-Yugoslav Detente

"THE AGREEMENT reached between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has removed a long-standing seat of dissension and greatly strengthened the world peace camp. It has nullified the efforts of the cold

warriors in the west from keeping a Balkan trouble pot boiling...."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1955, p. 4.

"TRUE TO FORM, the developing friendship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has caused a flutter of nervous tremors in Washington. Balkan peace and tranquility has raised its head--and Washington thinks it's ugly...."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1955, p. 13.

#### 11. East-West Trade

"The prospects of greater East-West trade are brighter as a result of the Geneva conference, and the current steps being taken to remove cold war barriers."

"It is plain that despite barriers so far promoted by the U. S., many capitalist countries are finding this trade profitable and beneficial, especially now when competition in the capitalist world market is severe."

"The elimination of all the barriers that have stood in the way of trade in the last few years would be a significant contribution to the relaxation of international tensions."

Daily Worker,  
August 12, 1955, p. 5.

"... The trade embargo on China alone is costing our country hundreds of millions of dollars annually in orders for peacetime goods. The removal of all such cold war restrictions would provide jobs for many of the 3, 000, 000 now unemployed and help cushion a future economic decline. It would also help fill the gap created by future cuts in arms production and thus assist in shifting our country to a peacetime economy...."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 12.

"...Automobiles, trucks, machinery, ships, agricultural surplus, business machinery, equipment of every kind can find markets among 600 million customers in China, 200 million customers in the USSR, 100 million customers on the eastern democracies."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1955, p. 7.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The Republican Administration continues to favor "Big Business."
2. The "Republican-Dixiecrat alliance" of the Eighty-fourth Congress did nothing for the labor movement or the Negro people.
3. A full investigation regarding the Dixon-Yates contract should be conducted.
4. A "broad struggle" should be launched against the denial of passports by the Department of State, with particular emphasis on the granting of a passport to Paul Robeson.
5. The rise in the cost of living is not due to wage increases.
6. A "substantial" tax reduction benefiting "the small-incomed people" should be enacted at the next session of Congress.
7. The Federal Government should control the production of the Salk polio vaccine in order to guarantee free vaccine for all children.
8. The Federal Government should provide funds for the relief of the victims of flood disasters.
9. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg should be vindicated and Morton Sobell should be afforded a new trial.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Republican Administration

"The Administration, of course, lays its main emphasis on measures to stimulate private investment, including large-scale arms

production, sweeping tax bonanzas and other subsidies for large corporations, vast credit expansion, and other forms of giveaway programs for the rich. One or two limited concessions to the needs of the people have been forced by growing mass pressure, but the basic orientation of the Administration remains that of guaranteeing maximum profits to Big Business."

Mary Norris, "Is the Economic Cycle 'Under Control'?", Political Affairs, June, 1955, pp. 24, 25.

"INCLUDED in these operations is the 'sale,' at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, of the government-built synthetic rubber plants to the oil, rubber, and chemical barons; the present attempt to remove government control from the natural gas industry, for the benefit of the oil trusts; the sluicing of fabulously profitable government contracts to the aircraft industry; the Hells Canyon power deal; and the not-soon-to-be-forgotten Dixon-Yates plot."

The Worker,  
July 31, 1955, p. 2.

"... a government made up of big business representatives and military men is essentially a government of men who are most interested in keeping the cold war and military orders running without end...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 27, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Eighty-fourth Congress

"Compared with the McCarthyite, 'Give-away' 83rd Congress, the 84th made you realize that the people had accomplished something in November, 1954. But compared with the demands presented by labor and the Negro people, and compared with the new climate of Geneva, the session never actually went places.

"The main improvement over the 83rd Congress was the complete isolation of Joe McCarthy himself...."

"... But it permitted McCarthyite witchhunts to continue.... But it did nothing to roll-back the McCarthyite legislation of previous years and permitted Attorney General Brownell to use these laws to continue an assault upon the Bill of Rights."

"Consider especially the almost zero record of Congress on labor's economic program and the complete zero on the rights of the Negro people. Here we have the real shame of the 84th Congress and the reason that labor and the Negro people are so angry over its results."

"The labor movement and the Negro people were the chief victims of this Republican-Dixiecrat alliance...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 4, 1955, p. 5.

"The Dixiecrats, who control congressional machinery, are pursuing a tack of backing the Eisenhower pro-Big Business program and dragging the rest of the Democrats along with them...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 7, 1955, p. 5.

### 3. Dixon-Yates Contract

"THE CANCELLATION of the Dixon-Yates contract does not end the story of this unsavory plot to wreck TVA, gouge taxpayers and public

power consumers in order to fatten the profits of utility companies and big banks. Angry protests, especially in the TVA power area, and probing by a group of Congressmen were getting too close for the Administration's comfort and so cancellation was finally resorted to in an effort to smother the scandal."

"The full facts about this plot that almost succeeded need to be brought to light. And where prosecutions are warranted under the 'conflict of interests' statute they should be instituted...."

"... Congress owes it to the nation to launch an investigation that will bring out all the facts about this GOP-Big Business plunderbund."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Passport Denials

"The denial of passports can no longer be taken for granted. A very broad struggle must be mounted against this denial. The true meaning of this denial must be flung in the face of the State Department, as a living refutation of their hypocritical pretenses toward being both the servants and the exponents of democracy."

Daily Worker,  
June 22, 1955, p. 6.

"The continued refusal by the State Department to issue Robeson's passport not only beclouds the Administration's position of peace, but it exposes it to the accusation of special treatment for Negroes. In the present atmosphere of cold war thaw, it has become clear to all that the holding of

Robeson by the State Department in virtual 'house arrest' is against the best interests of the U. S. And the State Department should hear from the citizens who agree with President Eisenhower on abolishing barriers between peoples. Let America and the world listen freely to one of the nation's outstanding artists. And let the artist be free to think his own thoughts."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 2, 1955, p. 5.

5. Federal Employees Security Program

"There are plenty of espionage laws on the books. But the government 'security' program was designed not to stop espionage but to promote the Cold War. The program was based on the Big Lies about Communism which should have been interred with the burning body of Adolph Hitler. But the Big Lies were taken over by the Cold Warriors in Washington and Harry Truman embodied them in his federal employe 'security' program.

"It is tragic--but perhaps it was inevitable--that a program based on falsehood, repression and thought-control would one day peril the safety of American school-children."

Daily Worker,  
May 17, 1955, p. 4.

6. Cost of Living

"FOR THE FIRST TIME in seven months, the U. S. Labor Department's cost of living index has edged upward...."

"The employers and their propaganda agencies are putting the blame on the wage increases in steel, auto, trucking, and other fields. We



are told that the price boosts already announced, or soon to be announced, cover the added cost of labor power. But those are lying claims..."

"The wage increases won by unions need not add a penny to prices because they are more than covered by the amazing productivity increases in recent years made possible by expansion, modernization and automation, financed largely with government money, military contracts and profits."

"... The propaganda of the employers must be combatted. Public attention must be centered on the real profit hogs. Pressure should increase for congressional investigation of price increases in steel, auto, utilities and other fields."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 28, 1955, p. 5.

#### 7. Tax Reduction

"... For three years since the Eisenhower administration took over, the people have been held off with promises of tax cuts 'next year' while the big-income people, stockholders and corporations receive annual substantial reductions in taxes. Under the theory of the Cadillac Cabinet, the people are simply to wait for benefits to 'trickle down' to them."

"There is a danger, however, that the next session of Congress, too, may go by with no action or just some small change for the small-incomed people..."

"The labor movement should speak up NOW and state its goal for a substantial tax cut in emphatic terms.... Labor... expects a real cut to take effect next Jan. 1."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 29, 1955, p. 5.

8. Salk Polio Vaccine

"The callousness, cruelty and Big Business outlook of the Administration has never been so dramatically revealed as in this vaccine tragedy."

"Free vaccine for all children is necessary so that vaccinations can be made compulsory. For the aim must be to wipe out the dread disease altogether. This thought would occur automatically to any Administration which was not H-bomb crazy. What is also required is government control of vaccine production itself to guarantee the necessary quantity."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 16, 1955, p. 5.

"... For the administration, which has been in on the development of the Salk vaccine from the very beginning, is solely responsible for all the confusion, delays, and inadequacies in the inoculation program thus far. It is equally evident that a share of responsibility for the tragic deaths that resulted, and the agonizing uncertainties now of millions of parents can also be traced to government 'bungling.'"

The Worker,  
May 29, 1955, p. 1.

9. Flood Disasters

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S tour of the flood-stricken areas dramatizes the fact that this terrible tragedy presents, in the first place, a federal problem."

"The magnitude of this task is far too great for the individual states to handle. We are dealing here with sums that will run into the billions."

"To finance such a program, the federal government should draw on civil defense funds and use all other means available.

"... The Cadillac Cabinet, which is used to doing things on a big scale only to line the pockets of the corporations, will have to be pressured, especially by the labor movement, to meet the real needs of the moment and of the people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 24, 1955, p. 5.

10. Rosenberg-Sobell Case

"The Rosenbergs were innocent. Morton Sobell is innocent. The names of the Rosenbergs must be vindicated officially, the government which caused their deaths should apologize to its citizens and to outraged world opinion and that government should try to make some restitution to the family of the martyrs...."

Herbert Aptheker, "New Light on The  
Rosenberg-Sobell Case," Masses &  
Mainstream, June, 1955, p. 42.

"This attack on the Rosenberg-Sobell committees should bring about new support for the campaign to secure vindication for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and a new trial for Morton Sobell, now serving 30 years in Alcatraz."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 5, 1955, p. 5.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Government attacks against labor unions represent an attempt to nullify labor's influence in the 1956 elections.
2. The employers are intensifying their attacks on labor.
3. The proposed constitution of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) does not fully guarantee Negro rights.
4. While the guaranteed annual wage settlement in the automotive industry is a "significant development," further political action will be necessary to insure its implementation.
5. The minimum wage should be raised to \$1. 25.
6. The problems caused by increased automation will not be solved under capitalism.
7. Unemployment is rising.
8. The labor movement should concentrate on gaining a shorter work week and organizing the unorganized workers in the Southern States.
9. The United States and the Soviet Union should exchange labor delegations.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Government Attacks Against Labor

"THE INDICTMENT of the CIO United Auto Workers by the Department of Justice at the direction of Herbert Brownell and the White

House on charges of using union funds in the 1954 political campaign indicates how far the Republican drive to ban political action by unions has already advanced. "

"There is no question but that the Republicans have stepped up their campaign with the idea of reducing labor to political impotence before the 1956 campaign gets into full swing. "

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 24, 1955, p. 5.

"THE ACTION of Attorney General Brownell in citing the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union under the Brownell-Butler anti-labor law of 1954 is plainly a strike-breaking, union-busting move by the Eisenhower Administration. "

"... This, taken together with the recent GOP indictment of the CIO United Auto Workers for political activities, should serve to sound the alarm in the entire labor movement. The Republican-Big Business administration is obviously opening up powerful frontal blasts aimed at undermining and splitting labor's strength before the 1956 election campaign. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 1, 1955, p. 5.

"Labor can have only one answer to this tactic: a fight on McCarthyism on every front--be it the Butler, Smith, McCarran, Taft-Hartley or any other legal prop of McCarthyism--and a broader than ever coalition of all forces interested in preserving the civil liberties of all Americans. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 11, 1955, p. 5.

## 2. Employer's Anti-Labor Arrogance

"...the employers, in most cases these days, are pursuing a 'get tough' policy with the workers and their unions.

"This comes from the fact that the big corporations feel emboldened by the existence of the Eisenhower Big Business administration and by the 'brass hat' outlook towards labor and the people, which dominates the thinking of the Cadillac Cabinet...."

Party Voice,  
May, 1955, --No. 5, p. 15.

"THE ERA when a token picket group at a gate insured a shutdown of a plant is gone. The days of recruiting scabs, and hiring thugs and goons, of injunctions and cops escorting scabs into plants, are back. The employers are not pushing for the 'right-to-work' laws in the states just for the political exercise. There is an anti-labor arrogance in the air that smells very much like the atmosphere of the union-busting Harding-Coolidge-Hoover days."

Daily Worker,  
May 6, 1955, p. 5.

## 3. AFL-CIO Merger

"Unfortunately, however, the draft of a constitution for united labor to which both the CIO and AFL top bodies gave approval, will not provide the effective weapon the new labor center will require and, therefore, is not acceptable as it stands. To mention only some of the major points:

"The anti-Communist provisions of the document, including the 'closed door' to admission of or merger with unions with militant progressive leadership, are basically a McCarthyite pattern...."

"The key question of the right of a Negro or any other discriminated person to MEMBERSHIP in the affiliated unions is evaded with only an assurance of 'trade union benefits.'

"The CIO's demand for an iron-clad ban on raiding--the only way the integrity of unions can be assured--was also evaded with a statement of principles but no means to enforce it."

"... Progressive-thinking unionists cannot approve the document but should work for the much needed changes, fitting a labor movement that aims to advance."

Editorial, The Worker,  
May 15, 1955, p. 4.

#### 4. Guaranteed Annual Wage

"THE FORD-UAW agreement\* includes for the first time an important break-through towards the principle of corporation responsibility for laid off workers. This is a significant development despite the serious inadequacies in the contract on a number of important questions facing workers."

"The gain registered in the Ford contract is not evidence of more company 'benevolence' in relations with labor, but an indication that the wage STRUGGLE of the workers has been lifted to a higher level, beyond just a raise in wages, to greater economic security."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 8, 1955, p. 1.

\*The guaranteed annual wage agreement negotiated between the Ford Motor Company and the International Union of United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America-CIO.



"The employers are losing no time in developing a nationwide drive to scrap the so-called 'GAW' provision in the contracts....

"This shows how stubbornly business will fight even the tiny bit of improved security promised the workers by the extremely modest 'five-cent' GAW in the Ford and GM pacts. They are as fearful of the principle of 'Work or Wages,' expressed by the demand as they were in the days when the slogan of unemployment insurance was first raised."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 16, 1955, p. 5.

"...the main political struggle to eliminate administrative or legal obstacles to supplementary unemployment benefits is still to be fought out."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 15, 1955, p. 5.

#### 5. Minimum Wage

"PASSAGE by the House of the bill already approved in the Senate for a \$1 minimum wage is a significant step forward in the fight for an improved and meaningful wage floor."

"From the vote it should also be apparent that \$1.10 minimum was possible...."

"The basic objective of broadening the coverage scope was ducked in this session of Congress. It will be a major issue in the next session. And along with that it should also be possible to press the fight

for a higher and more realistic minimum."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 22, 1955, p. 5.

"... The proper way to prepare for a victory over GOP-reaction in 1956 is to fight now for peace, for tax cuts, for the \$1.25 minimum wage, for repeal of Taft-Hartley and all other repressive laws, and for FEPC and civil rights...."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1955, p. 14.

#### 6. Automation

"THERE NEED be no fear of automation, says the engineers and experts of the new technology and the companies now busy introducing it at handsome profits. They would have us believe that the capitalist system has within it the economic and social forces that 'automatically' produce the remedy for every ill effect of technological changes...."

"There is no evidence to substantiate the claim that automation advantages to employers are reflected in lower prices for consumers."

"... the problem of finding jobs for displaced workers will be getting progressively worse--and automation is due to really flower out in the next decade."

"... It is the unionized workers who will feel the effects most directly."

"It need hardly be observed here that the Negro worker suffering job discrimination under pre-automation conditions, faces still worse discrimination as he most often is among the first to be displaced and certainly among the last chosen for the higher education and retraining for the new skills...."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1955, pp. 3, 14.

"...no permanent remedy for the unwanted effects\* of automation or any other technological changes, is possible under capitalism...."

"...there is no alternative for the workers (except for starvation) but to fight for every big and small demand in the program labor is advancing, until the time when socialism would be on the agenda of America."

"...Automation under capitalism relieves a worker of his job and forces him to find, if he can, another job that may be more monotonous, hazardous and dirtier."

The Worker,  
May 29, 1955, pp. 3, 14.

## 7. Unemployment

"...in the midst of this record 'boom' in the richest land of capitalism, the biggest issue is jobs. Workers are worried over the inevitable bust. The cry is for shorter hours, guaranteed employment, a curb on speedup, control of automation and anything that can save jobs."

The Worker,  
July 24, 1955, p. 14.

\*Probably should read "effects" instead of "efforts."

"... The fear is greater because the workers observe that a higher production level was achieved with FEWER workers. Tens of thousands have been permanently eliminated from steel and auto industry payrolls. Modernization, automation and speedup have already taken a heavy toll and the trend is still building up."

Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1955, p. 5.

#### 8. Labor's Objectives

"The No. 1 question is the need of a new emphasis on the shorter workweek. Labor cannot stop the automation and mechanization trend which seems to be developing at a speed that more than balances the increased mass purchasing power brought by wage increases. But shorter hours at no cut in earnings can have a more direct effect on jobs."

"The No. 2 question, but no less important, is a real drive to organize the unorganized, primarily in the South, but everywhere else, too. And unless this is done quickly and earnestly, the union-nonunion differential will expand to even more dangerous proportions, and the beneficial effects of a higher wage minimum will be wiped out or greatly reduced."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1955, p. 14.

#### 9. Exchange of Labor Delegations With the USSR

"And perhaps no greater single contribution to world peace could be made than through the exchange of American and Soviet labor delegations. The tremendously successful farm visits give an inkling of how effective that could be."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 10, 1955, p. 5.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. American agriculture has now reached a state of chronic crisis.
2. This farm crisis is the result of natural disasters, the limitations of the domestic market, the decline in farm exports and the reduction in price supports.
3. The "Big Business and Big Agriculture" farm program of the present Administration is designed to drive the farmers who operate small and medium-sized farms out of existence.
4. The warm reception given the Soviet agricultural delegation was motivated not only by the rising spirit of international peace and friendship, but also by the anticipation of increased East-West trade.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. The Farm Crisis

"...the farm crisis has already become acute, with farm prices and income down 25 percent below the '51 level. In addition, farmers have been hard-hit over large areas by a succession of disasters--floods, drought and dust storms.

"The Eisenhower Administration denies that there is any farm crisis, blames the Truman Administration for the drop in farm income and insists that agriculture has 'a bright future.' The Administration's cure for falling farm prices is to make price supports more flexible and let farm prices go lower...

"The program now being applied by the Eisenhower Administration has been supplied ready-made by Big Business and Big Agriculture--or, more particularly, by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Farm Bureau Federation. They want to drive 2 to 3 million farm families out of production as quickly as possible, and they demand that the farm crisis, flood, drought, dust storms and the draft be used to achieve this end."

"...Wall Street is offering the small and middle farmers no better program than one of mass ruination..."

The Worker,  
July 31, 1955, p. 14.

"The crisis in agriculture is due in large part to the limitation of the domestic consumer market, as well as to the decline in farm exports which have fallen 30 per cent in the last three years. However, it has been aggravated by the government's cut in price supports.... This has fallen most heavily on the small and middle farmers, many of whom are being driven from the land.

"...Agriculture is now in chronic crisis, the weight of which falls on the small and middle farmers...."

Mary Norris, "Is the Economic Cycle 'Under Control'?", Political Affairs, June, 1955, p. 37.

## 2. "Big Business and Big Agriculture" Farm Program

"Thus, in the wake of a deepening agricultural crisis, in which the Eisenhower Administration is determined to cut out all price supports, the acreage curtailment policy is being used to extinguish the smallest farmers."

The Worker,  
May 15, 1955, p. 10.

"OUT OF THE DEPARTMENT of Agriculture there pours a tremendous wave of news releases and prepared texts of speeches to conceal the fact that the Eisenhower administration is engaged in a big operation to 'solve' the critical agricultural situation at the expense of the farmers.

"More correctly stated--at the expense of millions of small and medium-sized farmers.

"The Department's operations on this front include the drive to cut price supports from farm products, the boost in the interest rates on disaster loans from the Farmers Home Administration from 3 to 5 percent, attempts to curtail the Soil Conservation Service, and pressure to prevent an increase in FHA loan funds.

"Throughout the nation there have been signs that small and middle farmers are becoming aware that they are the special targets of the regime directed by Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1955, p. 13.

### 3. Soviet Agricultural Delegation

"The 'glad hand' extended to the touring Soviet farm delegation by Americans from one coast to the other was first of all a greeting in the spirit of peace and friendship. But in addition, the warm welcome was also in anticipation of expanded East-West trade. The prospect was joyfully greeted by industrialists, farmers, workers throughout the recent 35-day tour of the Soviet agricultural group."

"Motivating Americans is the vast glut, over-production, the threats of depression, unemployment, bankruptcies..."

"The trade angle helps to explain the lavish friendliness toward the Soviet delegation by even ultra-conservative industrialists and heads of farm organizations, some of whom have made a career out of their hostility to the Soviet Union."

"The prospect of trade with the Soviet Union, China and the Eastern democracies has a wide appeal for American farmers..."

The Worker,  
August 28, 1955, p. 3.



## V. COLONIALISM

1. The United States is attempting to dominate the entire Western Hemisphere for its own economic advantage in order to provide for "the needs of the U. S. war machine."
2. The Good Neighbor Policy should be restored.
3. The United States has been unable to halt the national liberation movement in Asia.
4. The United States controls the economic and political affairs of a number of ostensibly independent countries.
5. The United States is supporting the French policy of oppression in North Africa.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. United States Controls Latin America

"U. S. CONTROL over Latin America is indicated by its large, growing share of investments and trade in that area... this same U. S. control is responsible for the retardation of industrialization and for the physical undernourishment of two-thirds of the people of Latin America... U. S. investment and trade are used as a weapon to gear the economies south of the border to the needs of the U. S. war machine."

The Worker,  
August 28, 1955, p. 10.

"ONE YEAR AGO, on June 18, the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration, organizing armed assault from without and treason from within, launched the aggression which overthrew by force and violence the democratic government of Guatemala. The instrument used—Col. Carlos Castillo Armas--was Guatemalan, but the hands that wielded it were alien and imperialist: the United Fruit Company and the U. S. State Department. Their objective was the complete subjugation not of Guatemala alone but of the entire hemisphere by the Wall-Street trusts in their pursuit of maximum profits and world domination."

Editorial, "Remember Guatemala!,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1955, p. 1.

2. Restore the Good Neighbor Policy

"...it's time to call a halt to U. S. intervention in Guatemala and the rest of Latin America; it's time to end Big Stick diplomacy, it's time to restore all the positive features of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy."

The Worker,  
June 19, 1955, p. 6.

3. Asian National Liberation Movement

"...in Asia... Wall Street's effort to halt by force the colonial liberation movements had met with a series of staggering defeats in China, Korea and Indo-China and alienated most of the rest of Asia."

Albert E. Blumberg and A. B. Magil,  
"Peace and the 1956 Elections,"  
Political Affairs, May, 1955, p. 10.

"THE VAST national revolution, which has been shaking Asia and the world since the end of World War II... is one of the greatest events in human history. It is a tremendous mass movement which is freeing over half of the human race from the bitter enslavement of capitalist colonialism...."

Daily Worker,  
August 5, 1955, p. 5.

4. American Economic Imperialism

"...Now the great danger... comes from the newer American-type of imperialist domination, in which the oppressed countries are allowed a shadow of national independence and limited control of their national armies, while their economies and political systems are dominated nevertheless by the imperialist power or powers. This is the system used by the United States in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and many countries of Latin America. In the latter vast expanses many of the reactionary governments are puppets of the U. S.

"This insidious type of imperialist domination, I should say, is the gravest danger now confronting the many Asian peoples who, although they have taken the field against imperialism, have not yet completely broken the power of the imperialists and their landowner allies in their respective countries. The greatest danger in this general respect comes from the United States, which, with its vast wealth and productive power, is striving to dominate the world--not only colonial and semi-colonial countries, but also the developed capitalist nations, and the Socialist sectors of the world as well--a vain, futile, and dangerous dream of world conquest."

Daily Worker,  
August 5, 1955, p. 7.

5. French Colonialism in North Africa

"THE FRIGHTFUL blood-letting and loss of life in Algeria and Morocco has brought the world face to face again with the issue of colonialism and

imperialism. While the French have ruled these colonial territories with gun and bayonet, the big western powers in the United Nations have united to prevent any action on Arab demands. Now the Algerians and Moroccans have acted in desperation to back up their demands. "

"Faure and his imperialist allies, including the U. S. officials, had expected to stop Sunday's demonstrations with repressive measures. They knew months ahead of time that there would be protests against the removal two years ago of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef.

"Sunday's tragedy can be laid to the arrogance and cynicism of the French rulers who made no effort to meet the justified North African demands. And we have a right to ask how long our own State Department is going to support such a policy which can only beget more blood and death. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 23, 1955, p. 5.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS**

1. The Communist Party, USA, is not a threat to the Nation. The "countless outrages" against the Party and its members by the Department of Justice are part of the over-all drive to promote the cold war.
2. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. should be dismissed.
3. The Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley law, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and the Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.
4. All pending indictments for violations of the Smith Act should be dropped. Those now in prison for violating the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
5. The Bill of Rights should be restored.
6. Denaturalization and deportation proceedings should be discontinued.
7. The use of confidential informants by the Department of Justice should be discontinued.
8. The activities of most Congressional investigating committees are "illegal."
9. More Negroes should be appointed Federal judges.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Prosecution of Communists**

"Communists are not the threat to the country that the Justice Department claims them to be. They have been arrested as part of the drive

to promote the cold war...."

The Worker  
July 31, 1955, p. 4.

"IN ITS SHAMELESS efforts to railroad Communists to jail, without regard for law, justice or democracy, the Department of Justice has no respect for age, sex or physical condition. In its innumerable Smith Act, sedition and deportation trials, it has committed countless outrages. Innocent men and women, guilty only of advocating Socialism, which has always been legal in the United States, have been jammed into jails after trials that more properly would fit a fascist regime than a bourgeois democracy. Others have been torn up by their roots, separated from their families and deported to foreign countries to begin life all over again. And countless others, denied the most elementary rights of citizenship, have been exposed to every form of red-baiting hysteria and persecution."

Daily Worker,  
July 8, 1955, p. 4.

2. Dismiss Attorney General Brownell

"THE RECORD is clear."

"Brownell is supposed to enforce the laws of the land.

"Insetad he enforces the laws of the Cadillac cabinet.

"He is an enemy of the working man.

"He is a friend of the pirate and the political con man.

"The office of attorney general is being subverted so long as he occupies it.

" He should be ousted. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 11, 1955, p. 5.

3. Repeal All Anti-Communist Legislation

"THE SMITH ACT is a pro-fascist law. It is a stench to our land. Opposition to it is patriotic, and those persecuted under its provisions, whether in jail or as refugees (and their harassed families) are splendid patriots, battling in the front lines for their--and our--country's freedom, honor and peace.

"We can best honor them by fighting ever harder for the repeal of the Smith Act and for their speedy return to their families and to their noble labors. "

The Worker,  
July 3, 1955, p. 14.

"... The whole framework of Walter-McCarran denaturalization and deportation proceedings has to be halted. The whole gamut of Smith Act, Taft-Hartley, Brownell-Butler legislation... must be challenged. "

Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1955, p. 4.

"Therefore, the continued persecution of left-wingers and Communists under the Smith and McCarran Acts, rips out a part of the Declaration of Independence...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 4, 1955, p. 5.

"...if the McCarran and Communist Control Acts are upheld by the Supreme Court these acts 'will for the first time in American history outlaw a political party, tighten up measures for policing the labor movement, and lay the legal basis under certain circumstances to turn our country into a complete police state.' "

Daily Worker,  
August 4, 1955, p. 8.

"...All indictments must be dropped, including those against the Communists and those Smith Act victims in jail or those framed under such indictments, and those now awaiting trial or with cases on appeal.

"The demand must be made to President Eisenhower for the dropping of all these indictments."

Daily Worker,  
August 4, 1955, p. 4.

"THE FIGHT for amnesty for the Smith Act persecuted is one of a many-sided movement and struggle in defense of the First Amendment of the US Constitution on behalf of all the American people--not the Communists alone. And because this is so, the fight for amnesty for repeal of the Smith & McCarran Acts; and for making the coming 1956 election campaign a victory for the Bill of Rights, can enhance and strengthen the already heightened movement to check and eventually decisively rout McCarthyism and all forms of ultra reaction--the enemy of all peace-loving and democratic-minded peoples throughout the world."

The Worker,  
July 31, 1955, p. 14.

#### 4. Restore the Bill of Rights

"A CRUSADE to restore the Bill of Rights was called for last week by the special conference of Communist Party leaders from all parts of



the country. The conference stressed the goal of securing the invallidation of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, now facing a U. S. Supreme Court test, and of its amended form, the Communist Control Act of 1954 under which Brownell is already prosecuting the first union."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 9, 1955, p. 5.

5. Denaturalization and Deportation Drive

"The deportation and denaturalization drive has been a by-product of the cold war. It would be fitting as the drive to end the cold war gains momentum, to demand that Washington restore the traditional democratic standards for citizenship under the Constitution which protect all Americans irrespective of political belief."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 2, 1955, p. 5.

"... The whole framework of Walter-McCarran denaturalization and deportation proceedings has to be halted...."

Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1955, p. 4.

6. Confidential Informants

"Brownell and his Justice Department face a dilemma. They are determined to frame more and more Smith Act victims, and this they cannot do without the use of their discredited informers. And they cannot utilize these informers effectively unless they find some answer to the growing revulsion of the American people against these paid liars. Their solution to the dilemma is... to harass and penalize every liberal voice raised in protest against their methods."

"Eisenhower and Brownell should be called upon to drop these indictments and put an end to the informer racket."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 15, 1955, p. 1.

"THE RECANTATION by another informer has dealt new blows to the whole informer system and has evidently staggered both the Justice Department and the Subversive Activities Control Board."

"The McCarran Registration Act, under which the SACB operates and which is now before the Supreme Court, is unadulterated thought control from start to finish. Since it registers thoughts, it depends for evidence on informers and their perjuries...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 5, 1955, p. 5.

#### 7. Congressional Investigating Committees

"IT IS IMPORTANT that it is now being judicially indicated that McCarthy's witch-hunt over the years violated the Federal statutes relating to the powers of Congressional committees.

"Furthermore, we are not dealing here only with the trickery of a McCarthy in operating without Congressional authority, serious as that is. What is also involved is the whole question of the various Congressional 'investigations,' first challenged years ago... In most cases these are illegal. Not only were they never authorized, they could not have been authorized even if Congress had so desired, because under the law, committees can hold hearings only for the purpose of formulating legislation or passing judgment on some pending legislation or appointment."

"...How many 'probes,' for example, have been conducted, not to throw light on some pending legislation, but to break some pending strike!

"Of course, even consideration of actual legislation is no excuse for 'investigating' people's thoughts, reading, writing, associations and affiliations."

Daily Worker,  
August 2, 1955, p. 4.

8. Negro Jurists

"On the national scene, there is still just one Negro judge in the entire federal court setup--Judge William A. Hastie of the Appeals Court in the Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Delaware area. It is time to revive pressure for a Negro U. S. Supreme Court judge when a vacancy occurs, as well as Negro federal judges at all levels."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 7, 1955, p. 5.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The use of atomic and hydrogen weapons should be outlawed.
2. Disarmament, under a strict system of inspection and control, is of "the utmost importance."
3. Legislation providing for universal military training should be defeated.
4. The American airmen captured by the Chinese were treated well and would have been released sooner if the United States had been willing to negotiate with China.
5. The Soviet Air Force is "a match for any other air force."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Outlaw Nuclear Weapons

"THE CAPITALIST international war code is brutal enough, but it does at least ban as war crimes the use of certain proscribed weapons and practices, such as bacteriological warfare and the arbitrary massacre of prisoners and civilians. The A-bomb, its various makes, certainly belongs within this banned category, for it is far and away the most brutal and savage weapon ever concocted by man. It would be so condemned were it not for the resistance of the U. S. The persistent effort of this country to introduce the A-bomb, and its big brother, the hydrogen bomb, into international warfare is one of the most terrible war crimes ever committed. The responsibility for the bomb in this respect lies at the doors of both the Truman and Eisenhower Administration."

"THE INSISTENCE by the U. S. upon using the atomic bomb is another frightful, expression of the bankruptcy of the world capitalist

system. Defeated economically and politically on a world scale by the growth of Socialism and the development of the colonial revolutions, Wall Street believes it can re-establish capitalism, under its own domination, by the use of the A-bomb. But this is a horrible delusion. If capitalism dared to use this frightful weapon, the end result would be the finish of world capitalism at the hands of the outraged people of the United States and the world...."

Daily Worker,  
May 5, 1955, p. 5.

"DURING the past five years or so, there has been building up an enormous mass peace movement and protest against the use of atomic weapons in war...."

"DECISIVE in mobilizing this active world peace sentiment is the peace policy of the USSR, People's China, and the people's democracies of Europe and Asia. This is the heart center of the ever-rising popular tide against the atomic war now being plotted and instigated by the Washington minions of big capital."

Daily Worker,  
June 10, 1955, p. 5.

"To lift the dread of nuclear weapons will ultimately require a ban under a fool-proof system of international inspection and control, which the Soviet delegation has proposed to the current meeting of the UN disarmament subcommission now meeting in London."

The Worker,  
May 15, 1955, p. 4.

## 2. Disarmament

"ONE OF THE first fruits of Geneva was the announcement of the Soviet Union that it will reduce its army by 640,000 men by Dec. 15. This fact, together with Premier Bulganin's declaration to the Soviet Parliament that although he saw objections to the Eisenhower inspection plan, his government was considering it, indicates a desire on the part of the Soviet Union to enter the negotiations here Aug. 29 in the 'Geneva spirit'--that is, in an atmosphere designed to get results on this crucial question."

"Secretary of State Dulles, on the other hand, has been going through his usual carping routine. He said he couldn't comment on the 'military significance' of the Soviet action because he didn't know how many men the USSR still has under arms. And he raised the problem of inspection in the old way, not as a problem to be solved but as a stumbling block designed to hamper or prevent agreement on disarmament.

"When the UN disarmament commission meets here Aug. 29, we are confident that real headway will be made. But it will be made IN SPITE of the attitude of Dulles who would most prefer preserving some of the tensions of the cold war."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 21, 1955, p. 5.

"Progress was made at Geneva on disarmament because the agreed upon directives by the Big Four links arms reduction AND inspection. Instead of saying we can't disarm till there's inspection or there can't be inspection till we disarm, they say we must have BOTH disarmament AND inspection."

"The Disarmament issue comes to the fore as the UN sub-commission on disarmament renews its sessions in New York on Aug. 29. It will be of the utmost importance that the powers that be are made to feel again the public wish for arms reduction and a nuclear weapon ban, and both, under a strict system of inspection and control. These discussions will undoubtedly show that a most important area of possible compromise is in measures which guarantee against any surprise attack."

Daily Worker,  
August 19, 1955, p. 5.

### 3. Universal Military Training

"Although this issue is primarily a domestic issue, the fight against U. M. T. is essentially a fight against the foreign policy of the government. U. M. T. is in grave danger of being passed unless there is determined effort to defeat it...."

Party Voice,  
May, 1955, --No. 5, p. 9.

"LAST WEEK Congressional mailbags bulged with pleas and protests against the so-called Reserves bill sponsored by the Pentagon...."

"THE PENTAGON had no ears for the people. Their eyes were not on Geneva, except for the purpose of parading military might in the name of 'peace' and 'security.' Their backs were turned against the workers, the farmers, the religious organizations, the peace organizations and pacifist groups. They mobilized every organ of expression to kill off efforts at ending segregation in the National Guard, which they refer to as 'the hard core' of reserve power...."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1955, p. 5.

"The admirals and generals continued to argue the old fallacy of security and strength through and increase of men...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 13, 1955, p. 5.

"...the opportunity exists on this issue to arouse a strong people's movement which can get results in support both of anti-segregation amendments to all major legislation, as well as to defeat all efforts to impose a camouflaged UMT on the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
July 4, 1955, p. 5.

#### 4. Release of American Airmen

"...the happy news of the fliers' release was a reminder that they, and the others still held in China, could have been brought home a long time ago. They could have been home if the State Department had responded favorably to the Chinese offer of negotiations. Instead the State Department made noisy protests while turning down the negotiations through which they could have been brought home."

"Besides, all four attested to the good treatment they enjoyed. All looked fit and healthy. And then all were gagged by the Army and barred from telling their stories to the American public."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1955, pp. 4, 13.

"In reply to questions about so-called 'brain washing' the fliers said they were given communist literature to read and discuss, which the press agency correspondents immediately translated as meaning 'brain-washing.'"



"All four said their treatment by the Chinese had been good...."

Daily Worker,  
June 3, 1955, p. 2.

5. Soviet Air Power

"The Soviet Air Force today staged an air show over Moscow that indicated it is a match for any other air force in many fields of modern aircraft design.

"More than 400 planes, including two new type fighters and long-range jet bombers capable of carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, flashed across the Soviet capital."

"There were formations of the big intercontinental bombers which startled western air attaches at the May Day air show last year when one model of the big bomber flew past.

"...the bombers appear to be in mass production.

"Along with the jet bombers, a formation of seven long-range, four-engine, turbo prop bombers took part in the show....

"Russia also uncovered at least two new types of fighters, including one that may crack the sound barrier in level flight...."

Daily Worker,  
July 4, 1955, p. 2.

"...the recent appearance of the most advanced jets in the Soviet skies has sent a new realization throbbing through the Pentagon circles that there can be no 'superiority' in the deadly arms race which so terribly imperils humanity."

Milton Howard, "The Atomic Devil Is Dying," Masses & Mainstream, June, 1955, p. 29.

### VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Discrimination against Negroes continues in every phase of American life.
2. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court against segregation in education should be implemented as soon as possible.
3. The struggle for full equality for Negroes will be centered in the South.
4. President Eisenhower has taken a stand in opposition to equal rights for Negroes.
5. A strong Federal fair employment practice law should be enacted.
6. There should be an increase in the number of Negroes elected to public office in the 1955 and 1956 elections.
7. The Department of Justice should investigate the killing of Reverend George W. Lee in Mississippi.
8. Claudia Jones should be released from prison.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Discrimination Against Negroes

"... The Negro people remain grossly discriminated against in industry, in politics, in law, in the arts, in housing, in travel, and in every other phase of American life."

"American imperialism, despite all its strength and arrogance, has had to pay real attention to this powerful international condemnation of

Jim Crowism. For it has proved disastrous to Wall Street's pretensions of democracy, pretensions which are indispensable for its program of imperialist aggression. . . ."

"...In this respect the aim of the Washington government is not to abolish Jim-Crow segregation and persecution, but simply to smooth over some of its most scandalous features, so that it will not stand out so obnoxiously and be such an intolerable stench in the nostrils of the democratic forces of the world. . . ."

"...we must explain to the workers and other democratic forces in other countries the very limited character of the government's anti-Jim Crow actions, such as the desegregation order of the armed forces, the Supreme Court's school desegregation order and the like. We must point out strongly the continuing reality of the Jim-Crow system. . . ."

William Z. Foster, "Notes on the Struggle for Negro Rights," Political Affairs, May, 1955, pp. 32, 37, 39.

## 2. Segregation in Education

"SEGREGATED public schools were declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court one year ago today, and the ruling has been broadly accepted North and South."

"...Officials of both South Carolina and Virginia have defied the United States Supreme Court to abolish segregation in their states. And behind a smoke-screen of vicious racism and threats of anti-Negro violence, the Deep South states are holding out for their right to exercise local option

on the U. S. Constitution."

"... The best propaganda for America in the world today would be the announcement that jimcrow no longer has a resting place on these shores.

"But the Attorney General and the Eisenhower Administration have no such intentions. The Republicans are much more interested in competing with the Democrats for the support of the white supremacy dictators in the South."

"We call for re-dedication to the all-out fight against segregation in all its forms.... Meet the indifference of the Attorney General with action by the people. Not another year must pass which sees the Constitution violated to the detriment of both Negro and white school children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 17, 1955, p. 5.

"NO ONE should have any illusions, if the southern extremists have not shattered them already, as to the 'good faith' and 'patriotism' of the diehard political racists. They have been touched in their most sensitive spot--the Negro question. Desegregated schools would mean also desegregated and free ballot boxes. The so-called 'Southern way of life,' with its cheap labor, segregation, political dictatorships and weak labor unions, would be shaken to its foundations."

Daily Worker,  
June 21, 1955, p. 5.

### 3. Negro Rights in the South

"...in the battle for Negro rights, the main center of struggle still lies in the South. Two-thirds of the Negro people live there, and it is there that even the most elementary Negro rights have to be won. That is where the big and bitter battles still have to be fought--the winning of the land for the landless, the security of jobs in industry for the workers, Negro penetration of the trade unions, the union organization of the workers in industry, the desegregation of the schools, the establishment of civil rights generally, and ultimately the winning of the right of self-determination...."

William Z. Foster, "Notes on the Struggle for Negro Rights," Political Affairs, May, 1955, pp. 41, 42.

### 4. The President Opposes Negro Rights

"MAYBE, Dwight D. Eisenhower should have remained the famous soldier who led the United Nation's armies to victory over the international fascist--racist clique, headed by Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini...."

"As President of the United States, he has recently placed himself squarely against the aspirations of the Negro people. He has opposed all amendments to measures to bring them into line with the law of the land as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court.

"He asked that civil rights be considered in separate legislation 'on its own merit,' but at the same time he has opposed passage of such legislation. And on top of it all he has been silent in the face of violent and rebellious utterances and acts by southern political leaders who have announced their defiance of U. S. laws."

"THE PRESIDENT seems to take the position that since Negroes have been second-class citizens for centuries they can endure for a few decades more...."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1955, pp. 7, 10.

"IT HAS to be said plainly--President Eisenhower, in announcing his opposition to anti-segregation amendments to any and all bills in his press conference last Wednesday, bolstered the Dixiecrat rebellion against the Constitution. In effect he told the country that he considers civil rights 'extraneous' and having nothing to do with legislation dealing with the national welfare. Sixteen million Negro citizens, he seems to have been saying--or thinking, can wait for their full American citizenship until the Dixiecrats decide to abide by the Constitution of the United States."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 10, 1955, p. 5.

5. Fair Employment Practice Legislation

"The fight for fair employment practice continues as the most basic aspect of the fight for Negro rights; and our Party must give major attention to developing a powerful and sustained program of struggle around this issue...."

"The big need, of course, is for a Federal fair employment practice law 'with teeth'; and a nation-wide campaign around this issue is an urgent requirement during this period of preparation for the 1956 elections."

Party Voice,  
June, 1955, --No. 6, p. 8.

6. Increased Negro Representation

"The fight for Negro representation must become a major concentration throughout our Party; and our most immediate concern must be to win new advances in the fall elections of 1955. In the process, efforts should be made to lay the basis for still further gains in 1956."

Party Voice,  
June, 1955, --No. 6, p. 16.

7. The Case of Rev. George W. Lee

"Now the extra-legal White Citizens Councils have spoken with the lyncher's guns. A Negro minister, the Rev. George W. Lee, of Belzoni, is their dead and mutilated victim. Other Negro citizens of Belzoni, Mississippi, have had their automobile windshields smashed; Negro businessmen have been forced out of business by economic boycott. And as yet the white supremacy conspiracy is unchallenged by federal authorities."

"Rev. Lee was killed--as everyone, except Brownell and the FBI seems to know--because he so sought to exercise the federally-guaranteed right to vote. He refused to tear up his poll tax receipt, as the kluxers had ordered. There is evidence to support this. There is too much evidence pointing to the violation of constitutional rights in the murder of Rev. Lee for the Department of Justice to leave the investigation of the affair to local authorities."

"This case merits the attention of the President, himself, for Rev. Lee's death results from a political movement aimed at nullifying the Constitution whenever it touches upon the rights of Negro Americans. And no American can afford to cease reminding him of this."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 23, 1955, p. 5.



"The Department of Justice cannot duck this challenge of white supremacy lawlessness. We cannot permit it to do so if we value our own democratic rights. The demand has to persist:

"Bring the conspirators to justice under the laws protecting citizens under the Constitution."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
May 31, 1955, p. 5.

8. Claudia Jones Should Be Freed

"ONLY A CRUEL and vindictive motive could compel the federal government to keep Claudia Jones, one of two Negro Smith Act victims, a prisoner in Alderson, W. Va. Miss Jones is charged with no crime--other than that of thinking, speaking, writing and associating with others 'guilty' of the same thing. She is suffering from a serious heart ailment which can endanger her life if she is forced to spend the hot summer months behind bars.

"Adding emphasis to its senseless cruelty, the government through the Federal Parole Board, has turned down a parole request by Miss Jones, although she is eligible.

"Moreover, the government announced that it will deport Miss Jones to her native Trinidad, B. W. I., from where she was brought as a small child to New York City."

"... Demand the freedom of Claudia Jones now."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
June 16, 1955, p. 5.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. The current crisis in American education can be traced to defense spending.
2. The "fog of repression" has lifted somewhat in the field of education.
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of students between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Crisis in Education

"...the inability of many of our children to read is the responsibility of those who have permitted our school system to run down like an unwound clock. I am horrified every time I read that our elementary schools are 50,000 and more teachers short this year, and when I hear of classes doubling or tripling up. Here, I feel, is the area where we can find the fault. Certainly it is not with Johnny, certainly not with his parents. The blame lies in a setup that will spend in the neighborhood of 50 billions a year for war purposes and let Johnny go without his alphabet."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1955, p. 1.

"...while the school crisis is mounting at a horrifying rate, two-thirds of the U. S. budget is military...."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1955, p. 1.

## 2. Increased Academic Freedom

"For the first time in recent years, the fog of repression on the campuses is beginning to clear."

The Worker,  
May 29, 1955, p. 5.

"... The campus has heard within the last few months a series of spokesmen of a Left point of view--Paul Robeson, Herbert Aptheker, Doxey Wilkerson, Joseph Clark, Joseph Starobin and others.... It is, I believe, a reflection of a growing national questioning of the 'inevitable war' shibboleths and the hoax of anti-Communism."

"Youth wants to know, all right... And it is going to insist on its ancient American right to hear, among others, the Marxist point of view."

Simon W. Gerson, "A Communist at Cornell," Masses & Mainstream, July, 1955, pp. 34, 35.

## 3. Promote International Student Exchanges

"Among students, the struggle against McCarthyism and segregation has reached new heights. The most important student contribution to the fight for peace was the sweeping movement for international student exchange which forced the State Department to rescind its original ban on the visit of Soviet youth and student editors. Although the State Department resorted to the McCarran Act and finger-printing to cancel the visit, the movement for exchange continues to grow, while many students plan to visit the Soviet Union this year."

Julian Lowitt, "Youth and the Struggle for Peace and Democracy," Political Affairs, August, 1955, p. 22.

"Student councils and student publications continue to protest the State Department fingerprint rule which wrecked the visit to our country of eleven Soviet editors of youth and student publications."

"Now the students are speaking out again for peace and cultural interchanges with the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker,  
May 17, 1955, p. 7.

## **X. CULTURE, SCIENCE AND RELIGION**

1. Art should be brought into the daily lives of the people.
2. There should be an increase in the exchange of cultural delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
3. The entertainment field is suffering from the investigations of Congressional Committees and "blacklists of actors."
4. Science in America has been handicapped by military demands and security regulations.
5. Atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes.
6. The United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy helped to promote the freer exchange of atomic information.
7. Albert Einstein was not only a great scientist but also a defender of "the people's rights."
8. Christians on both sides of the Iron Curtain are working together to maintain world peace.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Bring Art to the People**

"...the democratic artist who is concerned with bringing his art to the people functions most effectively as an illustrator of books, a painter of murals displayed before the public, a creator of posters, and a designer of fabrics or china or other materials in daily use in the lives of the people."

Daily Worker,  
June 15, 1955, p. 6.

"...the democratic artist must concern himself with finding ways to bring his art to the people. Easel painting, the production of pictures which, if the artist is socially and financially successful, will hang on the walls of museums or wealthy individuals, cannot satisfy the socially conscious artist...

"Murals could be one answer but since the passing of the New Deal... both government and private buildings are controlled by reactionary and wealthy men who do not want their walls to carry the message of peace and democracy and the world brotherhood of man, let alone socialism."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1955, p. 8.

## 2. Increase Cultural Exchanges With the USSR

"The Congress\* concluded with a fervent offer of friendship to all writers everywhere, and urged a face to face meeting in 1955 of writers from all countries, as well as closer and constant interchange of ideas and experiences. This is a plea which we most firmly believe offers to American writers an opportunity to study for themselves the enormously vital literature which this first Socialist country in the world has produced. This also opens the way for that creative and cultural interchange which can do so much to preserve the peace of the world, based as it is on the mutual respect of nations for each other's contribution to the world chorus of our common human heritage."

"At the Soviet Writers' Congress,"  
Masses & Mainstream, May, 1955, p. 2.

\*The Second Congress of Soviet writers which was held in Moscow in December, 1954.

### 3. American Entertainment

"There is much wrong with the Broadway theatre. Sometimes it is good. Sometimes it is bad. Sometimes it is indifferent.

"We have the right to criticize it, denounce the shows we don't like, laud those we like. We can go to the shows or stay away from them. That's the democratic way. But to establish Un-American Committee censorship or blacklists of actors--that's the fascist and reactionary way."

The Worker,  
August 7, 1955, p. 3.

"Hollywood, TV and radio still have a long, long way to go before they recover even a little of that freedom and cultural vitality which were sapped by the forays of the House Un-Americans...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 17, 1955, p. 5.

### 4. Science in the United States

"IN RECENT months we have been hearing more and more about the shortage of scientific manpower in this country. And it is indeed a sad truth that in our nation, which justly prides itself on technical know-how, the supply of trained scientists is lagging seriously...."

"... The military establishment has been clamoring for more A-bomb experts, more jet-specialists, etc. Official concern has been expressed not for creative science, but for engines of destruction."

"THE medieval 'security' regulations, loyalty oaths, thought-tests--the whole apparatus of McCarthyism--has dealt a heavy blow to scientific work. The scientist has become practically a 'subversive' by definition, a probable spy. The attitude that scientific workers are 'eggheads,' the cultivation of hostility toward intellectuals, is hardly calculated to spur young people to enter a course of scientific studies. And where's the money in it, anyway? asks the young person infected by the official morality."

"And how is science furthered by denying passports to scientists, preventing them from attending international gatherings of scientists, and throwing up every kind of obstacle to the exchange of ideas?..."

Editorial, Masses & Mainstream,  
July, 1955, pp. 1, 2, 3.

#### 5. Use Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes

"MOST AMERICANS, we would wager, were surprised when it was revealed at the Geneva atoms-for-peace parley that Britain is ahead of the United States in the peacetime uses of atomic energy."

"The decade-long obsession in Washington with the development of atomic weapons has cost us dearly."

"The sad fact is, however, that so long as the development of atomic power for military purposes continue to provide lush profits and giveaways, totalling billions of dollars, the great trusts which monopolize this field will disregard the human benefits that can result from peaceful uses."



"The American working people and the working class in particular need to brush aside the vested interests of war-contract profiteers and to fling open the door to the peace atom."

Editorial, Daily Worker,  
August 9, 1955, p. 5.

"A demand that the coming four-power conference ban all nuclear weapons well might be coupled with a demand that AEC\* funds hitherto allotted for weapons be spent on research to find the cause and cure for cancer, and means of cutting down rheumatic fever, heart disease, pneumonia and other child-killers."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1955, p. 10.

#### 6. Atoms-for-Peace Conference

"... The conference, which ended this weekend was the UN sponsored gathering which brought together 1,200 scientists and 800 advisors from 72 countries to discuss the peaceful application of atomic energy. It was unique in the way it pulled up the curtains and veils of secrecy on the atomic developments both in the East and the West. It was a conference imbued with the Geneva spirit of easing tensions and ending the cold war."

"In breaking down the curtains that have been obstructing the greater developments of knowledge and science, in destroying the myths of the cold war the scientists have contributed immeasurably to ending the whole cold war."

The Worker,  
August 21, 1955, pp. 1, 12.

\*Atomic Energy Commission.

"The atoms-for-peace conference is a striking confirmation of the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence. It is especially proof that this idea is good for America. Too bad that what's good for America is still not good for some of the people we have in Congress."

Daily Worker,  
August 9, 1955, p. 2.

7. Death of Albert Einstein

"Albert Einstein was a great scientist and humanist who spoke out often and vigorously in defense of the people's rights and against the evils of his time and therefore he was held in great affection and admiration by people everywhere...."

Daily Worker,  
June 21, 1955, p. 7.

8. Christians Work Toward World Peace

"The world's millions of Christians are divided into many different sects and live under two sharply contrasting social systems. One such society is our individualistic and predatory capitalism symbolized by Wall Street with its endless tussle for markets and profits. The second is the collective and fraternal socialist order which became more than a dream visualized in books with the advent of the Soviet Union, a generation and a half ago.

"Yet today Christians of both societies are clasping hands peacefully--and I believe practically--to undertake the joint task of preserving world peace and of maintaining an enlightened coexistence between the capitalist and socialist halves of the earth...."

"IN PLAIN language, the Christian believers of the world would rather greet each other with forks at a full dinner table than with atomic bombs in cities reduced to smoking rubble...."

"Meanwhile necessity, as well as a common inheritance of belief, have made increasing numbers of Christian ministers and laymen in the capitalist countries see the need for a close and deeply mutual relation with their co-religionists of the Soviet Union."

"They will continue to manifest their will for peace through their temples and chapels. Their fight will be strengthened because their fellow-believers of the socialist Soviet Union will be praying and marching beside them."

The Worker,  
August 28, 1955, p. 7.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Wage differentials based on sex should be eliminated.
2. Women should be granted the same employment opportunities as men.
3. Women should hold higher positions in labor unions.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"'...at no time in our history has struggle for the full equality of women been as important as it is today, when fascism--with its revival of the kitchen - church - children theory of "woman's place"--is striving to come to power. The employers are fighting against union proposals for equal pay for equal work and a single seniority list for both sexes. All this they do under the slogan that woman's place is at home.'" \*

The Worker,  
June 5, 1955, p. 14.

"BILLIONS of dollars, the statistics tell us, are lost to the working class--and pocketed by the employers--every year because of wage differentials based on sex. That isn't the whole story. If employers couldn't use 'women's rates' to undermine men's wages, the pay of both sexes would be higher."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1955, p. 11.

\*Italicized in the original.

## 2. Women's Right to Work

"There couldn't be an argument more palatable to the bosses than the plea that women should be allowed to work only until marriage, or only until motherhood. For it is not and never has been the aim of employers to drive women out of industry; it is their aim to make of women a marginal group, available when needed and ready to work for lower wages, but without permanent status in the working force and without interest in union affairs."

"... Now the fight will have to go on until the right of women to work is as unquestioned as their right to breathe; and their right to have equal opportunities with men--at the same time receiving special protection for their health and biological needs as women--becomes one of the major demands of the trade union movement.

"Along with this recognition of the right of women to work, must go all the supporting struggles that will make the right possible in practice: for maternity insurance; larger tax deductions for child care; more and better child-care centers; more and cheaper commercial services to ease the enormous burden of housework; low-cost community restaurants and the re-establishment of the shopping centers that were set up in many a factory during the war."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1955, pp. 14, 12.

## 3. Women in Labor Unions

"Today we have a tremendous base of millions of organized women and thousands among them of vigorous leadership caliber. But take a closer look. How many are in top leadership?"

"You can count the number of women delegates at each of the conventions of the AFL and CIO on your two hands. The problem is not

nearly as much initiative of the women as discrimination--just as it holds with respect to Negroes.

"The problem of wage inequality and other forms of discrimination against women is more more with us than ever. So is the problem of fighting for the right of women to work. We still hear of unions where they speak of solving unemployment by sending the women back to the kitchen. Then there is the big set of problems related to the double exploitation of women--in the shop and at home after work. Some 18 million women are now wage earners. Reactionaries seek to exploit this base through false 'equal rights' movements aimed largely against labor and progress.

"...there certainly is need for a fresh and vigorous movement to lead the FIGHT on the new and much higher level--for equal pay for equal work, for full citizenship of women in the unions, for full rights and encouragement to union leadership, for a recognition of the special problems of women of which there are many more today than were known 50 years ago...."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1955, p. 14.

## XII. YOUTH

1. The cold war has given rise to a feeling of futility and cynicism among the younger generation.
2. Youth is speaking out for peace.
3. The rise in juvenile delinquency is a reflection of the "social sickness" of the times.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Today's Youth

"There is hardly a young man--and woman, too--who does not grow up in the shadow of the draft with all the accompanying uncertainties as concerns an economic, professional or family future, not to mention the ideological pressures of cynicism, futility and defeatism in the face of what is asserted as the inevitability of war."

"The era of the cold war has caused the youth to be pounded without letup with the Big Lie of 'Soviet aggression' and 'communist subversion.' The young generation lives in a period when the informer and labor spy are held up as national 'heroes.' It is a generation which has become part of the community in a time when youth's natural inquisitiveness and desire to learn has been stifled. McCarthyism has left an extremely sharp imprint on youth, even causing a curtailment of youth's natural eagerness to join with other young people in established organizations."

Julian Lowitt, "Youth and the Struggle for Peace and Democracy," Political Affairs, August, 1955, p. 21.

## 2. Youth for Peace

"Likewise among America's youth, there have been the broadest expressions for peace and a higher level of peace activity and organization...."

"...the youth of America respond most favorably to the powerful issues of Peace and opposition to UMT, and for a policy of negotiations to end the threat of war."

Martha Stone, "A New Stage in the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, July, 1955, p. 4.

## 3. Juvenile Delinquency

"...the index to a civilization is the way it treats its young. The country is rightly alarmed at the statistics of juvenile delinquency. Our society, or rather, those who control it, have subjected the young to a harrowing variety of fears and penalties; will the world go smash in a thermonuclear cloud? Is there really a future?"

"They attend schools that are abnormally crowded and that suffer a criminal lack of teachers and facilities.... They grow up in a culture that is measured by the standard of the comic book."

"...the social delinquency of those who govern our society promotes the juvenile delinquency that rises so fearfully."

The Worker,  
July 24, 1955, p. 6.



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"...those who say that the root of juvenile crime is in the home, or in lack of police forces... overlook the roots and see only the surface...."

"Juvenile delinquency... is merely the barometer of a social sickness which has been eating into the vitals of society with tremendous speed in recent years, the sickness of 'inevitable war,' of Jimcrow racism, of the dollar-grab as practiced in all the top layers of the nation, of cynicism and contempt for every idea of progress which reflects 'the menace of Communism,' so say the nation's leaders. Our national battle against delinquency is a political battle\* for democracy, equal rights and a national determination to prevent atomic war...."

William L. Patterson, "Delinquents in Danbury," Masses & Mainstream, July, 1955, p. 47.

"...the 'statistics' on juvenile delinquency are exaggerated by the wholesale arrests of Negro and Puerto Rican youth by bigoted cops in periodical 'crackdowns.'"

Julian Lowitt, "Youth and the Struggle for Peace and Democracy," Political Affairs, August, 1955, p. 24.

\*Underlined words italicized in original.

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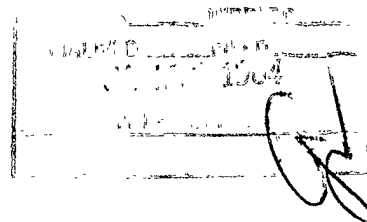


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John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the period from July, 1963, through December, 1963, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continued to represent the Soviet Union as a nation dedicated to the establishment and maintenance of peace throughout the world. According to the Party, the Soviet Union's unswerving dedication to peace caused that country to break the deadlock and agree to negotiations for a partial test ban after it realized that an agreement to prohibit all nuclear testing was impossible.

The Chinese communist leaders, American communists say, are in direct opposition to the ideological line of the Soviet Union and of virtually all other Marxist-Leninist parties and are ready to destroy the unity of the peace and socialist forces. The Party maintains, however, that Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations.

The communists insist that West Germany is planning a war of revenge toward the East. But, they warn, it would be healthy to remember that a Hitlerite Germany, rearmed to destroy communism, first turned its weapons against its benefactors in the West.

According to the CPUSA, imperialistic policies have disgraced the United States among the peoples of the world; opposition to bases and investments

abroad is increasing; aid is coming to Havana from every part of the world; the tenets of international law dictate that the United States renew its ties with Cuba; that country has proved that through revolutionary struggle, rather than through the Alliance for Progress, the Latin-American people can become masters of their own future. The communists insist that we should withdraw all aid from South Vietnam and, in their words, not interfere with the revolutionary patriots who have risen against a tyrannical regime.

The communists say that the assassination of President Kennedy was a long-deliberated plan carried out by the ultraright and segregationists, the extension into action of a conspiracy of race haters, warmongers, and plotters against every step toward world peace.

To rout this ultraright, the Party says, this country needs a fundamental realignment of political forces, a grass-roots "Negro-labor-peoples" coalition for the 1964 elections. There is not yet a realistic outlook for a truly independent political party, one of labor, farmers, and the Negro people. A movement uniting the labor movement, the Negro people's movement, and other liberal and progressive forces could force Congress to act on the civil rights and tax bills, the Party says.

The communists say that, in the field of social welfare, the United States is among the most backward major capitalist nations. The Party advocates "cradle-to-the-grave" Federal insurance, medical care for the aged, an

increased minimum wage, and retirement at 60 years of age with increased retirement benefits. Also recommended are the shorter work week and a public works program with a program of jobs and job training for youth. The works program could result from transferring half of the war budget to peace projects. The crisis in our cities makes it necessary, too, the Party says, that consideration be given to a federally supported national educational system, a federally subsidized housing program and transit system, a national civil rights agency with its own police force, national welfare standards and unemployment compensation, a Federal code of election laws, and the revision of the entire tax structure.

In continuing its attack on the McCarran Act, the CPUSA reiterates that membership in the Communist Party is a constitutional right and says that the Attorney General should halt the frame-up trials against the Communist Party and have the FBI and his legal staff investigate and prosecute the crime syndicate instead of people's organizations and political parties.

The Negro movement has received much attention by the Party press. The Party claims for itself a pioneering role in the struggle for equal rights for Negroes. Representing the racial issue as a class struggle, the communists theorize that "more and more, the policies and leadership of the overwhelmingly largest class of Negro people, the workers, will emerge as the dominant force in the whole Negro freedom cause." They contend that the achievement of the aims of the "freedom now" program will "lay an indispensable

basis not only for the further social progress of the country, but for its socialist and communist future when U.S. imperialism, with its inevitable breeding of racism, discrimination, wars and insecurity will be no more."

Conspicuous also is the increased space given to activities of religious leaders and organizations. This emphasis is in keeping with the position taken after the issuance of Pope John's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris," when the Party stated that Marxists recognize religious motivations as a social force. One example of this recognition by the communist press was an item headed "Over 15,000 Clerics Back Protest on Vietnam Policy." Participation of various clergymen and church groups in and their support of racial demonstrations received much attention also.

Communists assert that socialism is the remedy for all our economic ills.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, has continued to condemn the foreign policy of the United States and may be expected to do so in the future, particularly in those areas in which there is disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. While endorsing the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence, the Party will undoubtedly encourage further communist activity in Latin America by claiming benefits for the Cuban people since the emergence of Castro.

3. Unemployment has provided the communists with an opportunity for a propaganda campaign designed to show that socialism is superior to capitalism. While insisting that increased trade with socialist countries would provide more jobs, they assert that socialism is the only cure for automation.
4. For years, the Party has represented itself as the champion of the rights of Negroes. It will continue to exploit the civil rights issue, emphasize its participation in the Negro movement, and take credit for any benefits derived therefrom.
5. The repeal of the McCarran Act remains an objective of the Communist Party, USA.
6. The communists continue to say that the balance has tipped against the forces of imperialism and boast that communism will achieve victory throughout the world.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. A just solution to the situation in South Vietnam calls for the withdrawal of economic, political, and military support to the present military junta or any similar group that tries to seek power.
2. Other countries disagree with the United States on foreign bases and investments, the treatment of Cuba, and the policy in South Vietnam. The United States stands disgraced among all the peoples of the world.
3. The United States should lift the blockade of and resume diplomatic relations with Cuba.
4. West Germany plans a war of revenge toward the East, but a Hitlerite Germany first turned its weapons against its benefactors in the West.
5. Revolutionary struggle poses an alternative to the Alliance for Progress and enables Latin-American peoples to become masters of their own future.
6. The Soviet Union is dedicated to peace, but our military strategists, instead of thinking in terms of peace, are projecting a war of conquest by the United States.
7. On the question of peace, the Chinese communists are on the wrong track. They disagree ideologically with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with virtually every other Marxist-Leninist party.
8. Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Withdraw All Aid to South Vietnam

"A DEMAND that the U.S. government pull its troops out of South Vietnam was made this week by the Communist Party of the U.S."

"The atrocities in Vietnam expose the decadence not only of the Diem dictatorship but even more of American imperialism. This follows the pattern... of U.S. imperialism being the force that keeps the most brutal dictators in every continent in power to oppress and exploit ...."

The Worker,  
September 15, 1963, p. 3.

"A just solution to the situation in South Vietnam calls for the immediate withdrawal of economic, political and military support to the present military junta and similar cliques that may attempt to seek power. It also demands withdrawal of the 25,000 U.S. military and civilian personnel, who are being sacrificed to an unconscionable policy of imperialism...."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 3.

"... We cannot continue the dangerous policy of our military presence and political trespassing in the internal affairs of Viet Nam without fanning the coals of armed conflict to the menace of world peace."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1963, p. 1.

2. Opposition to U. S. Policies Evident Everywhere

"A big difference exists between the excommunication pronounced upon Cuba by our State Department, and the reality. Havana has not been exorcized from the community of mankind. Far from it."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, p. 5.

"... Opposition to U. S. bases and investments grows everywhere, even in Western Europe. Strengthened world peace forces may lead to international agreements including reduction of foreign bases."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1963, p. 5.

"... Afraid that the peoples of the various nations making up Indo-China would really achieve independence and freedom from Western imperialism and might therefore ally themselves with the forces of peace and socialism led by the Soviet Union, Acheson and his successor under President Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles, pushed the U. S. into an alliance with the bloodthirsty French colonialists to suppress the peoples of Indo-China. And when that could not keep the people from achieving independence, Washington sought friends among the most-hated elements in the new countries like Laos and South Vietnam, putting them in power and keeping them in power by terror and starvation.

"The actions of these dictators, directed by the Pentagon and the State Department, have debased the U. S. morally, drained it financially and disgraced it among the peoples of the world...."

The Worker,  
September 1, 1963, p. 6.



"The attempt to use the suffering of the Cuban people for Washington's aims is backfiring. Aid is coming to Havana from every part of the world. Even the British government is sending a ship with medicine and other supplies."

The Worker,  
October 27, 1963, p. 1.

3. Lift Blockade; Resume Diplomatic Relations with Cuba

"Earlier this year, the Cuban government, despite years of harassment from Washington, made sincere efforts to re-establish normal relations with Washington. But the Kennedy administration rebuffed these moves and instead reiterated its stubborn opposition to a socialist Cuba.

"...Washington's shameful anti-Cuba policy has done nothing but create distrust, fear and enmity among the peoples of the Latin American countries, who are themselves seeking freedom and economic security."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1963, p. 3.

"...the democratic traditions of the U.S., as well as the tenets of international law, also call for the renewal of ties with Cuba, this time as truly friendly neighbors, instead of as imperialist master and colonial slave."

The Worker,  
October 27, 1963, p. 3.

"THE BRUTAL and cynical rejection by the State Department last week of the Cuban government's appeal for Washington to lift its economic blockade of that island republic is dramatic witness to the charge by the Cubans that the earlier U.S. Red Cross 'offer' of disaster aid was 'hypocritical.' "

The Worker,  
October 29, 1963, p. 2.

"The irrational and unjust policy the government has been pursuing in reference to Cuba must be displaced by a policy of restoration of normal diplomatic and trade relations and the peaceful negotiation of all disputed questions...."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1963, p. 1.

#### 4. West Germany Plans War of Revenge

"The cause for the alarm of the neo-Nazis and West German monopolists is that agreement to halt the cold war would throw a monkey wrench in their plans for a war of revenge and conquest toward the East."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, p. 2.

"...a nuclear weapons menace grow hourly. And for those who complacently believe that this is aimed only at the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, it would be healthy to recall that a Hitlerite Germany, rearmed to destroy communism turned its weapons first against its benefactors in the West."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1963, p. 2.

"The West German monopolists and neo-Nazis have not abandoned their long-held ambitions to conquer the world. Former Chancellor Adenauer made this clear only the other day, when with brutal frankness he called for starving the Soviet Union into surrender to Western imperialism...."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 11.

5. Revolution Alternative to Alliance for Progress

"... Cuba has posed a new alternative for the impoverished masses: revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation as against the Alliance for Progress anti-revolutionary program designed to reinforce the foreign and domestic causes of mass misery while providing limited symptomatic relief of pain. ... Cuba has proved in practice what previously existed only in theory: that revolutionary anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle can enable the Latin American peoples to become masters of their own future. ..."

R. E. Stone, "The Revolution in Cuba,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1963, pp. 64-65.

6. Soviet Union Wants Peace; U.S. Military Projects War

"...like their West German military brothers, the top U.S. military brass are alarmed not merely because of the immediate effects of a test ban pact; they are afraid that the pact may lead to a lessening of international tensions and a diminution of the cold war. These military strategists are not thinking in terms of peace or even defensive war; they are projecting an aggressive war of conquest by the U.S."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, pp. 2, 10.

"It is...to the everlasting credit of the Soviet Union--a proof once again of its unswerving dedication to peace--that it was the land of socialism which broke the deadlock. Recognizing the impossibility, at this moment, of achieving the prohibition of all testing, it agreed to negotiations for a partial test ban. ..."

"The Moscow Test-Ban Treaty,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1963, p. 2.

7. Chinese Communists in Basic Opposition to Virtually All Other Marxist-Leninist Parties

"...The Chinese government leaders...are ready to destroy the unity of the peace and socialist forces throughout the world to block any steps taken toward peaceful coexistence."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1963, p. 2.

"The Chinese Communists are unfortunately on the wrong track. They have characterized the struggles of the world peace movement as pacifism...."

"The Moscow Test-Ban Treaty,"  
Political Affairs,  
September, 1963, p. 10.

"The ideological dispute within the world Communist movement has now erupted into open conflict. The Communist Party of China has unreservedly placed itself in direct, basic opposition to the ideological line adhered to by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by virtually every other Marxist-Leninist party throughout the world."

"On the Ideological Position of  
the Communist Party of China,"  
Political Affairs,  
October, 1963, p. 1.

8. Communist China Should Be Admitted to UN

"As the Czechoslovak and Ukrainian delegates told the UN Thursday in their eloquent bids for the Assembly to accept People's China, Washington had shown its awareness of its world responsibility earlier by

joining with the USSR to sponsor a ban on the introduction into space of nuclear weapons. But, as they said, the U.S. government then negates this when it endangers the possibility of further steps on the road to peace by barring People's China from negotiations on basic world questions."

The Worker,  
October 22, 1963, p. 2.

"...there is the matter of bringing our China policy into alignment with reality by supporting the restoration of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and establishing normal diplomatic relations with her in the interest of furthering world peace and negotiating settlement of outstanding conflicts for mutual advantage and advanced national self interest."

The Worker,  
December 3, 1963, p. 1.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. The assassination of President Kennedy was a plan carried out by the fascist-minded forces of the political ultraright and the segregationists.
2. The Attorney General and the FBI should investigate and prosecute the crime syndicate, not the Communist Party and other people's groups.
3. The aims of the "freedom now" program answer the pressing needs of the Negro people and of the Nation. The achievement of this program will lay a basis not only for the further social progress of the country but also for its socialist and communist future.
4. A realignment of political forces is essential to the success of social progress. All prodemocratic elements must unite to bring to the fore the most liberal and progressive elements.
5. Trade with socialist countries would provide additional jobs for American workers.
6. Under socialism, the United States will play a role second to none in the Space Age.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Assassination of President Kennedy by Ultraright and Segregationists

"We...declare that the murder of the President only serves the purpose of those who seek to destroy democracy, those who seek to throw this country into terror and fascist reaction.

" 'This act could only be the work of a mentally deranged person or the deliberate deed of an enemy of democracy, an agent of the ultra-right advocates of violence.' "

The Worker,  
November 26, 1963, p. 8.

"President John F. Kennedy was martyred by the bullet of a craven gunman. But it was more than the life of the President that the murderer had in his sights. The progress of the nation and the freedom of our people were his target.

"We do not think that this unspeakable crime was the work of the fevered brain of some madman. We think it was the long deliberated and planned-for deed of the fascist-minded forces of the political ultra-Right and the Segregationists with their vested interests in maintaining the racist oppression of Negroes at any cost.

"The murder of President Kennedy was the extension into action of the advertised conspiracy of the anti-Negro race haters, the war mongers and plotters against every step which would lead toward world peace."

The Worker,  
December 1, 1963, p. 3.

2. Crime Syndicate, not Communist Party, Logical Concern of Attorney General and FBI

"The only ultimate way to eradicate crime and its profits is to abolish the system of exploitation. But this does not mean that it is not possible to do many things now to curb the crime monopoly.

"In the first place, Attorney General Kennedy could order the FBI to remove its stool-pigeons and agents-provocateurs from the unions, the NAACP, people's organizations and political parties and put all its resources to work ferreting out the evidence against the crime syndicate. And he could halt all the frameup trials against the Communist Party and other people's groups and their members and get his whole legal staff busy prosecuting the criminals."

The Worker,  
October 13, 1963, p. 3.

3. " Freedom Now " Program -- Social Progress and Communist Future

"... Communists believe that the 'freedom now' aims of the program answer the pressing democratic needs of the Negro people and of the nation in serious crisis; and Communists hold that this is the central domestic issue before the country. At the same time Communists believe the achievement of this program will lay an indispensable basis not only for the further social progress of the country, but for its socialist and communist future when U.S. imperialism, with its inevitable breeding of racism, discrimination, wars and insecurity will be no more...."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Time Is Now!"  
Political Affairs, August, 1963, p. 30.

"... TRIBUTE to Benjamin J. Davis... issued by the Communist Party on the occasion of his 60th birthday."

"Your fight for the unity of labor and the Negro people, so decisive to the cause of peace and freedom, is an example to be followed by all. You have seen in the struggles of your people the essential link to the cause of peace and of true internationalism."

"Long life to Comrade Ben. May you have many more years and live to see the fruition of your struggles, the realization of a Socialist America."

The Worker,  
September 8, 1963, p. 3.

"... The test ban treaty has given great hope for a further reduction in world tensions, an easing of the cold war and the removal of the threat of nuclear war for all mankind."



" 'This, when related to the great Negro Freedom movement sweeping the country opens up the perspective of a great surge forward for jobs, a shorter work week, complete equality, an extension and revitalization of democratic processes, a reduction in armament and a consolidation of peace between the two contending social systems based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.' "

The Worker,  
October 20, 1963, p. 3.

4. Realignment of Political Forces Essential

"...the NAACP... At this convention... declared that the 'failure of a Senator to vote for cloture to stop a filibuster, would be construed as a vote against civil rights,' and it pledged to actively campaign 'to defeat' such Senators.

"This opens the way for the NAACP to become a more powerful and effective political force, without at all violating its non-partisan posture, and--if one may be permitted--it arouses hopes of a grass-roots Negro-labor-peoples coalition which could rout the ultra-Right in the 1964 elections all down the line."

The Worker,  
August 4, 1963, p. 3.

"...a foundation must be laid for a fundamental realignment of political forces in the country. This is essential to success of the freedom struggle and all other social progress."

"...labor and all pro-democratic elements must unite to effect changes within the framework of the Democratic Party in the North (and in some places in the Republican Party), bringing to the fore the most liberal and progressive elements, while making it politically unprofitable for them to appease and compromise with the Dixiecrat elements."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1963, pp. 6, 7.

"...The truth is that both Rockefeller and Nixon reflect in 'milder' form most of the basic views of a Goldwater. They are subject to the pressure of the ultra-Rightists and Dixiecrats whose votes and activity they need for the 1964 campaign.

"...There is, of course, not yet a realistic outlook of an truly independent political party--a party of labor, farmers and the Negro people--in the near future."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 8.

"THE NEGRO VOTERS played a major and, in some places, a decisive role in determining the outcome in the elections. Where Negro candidates ran, either as major party candidates, or as independents, they showed remarkable strength.

"The results should serve as a lesson to all parties and especially to labor and the liberal forces. Only by joining in common action with the Negro people, by putting forward Negro candidates in all areas and not only in the Negro ghettos, by fighting actively for equal rights, equal opportunity, and full citizenship for the Negro people, can the main forces of reaction, the Dixiecrats, and the ultra-Right wing of the Republican Party be defeated. Only thus can there be a successful struggle, in Congress, and outside the legislative halls, for a program and policies in the interest of labor and all of the common people."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 3.

5. Trade with Socialist Countries Would Benefit Workers

"...ending the Cold War would open the doors to trade with the socialist countries, which offer a large market for American goods that would provide many additional jobs for American workers...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation," Political Affairs,  
July, 1963, p. 17.

"...an effective job program will...require a new look at trade with the socialist countries--the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, etc."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 9.

"The National Maritime Union, instead of supporting shipowners subsidies and cold war embargoes, could really help restore jobs to tens of thousands of seamen by encouraging maximum trade with the socialist countries at competitive rates, achieved through government ownership and operation of the industry.

"The taxpayers have bought the U.S. shipping industry several times over. They are entitled to own it and get its benefits."

The Worker,  
November 24, 1963, p. 5.

6. Socialism Will Give U.S. Role Second to None in Space Age

"...the need grows daily to organize the unemployed and to unite all workers, employed and unemployed, in a common struggle. In particular, it is essential to organize the growing mass of unemployed youth..."

"...it is of paramount importance to integrate labor's fight for jobs with the heroic battles being waged by the Negro people..."

"It is in striving to direct the course of struggle into these channels that the task of the Left, and particularly of Communists, lies. Through this line of action, substantial gains can be won in the fight for jobs and economic welfare. More, the organization of militant mass struggles for these ends will help pave the way for the struggle for a socialist America in which unemployment and economic crisis will be forever abolished."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation," Political Affairs,  
July, 1963, pp. 17 - 18.

"...Socialism will give the entire American working class the opportunity for the higher education which, combined with these traditional talents and energy, can give our country a role second to none in the Space Age, and its people happiness in the Era of Automation."

The Worker,  
October 13, 1963, p. 5.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. There is little chance of reducing unemployment unless labor's demand for the shorter work week is won.
2. The right to strike is the most democratic weapon of the working class and should not be taken away by threats of compulsory arbitration.
3. A massive program of public works is needed to relieve unemployment.
4. Labor's fight for jobs must be integrated with and comparable to the current Freedom Struggle of the Negro people. The militant spirit of the Civil Rights Revolution combined with the fighting traditions of labor in the '30s could transform the entire labor movement.
5. Socialism is the only cure for automation.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Shorter Work Week Key Demand for More Jobs

"... Unless the movement for the 35-hour week becomes the unifying objective and passes from the propaganda stage to ACTION on a national scale, both in Congress and the major industries, there is little chance of spreading employment."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 6.

"... The key demand for more jobs is the shorter work week, the demand for the 35 or 30, or even 20 hour week in many industries without a cut in weekly pay. The 25 hour week would take care of the discrimination and automation crisis."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, p. 8.

"... we regard the fight for the 30-35 hour week, without reduction in weekly pay, and the abolition of overtime, as a multi-million job creator, and a basic objective of American labor today."

Victor Perlo, "Can Budget Deficits  
Revive American Capitalism,"  
Political Affairs, December, 1963, p. 56.

## 2. Right To Strike Is Labor's Most Democratic Weapon

"The most effective and democratic weapon of the working class is the hard-won right to strike.

"Compulsory arbitration is a fancy phrase which simply means eliminating the right to strike."

"The right to strike is not a showpiece to be dusted off for display when we boast of our democracy. Workers cannot be told that they have the right to strike, the right to withdraw their labor, and every time they want to exercise the right, they are threatened with compulsory arbitration...."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 4.

3. Massive Program of Public Works Necessary

"...on the basis of the President's own description in his Chicago speech of the serious emergency employment situation, the country's program for jobs must be put on an emergency basis. It needs to be done in the spirit of the early New Deal measures that gave work to millions. But this has to be matched to present conditions, to fill the long unmet needs of the people. It is the major area where Negroes and youth can be assured MANY jobs--if the program is BIG ENOUGH."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 6.

"A massive program of public works and government jobs is needed, especially in construction of every kind, and the development and use of the country's resources. Transfer half of the war budget from war to peace projects and a mass program would result. This meets the needs of the people and makes it possible to cut taxes on low income groups...."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, p. 8.

"...Only a works program of MANY billions can both make an impression on the economy and provide conditions for an appreciable number of new jobs."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 8.

4. Grass-Roots Campaign Needed To Unite All Workers--White and Negro--Employed and Unemployed

"...it is of paramount importance to integrate labor's fight for jobs with the heroic battles being waged by the Negro people to end Jim Crow everywhere...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation," Political Affairs,  
July, 1963, pp. 17-18.

"Unless the labor movement sets into motion a grass roots campaign somewhat on a scale and in a spirit comparable to the current Freedom Struggle of the Negro people, for a job-making program of MANY BILLIONS, there will be no real hope for the long term unemployed and millions of newcomers to the labor force."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 6.

"...the need grows daily to organize the unemployed and to unite all workers, employed and unemployed, in a common struggle. In particular, it is essential to organize the growing mass of unemployed youth and to conduct a campaign for a special program of jobs and training for youth."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation," Political Affairs,  
July, 1963, p. 17.

"The right to limit class size.

"Teachers have longed for these rights.

"But the N.Y. teachers have shown them: HOW THESE RIGHTS CAN BE WON.

"The N.Y. teachers borrowed from the militant spirit of the Civil Rights Revolution as well as revived some of the fighting traditions of labor in the '30's.

"It was an irresistible combination.

"It's a combination that can transform the entire labor movement."

The Worker,  
September 15, 1963, p. 12.

"...If the decision of the AFL-CIO to push for the 35-hour week means anything, the issue has to be developed with a vigor that matches the movement of the Negro people for freedom and jobs."

The Worker,  
October 15, 1963, p. 2.

5. Socialism Only Cure for Automation

"In the U.S., the factories are not operating at full capacity, millions now unemployed have no hope of a job in the future, and many millions more look to the future with dread, because automation threatens their jobs. But in Cuba, the workers wait eagerly for new factories to be built, and for automation to be installed, so they can produce goods for the use of their country's people."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, pp. 2, 7.

"The people do not learn only from books, Their school is on life's battlefield. It is a bitter lesson they learn today, that the profiteering corporations are anxious to throw millions of American families on the garbage dump. Just for the dollar!

"In their struggle to defend their lives from automation the people will doubtless learn too, that the only cure is socialism."

The Worker,  
August 4, 1963, p. 9.



#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Technological advances in agriculture have done the same thing to the small farmer that automation has done to the industrial worker.
2. Millions of U.S. farmers have been thrown off the land, while peasants in Cuba are now tilling the land for their own use.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Small Farmers' Fate Similar to Industrial Workers'

"The war for the West European market is only a reflection of the fundamental crisis in the capitalist world and, in particular, between the family farm, the family farmer, and the farm family, on the one hand, and the technological revolution, on the other hand. This contradiction, has now reached, in the U.S., an unprecedented pitch. The elimination of small farmers in the U.S. and to a less degree in West Europe, is at a pace never before experienced."

. . . . .

"The refugees from agricultural technological advance are now thrust onto the same heap as the victims of industrial automation."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1963, p. 7.

##### 2. Millions of Farmers Evicted in U.S.; Owners Evicted in Cuba

"While in the U.S. millions of farmers are being thrown off the land, in the New Cuba the peasants have evicted the bloated plantation owners and are tilling the land for their own and the people's use."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 2.

V. COLONIALISM -- The Communist Party Line

1. Nations and peoples insist upon their right to work out their own destiny. The balance has tipped against the forces of imperialism, and it no longer has the power it had in years past.
2. The socialist sector of the world is now powerful enough to rebuff imperialism.
3. The U.S. exports counterrevolution all over the world; the policy in South Vietnam is an example.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Imperialism Cannot Contain Liberation Movement

"Nations, peoples, today insist upon their right to work out their own destiny, to choose the way of life they prefer--and nothing can deter them. That is the rock-bottom reality in this latter half of the Twentieth Century, and a lot of grief and troubles could be avoided, if that were finally recognized in all the high places of our government."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, p. 5.

"We say, however, that the balance has now tipped against the forces of imperialism, that imperialism no longer possesses the power that it had in years past....

"The change is demonstrated especially by the fact that imperialism is no longer able to contain the national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent countries, that in its aggressive acts the tide has turned

increasingly against it, and that a large and growing number of these countries have been able to win their independence in a relatively peaceful manner in recent years...."

"The Ideological Struggle in the American Left," Political Affairs, August, 1963, p. 8.

" 'Puerto Rico will be free and independent. American imperialism will not be able to permanently deny the right to the people to determine their own destiny. Imperialism is now no longer in the saddle. Its great colonial empires crumble under the blows of great anti-colonial and socialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. Scores of former colonial peoples are now rising as new independent nations. This new balance of world forces provides powerful strength and support to those remaining nations who press for independence and an end to colonial exploitation.'"

The Worker,  
October 1, 1963, p. 1.

## 2. Socialist Power Can Rebuff Imperialism

"...the struggles of the colonial and dependent nations have been taking place within the framework of the emergence of a socialist sector of the world powerful enough to rebuff imperialism."

"The Ideological Struggle in the American Left," Political Affairs, August, 1963, p. 8.

"THE MILITANT advance of the American Negroes to secure their rights as free and equal citizens is undoubtedly a part of the general world-wide rising of the un-free and colonial peoples to break out of imperialist bondage."

"This global revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination on the part of the world's un-free peoples stands on the shoulders of, and was

made possible by, the great victories of the world working class in doing away with the reign of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the working people, of socialism, the Soviet Union and other countries which contain a third of the world's population and account for almost a half of the world's economic production."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, pp. 6-7.

"The Soviet Union has made its military and nuclear power a shield of protection for other socialist countries and for the newly-liberated countries whenever these have been threatened with imperialist attack. This shield of protection has provided a powerful stimulus to the struggle against colonial oppression."

Gus Hall, "Objective Conditions  
and the Work of the Party,"  
Political Affairs, December, 1963, pp. 5-6.

3. Policy in Vietnam Example of U.S. Counterrevolution

"U.S. POLICY in Vietnam is by no means unique. It is but the latest example of the general cold-war policy of exporting counter-revolution all over the world--in Taiwan, Iran, Korea, Guatemala, Cuba and other places. It is a policy of intervention in the affairs of other countries, of imposition of oppression in the name of 'freedom.'..."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 1.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. The United States is among the most backward of the major capitalist countries in the field of social welfare, but for years Congress has refused to provide for even modest medical care for the aged.
2. A massive program of public works is needed.
3. Crises in our cities require consideration of a federally supported national educational system, a federally subsidized housing program and transit system, a national civil rights agency with its own police force, national welfare standards and unemployment compensation, a Federal code of election laws, and revision of the entire tax structure.
4. A powerful united struggle, uniting the labor movement, the Negro people's movement, and other liberal and progressive forces, can and must compel Congress to act.
5. The McCarran Act violates the Constitution; membership in the Communist Party is a constitutional right.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U.S. Backward in Social Welfare

"...The government should take steps for the adoption of the AFL-CIO demand for the 35-hour week without reduction in pay, and for the reduction of the retirement age to 60 and the increase of retirement benefits to enable workers to retire with dignity and economic security."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 3.

"...Forty-six percent of the families of the United States are on incomes below what the U.S. Department of Labor regards as needed for a 'modest but adequate' standard. It is this nearly-half of the population, including almost all the Negro people, that feels most seriously America's stagnation on social legislation, and refusal by Congress for years to enact even a modest medical aid for the aged...."

"Serious medical expenses for such families are a disaster. It is this lower-incomed half of the population that feels most seriously the fact that the U.S. is among the most backward of the major capitalist countries on social welfare laws, not to speak, of course, of comparison with the far more advanced socialist lands...."

The Worker,  
August 4, 1963, p. 9.

"OUR CONCLUSIONS add up to a program of objectives of labor in the period ahead that includes:"

"...new social legislation: a vigorous grass-roots movement and renewed drive for new social laws--a comprehensive cradle-to-the-grave Federal insurance system; a youth employment opportunities program of a magnitude equal to the actual problem; a minimum wage substantial enough to lift the standards of the mass of low-incomed people."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1963, p. 9.

"The Soviet trade unions also have supervision over the entire social insurance system of the USSR that paid out a total of 100 BILLION rubles the last four years for pensions, sick, vacation, widow, mother and child and such benefits. It is the most comprehensive welfare system the world has ever known. But we are still crying and campaigning for medical aid for the aged."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 5.

2. National Works Program Needed

"This historic march. . .

"... can insist that President Kennedy act in the spirit of FDR when he faced a crisis during the Great Depression of the '30's.

"FDR fought for and secured a great national works program.

"President Kennedy should do the same now."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1963, p. 2.

"A massive program of public works and government jobs is needed, especially in construction of every kind, and the development and use of the country's resources. Transfer half of the war budget from war to peace projects and a mass program would result. This meets the needs of the people and makes it possible to cut taxes on low income groups...."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, p. 8.

"... More jobs require a shorter work week and an earlier retirement, but at a living retirement pension. It requires a government

initiated building program of a scale unknown before--to wipe out our city slums but without creating even larger new ones... And an effective job program will also require a new look at trade with the socialist countries--the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, etc."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 9.

3. Basic Reforms Needed in Outmoded Political Structure

"...the crisis of our cities... does pose the need for basic reforms in the outmoded political structure....

"Among some aspects that should be given consideration are:

"1. A federally supported national educational system providing free, fully integrated schooling everywhere on a uniformly high level, including college and technical education.

"2. A massive, federally subsidized housing program which would provide fully integrated low and middle-income housing everywhere at reasonable rents, a federal-state program to end ghettoization in housing.

"3. A federally subsidized transit system that would provide quick, cheap and comfortable transportation at low fares.

"4. A national civil rights agency with its own police force that can intervene to enforce the Constitution and civil rights laws.

"5. National uniform welfare standards based on health and decency requirements.

"6. A uniform national system of unemployment compensation not less than two-thirds of weekly wages for the entire period of unemployment.

"7. Revision of the entire tax structure at all levels to reduce the load on low-income earners and to provide for more adequate resources to the cities.



"8. A federal code of election laws that will remove all restrictions on voting rights, promote proportional representation and eliminate legal obstacles preventing minority parties from getting on the ballot."

Mike Davidow, "Civil Rights and the Crisis in Our Cities," Political Affairs, November, 1963, pp. 49-50.

4. United People's Movement Essential To Force Congress To Act

"In place of the present tragic situation where Negro workers are compelled to picket union construction sites for jobs, there can arise a powerful united struggle to compel Congress and the Kennedy Administration to provide a huge national public works program to build much needed schools, hospitals, homes...."

The Worker,  
July 30, 1963, p. 8.

"THE FATE of the President's tax bill, like the fate of the civil rights bill, is uncertain. In both cases, an assault from the ultra-Right forces, retreat on the part of the Kennedy administration and insufficient activity on the part of the labor movement are key factors in creating this situation...."

. . . . .

"A people's movement uniting the labor movement, the Negro people's movement and other liberal and progressive forces can and must compel Congress to act on both issues in this session of Congress."

The Worker,  
November 3, 1963, p. 3.

"Why not a March on Washington for jobs, the statutory 35-hour week, for medicare, for a long needed revision of the unemployment compensation system?"

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 8.

5. McCarran Act a Violation of Constitution

"...the membership registration provisions in the McCarran Act violate the First Amendment...they serve no governmental purpose and abridge freedom of belief, conscience and association."

"...the registration order 'is a compulsion to the defendant to incriminate himself,' and...if he registered he would be liable for prosecution under the Smith Act which makes it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party."

"...membership in the Communist Party is a constitutional right."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1963, p. 3.

"...the Court of Appeals reaffirms the validity of the constitution and the Bill of Rights...because the very premise of the McCarran Act destroys the main pillars of the Bill of Rights. It is the only law that convicts and sentences to long prison terms without evidence, without a trial of any kind...."

The Worker,  
December 22, 1963, p. 1.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. More than a hundred American soldiers have died in support of a brutal dictatorship in South Vietnam.
2. United States soldiers are killing and being killed in a shameful intervention against the revolutionary patriots in South Vietnam, but our Government refuses to send soldiers to safeguard the "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" of the Negro citizens of Alabama and Mississippi.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Soldiers Die in Support of Brutal Dictatorship

"...overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in South Vietnam..."

"...coup took place after nine years of White House support of the brutal Diem dictatorship, the expenditure of \$2.5 billion dollars taken from the American people in taxes, and the deaths of more than 100 American soldiers."

The Worker,  
November 5, 1963, p. 1.

"FOR THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, the U.S. government has been engaged in a virtual war of annihilation against the people of South Vietnam..."

"All this has been carried on with American funds, American military equipment, and the participation of American armed forces in the guise of 'military advisers.'..."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 1.

2. Soldiers Sent against Patriots in South Vietnam; None To Protect  
Negro Citizens in Alabama and Mississippi

"Without the sanction of law, in Viet Nam, some 6,000 miles across the world, U.S. soldiers are killing and being killed in a shameful intervention against the revolutionary patriots who have risen against the tyrannical Nhu regime; while in our own country--in Alabama and Mississippi--Negro citizens, among them four little girls, are murdered at the hands of racist bombers and Negro-hating cops and the Government refuses to send soldiers to safeguard their natural and Constitutional rights to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' "

The Worker,  
September 24, 1963, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. Communists have played a pioneering role in the struggle for freedom and equal rights for Negroes.
2. Malcolm X, the Negro Muslim, is not a leader of the Negro people. He is an opponent of their progress and agent of their enemy.
3. Full equality will be accomplished only in a socialist society. Neither anti-Semitism nor any other form of racism exists in the Soviet Union. In the new Cuba, the Negro people have achieved full equality.
4. The State of Alabama should be declared a Federal territory, and Federal occupational authority should be established.
5. A disproportionately high number of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans are among the most impoverished sections of the population.
6. The fight for Negro freedom holds the key to all other struggles. More and more the policies and leadership of the largest class of Negro peoples, the workers, will emerge as the dominant force in the whole Negro freedom cause. As victories are achieved, the "steel cogs of the Negro freedom movement mesh more and more with the gears of the historic class struggle of the working poor against the exploitation system and the power structure of capitalism itself."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communists Pioneers in Equal Rights Struggle

"The selfless, and often pioneering role, of the Communists in the struggle for the freedom and equal rights of the Negro people is unmatched

by the members of any other political party in American life. The Communists, Negro and white, set a standard of leadership and service in the fight for the just rights of the Negro people that is only now being matched by numerous other forces and organizations."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, p. 3.

"THE TACTIC OF direct action, now adopted by countless civil rights, trade union and peoples organizations, was dramatically pioneered in modern-day America by the Communist Party, in a period when it alone, other than the Negro people themselves, fought for the slogan, 'Jimcrow must go!' In this epoch, this tactic has become universal; it has nothing to do with so-called 'Communist domination'...it is a rule of social advance, adhered to by organizations with varying degrees of differences with the Communist Party all the way to hysterical opposition to it."

The Worker,  
August 4, 1963, p. 3.

## 2. Malcolm X Opponent of Negro Progress; Agent of Enemy

"THE MUSLIM organization, in general, and Malcolm X, in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement, with the strategic assignment to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organization energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement, and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses."

"In sum, the Muslims in general, and Malcom X in particular are militant defenders of segregation and the isolation of Negroes from the life of the nation...."

"Malcolm X in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people, he is an agent of their enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress...."

The Worker,  
July 7, 1963, p. 11.

### 3. Full Equality Exists in Communist Countries

"In our country, the Negro people are finally wresting equality for themselves in a bitter struggle with the white supremacists. In the new Cuba, the Negro people have achieved full equality as a full partner in the socialist republic..."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1963, p. 2.

"... Full equality will only be accomplished in a full sense in a socialist society..."

"Communists... will make their maximum possible contribution, as they have done through several decades, from Scottsboro through Montgomery to Birmingham, and finally toward a socialist America."

The Worker,  
August 18, 1963, p. 8.

"... Anti-semitism and any other form of racism are... a legal crime as stipulated in the Soviet Constitution...."

"In short, they have won their complete human rights, after all the woeful ages of slavery and persecution and subhuman status, plus the bitter experience of being described by a stereotype, false image. Never again for the Soviet Jew."

The Worker,  
September 29, 1963, p. 7.

"In viewing the progress of the Soviet people, we are today especially heartened by the example of the fullest equality enjoyed by the 225 million Soviet citizens embracing so many nationalities and ethnic backgrounds, of different levels of development and culture at the time of the October Revolution. For in this we have a living example of what we can do to put an end to the denial of full citizenship and equality to our 20 million Negro brothers and sisters."

The Worker,  
November 3, 1963, p. 3.

4. Alabama Should Be Made a Federal Territory

"WE DEMAND... an immediate Executive Order defining the role of the State government of Alabama as that of being in a state of insurrection against the constituted law of the land and in violation of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights... the establishment of Federal occupational authority throughout the State of Alabama; that the State of Alabama be declared a Federal territory until such time as genuinely free elections can be held in conformity with the norms of citizens rights under the U.S. Constitution."

The Worker,  
September 17, 1963, p. 1.

"EVENTS LAST WEEK In Birmingham Ala., Cambridge, Md., and Orangeburg, S. C., showed dramatically the urgency of federal intervention with troops and other law enforcement personnel to protect the lives and property of Negro citizens in the Southern states from the white-supremacists and to make possible the exercise of constitutional rights."

"UNLESS THE KENNEDY administration moves in immediately with Federal troops and other law enforcement agencies, it will put itself into



the shameful position of condoning the murders, the dynamiting, the pillaging by the white supremacist criminals, and the persecution of the Negro people by the racists."

The Worker,  
October 6, 1963, p. 3.

5. Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican People Most Impoverished

"THE UPSURGE of the Negro communities across the nation is also drawing attention to the plight of the most impoverished sections of the population, millions of whom are in what Secretary of Labor Wirtz has called the 'human slag heap.' Of these, 8,000,000 are on one or another form of public welfare. This steadily rising 'slag heap' is made up of a disproportionately high number of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican people...."

The Worker,  
August 4, 1963, p. 9.

6. Freedom Movement More and More a Class Struggle

"The key to the future, in fighting both for peace and civil rights, clearly lies in the strengthening and advancement of the mass movements and struggles. In fact, both the possibility and the need of setting masses in motion now exist as never before. In this connection, the fight for Negro freedom has become the focal point, which at this juncture holds the key to all other struggles, including the fight for peace. What is demanded, therefore, is that all progressive and Left forces, and especially all Communists, throw themselves fully into the battles which lie ahead on this front."

"Peace and Civil Rights,"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1963, pp. 6-7.

"...As the blinders of racial prejudice are removed from the eyes of the nation, it will be evident that the overwhelming mass of the Negro

people are to be found in the working class stratum of the population, the class which is historically destined to lead the nation into a new age of abundance and genuine democratic realization--socialism."

"More and more, the policies and leadership of the overwhelmingly largest class of Negro people, the workers, will emerge as the dominant force in the whole Negro freedom cause. As basic victories are achieved against racist barriers, the steel cogs of the Negro freedom movement mesh more and more with the gears of the historic class struggle of the working poor against the exploitation system and the power structure of capitalism itself."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, p. 11.

"...Benjamin J. Davis, Communist Party spokesman, addressed a meeting of students, at City College last week."

"'We are in the midst of a revolution,' he declared, 'which is part of a worldwide peoples' movement of the oppressed and colonially oppressed, for human dignity and freedom. We live in an epoch of transition of capitalism to socialism, including the struggles of Negro Americans to pass from a status of indignity and second class citizenship to first class citizenship and dignity.'

"...The Negro people's liberation movement in the U.S. 'is a social revolution, although not a socialist revolution,' Davis declared. 'It is an aggressive revolution, but not a civil war or military insurrection,' he continued.

"'It is a revolution designed to overthrow the jimcrow system but not bourgeois capitalism....'

"'Through the process of life itself,' Davis added, 'this revolution which is directed against a racist class of Dixiecrats and plantation owners

is more and more turning against state monopoly capitalism, the last stage of imperialism.' "

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 3.

"...the freedom struggle of the Negro people is a specialized part of the general struggle of the working class against deprivation and class exploitation and oppression."\*

"...Above all, the levelling of the color bar in industry and political life will make it possible for our working class to achieve a new quality of class unity wherein Negro worker will stand to white worker as brother to brother, and the class will be enabled to give its undivided attention to its true class enemy, the monopolists."

James E. Jackson, "Democratic Uprising of the American Negroes," Political Affairs, November, 1963, pp. 19, 20.

"...the attempt to present this movement solely as a conflict between Negro and whites reduces this titanic and historical movement to one of biology and hides its social and economic essence...."

Henry Winston, "The Line of March to Freedom Now," Political Affairs, December, 1963, p. 17.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. We should compete with the progress in education made by the socialist countries. Already the race with socialism has stimulated our school system.
2. Each city government should provide a scholarship for any high school student whose family income is below \$1,250 per capita, provided he makes reasonably good grades.
3. The militancy and zeal of the Civil Rights Revolution can infuse a new spirit of determination into the fight for good schools.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Education and Race with Socialism

"The race with socialism has already stimulated the modernization of our school system. If continued, 'the race' can make socialism itself seem necessary to America."

The Worker,  
July 14, 1963, p. 6.

"...in the Soviet Union..."

"There are some 5,000,000 students in the higher institutions of learning. In 1961, a typical year, 120,000 engineers were graduated. About 80 percent get scholarships that take care of all their basic needs.

"These figures are illuminating:

"Enrollment in schools in 1914 was 9,600,000. In 1961 it was 39,000,000.

"I submit that we cannot be satisfied with the lags in our own system of education wherein schools are overcrowded, there is a scarcity of teachers, and dissatisfaction accumulates over deficiencies in curricula.

"I, for one, would like to see us compete in rate of progress with the socialist lands..."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1963, p. 7.

## 2. Why Not High School Stipends?

"...SUGGEST that every city government should provide a scholarship of \$200 per year for each high school student whose family's income is below \$1,250 per capita, so long as he maintains reasonably good marks--say an average of 75 or better."

"I can just hear the reactionaries try to howl this proposal down. They will insist it will pamper the poor, bankrupt the city, and Communize the country."

"...Of course, the Soviet Union pioneered in paying stipends to students. But if it is done here, it will not be the first time American workers won concessions first proposed by Communists, or first carried out by socialist countries."

The Worker,  
September 8, 1963, p. 5.

## 3. Civil Rights Revolution Can Revolutionize School System

"The fight for a good school system can and should unite all. What all should realize, is that the Civil Rihts Revolution can revolutionize

our school system. The militancy, and crusading zeal of this dynamic movement can infuse a new spirit of determination, unity and confidence into the fight for good schools."

The Worker,  
July 2, 1963, p. 8.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. The Soviet Union publishes more books than any other nation; illiteracy has been virtually wiped out.
2. Television is a wonder, but is misused in our country.
3. The Soviet Union trains three times more scientists than does our own country. We should do more about that fact.
4. Religious motivations are a "social force."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. More Books Published in Soviet Union

"IT IS generally known that illiteracy has virtually been wiped out in the Soviet Union, even among peoples who formerly had no written language.

"The fact is that more books are published in the Soviet Union than in any other land of the world. That more copies of Shakespeare are printed there than in the Bard's own homeland; more volumes of Cervantes than are printed in Spain, and, while we're at it, more copies of Mark Twain are coming off the presses there annually than in Samuel Langhorne Clemens own land."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1963, p. 7.

2. Television a Misused Wonder

"SOPHOCLES, in his choral ode that lists the wonders created by man, would, if he were living today, surely have included the wonder of

television. But he would just as surely have been struck by the mean uses to which this wonder is put. like the sale of soaps and detergents. And by the timidity of some TV critics."

The Worker,  
September 17, 1963, p. 5.

"IT IS A wonderful instrument, in prospect, this art of television, and I only regret that it has fallen into the hands of those who speak to you of Arcadian woods and crystal brooks when they are selling you cancer."

The Worker,  
November 24, 1963, p. 7.

"...after 10 years as a TV critic, I must confess that to my corroded eye and softened brain, even the port-hole of a washing machine in a launderette has begun to look like a TV screen... The new sport of washing your dirty linen in public is at least more useful than gaping at soap operas."

The Worker,  
December 8, 1963, p. 7.

### 3. Soviet Union Leads in Science Training

"The fact is that in science, in engineering, three times more engineers are being graduated annually than in our own country, and as an American I would like to see our own homeland take account of these facts and do something more about it than is being done."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1963, p. 7.



4. Religion a "Social Force"\*

"Council of Churches Urges 40,000 Join The March on Aug. 28"

The Worker,  
July 30, 1963, p. 1.

"Over 15,000 Clerics Back Protest on Vietnam Policy"

The Worker,  
August 20, 1963, p. 8.

"It is time the people of N.Y. refused to accept yearly school crises as the 'normal' state of affairs.

"If the civil rights groups, labor, teachers, parents, church groups would combine their strength as they did in Washington Aug. 28, they have the power to bring these yearly school crises to an end."

The Worker,  
September 10, 1963, p. 2.

"Of particular significance is the ad...by a group of ministers and rabbis. Headed by a picture of a Buddhist priest setting himself on fire in protest against religious persecution, the ad states:

We protest: "We American clergymen of various faiths, also protest.

"1. Our country's military aid to those who denied him religious freedom.

\*"...Marxists at the same time recognize that religious motivations are a social force..." Quotation from Political Affairs, June, 1963, p. 45; quoted in The Communist Party Line, January 1963--June 1963, pp. 52-53.

"2. The immoral spraying of parts of South Vietnam with crop-destroying chemicals and the herding of many of its people into concentration camps called 'strategic hamlets.'

"3. The loss of American lives and billions of dollars to bolster a regime universally regarded as unjust, undemocratic, and unstable.

"4. The fiction that this is 'fighting for freedom.' "

"U.S. Imperialism and Vietnam,"  
Political Affairs,  
November, 1963, p. 7.

"Clerics Urge Congress Vote On Rights Bill"

The Worker,  
December 10, 1963, p. 1.

## XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. The Soviet Union offers women a chance to develop their talents, while the United States offers insult and frustration.
2. The sex scandal reported from the British Empire served to show that dozens of young girls had been turned into sex commodities by the capitalist system.
3. Wall Street supporters and southern employers get billions in unpaid services of domestic workers.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Soviet Women Have Greater Opportunity To Develop Talents

"THE FLIGHT of that beautiful young Soviet girl through a million miles of mysterious space aroused more emotion in America than had any other such event."

. . . . .

"Many a talent, many a spark of human genius, certainly a great Niagara of useful human energy, is sure to be found among the 60 million Russian women. It is equally to be found among the 60 million American women. But the Russians freed from male stupidity by their Marxism are freely developing all that wealth of human power, while we in America hedge it around with insult and frustration."

The Worker,  
July 14, 1963, p. 6.

"The Soviet people not only pioneer in space travel--they are already writing and talking about vacation trips to the moon! And just as

socialism makes it possible for a woman textile worker to pioneer in rocket flight, it provides the masses of the working people with steadily rising living standards today, and tomorrow will provide a more rich, more abundant life to all than the Utopians ever imagined."

The Worker,  
September 29, 1963, p. 5.

"WHAT is happening to America, when American novelists... want to confine women to the kitchen and bedroom?"

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 7.

## 2. Some Girls Made Sex Commodities by Capitalist System

"THIS GREAT sex scandal that has been rocking and rolling what remains of the British Empire has somehow had the quality of a slapstick burlesque."

. . . . .

"THE PAPERS AROUND THE WORLD (except in those 'unfree' Iron Curtained lands) printed millions of words and thousands of lurid details.

"In all the frenzied uproar of their sex merchandizing, these papers, so pious, smug and 'free,' did not once moralize or point out that dozens of young girls had been turned into sex commodities by the capitalist system...."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1963, p. 5.

## 3. Billions Stolen from Unpaid Domestic Workers

"WHY DOES the Wall Street Journal demand the right for its supporters to refuse to live near Negroes, to forbid their children to associate

with those having darker skins, to shut their hotels and restaurants to colored customers?

"Because they are taking the thickest cream off the top of the billions of extra profits sweated out of Negro workers each year, and the added billions of unpaid household services stolen from Negro women. Because they are the main practitioners of economic discrimination."

The Worker,  
July 14, 1963, p. 5.

"... Who gets the wages Negroes lose? Not the white workers, whose wages are lowest in the South where discrimination is worst. The employers get the wages not paid to Negroes, as extra profits or as unpaid services by domestic workers."

The Worker,  
August 25, 1963, p. 5.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. Unemployment has caused young people to increase their activity in social movements.
2. Young people are studying Marx and Marxism as never since the '30s. The time has come for the political development of youth.
3. The need grows daily to unite, in a common struggle, all workers, the employed and the unemployed, particularly the increasing number of unemployed youth.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Unemployment Reflected in Social Movement Activity

"The alarming rate of unemployment among the youth is already reflected in increased activity of young people in social movements, notably for jobs and peace. This may well become another big pressure force upon the labor movement."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1963, p. 9.

"...The outstanding feature of American youth today is a rapidly increasing activity, understanding and interest in social issues!"

John Weiss, "On the Youth Question,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1963, p. 64.

#### 2. Interest in Marxism Increases

"This new mood of youth...refuses to accept anything at face value. It wants to see for itself and decide for itself. It wants nothing handed

down from above. It is critical of every thing and respectful of nothing, but integrity. It's a young generation that will make mistakes, that will tend to oversimplify, that will tend to throw the baby out with the bathwater, but it is a young generation that is on its way, and it's going to get there."

"It is no accident therefore that among thinking people there is a new awareness of the immensity of the problems up ahead and that young people are beginning to study Marx and Marxism as never since the '30s."

The Worker,  
November 10, 1963, p. 9.

"... A group of youth have evinced a desire to proceed with the launching of a new national organization having a scientific socialist quality in its program. We welcome this desire. Many sections of youth have been seeking such an organization. The new upsurge has advanced the time table for the political development of youth.

"In this situation, when many young people have joined our ranks, we can be very helpful in this broader youth movement and must give much more attention to the work and activities of our younger comrades."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1963, p. 9.

### 3. Youth Must Be Organized

"...the need grows daily to organize the unemployed and to unite all workers, employed and unemployed, in a common struggle. In particular, it is essential to organize the growing mass of unemployed youth..."

"It is in striving to direct the course of struggle into these channels that the task of the Left, and particularly of Communists, lies.

Through this line of action, substantial gains can be won in the fight for jobs and economic welfare. More, the organization of militant mass struggles for these ends will help pave the way for the struggle for a socialist America in which unemployment and economic crisis will be forever abolished."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation," Political Affairs, July, 1963, pp. 17, 18.

"...special approaches must be worked out in relation to the youth. Here, their generally negative reaction to the role of the 'establishment' and of monopoly capital provides an immediate common interest, especially in the case of the unemployed and working youth."

Gus Hall, "Objective Conditions and the Work of the Party," Political Affairs, December, 1963, p. 10.



# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1964--JUNE 1964



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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1964--June 1964

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the six-month period from January, 1964, through June, 1964, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), attacked United States foreign policy on practically all fronts. According to the communists, the peace of the world is endangered by aggressive United States policies in Southeast Asia--Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. They demand that we withdraw from Southeast Asia and allow the people there to solve their own problems.

The Party points to the recognition of Communist China by General de Gaulle as a starting point for the easing of tension in that area. It urges Washington to follow de Gaulle's lead and establish diplomatic and trade relations not only with Communist China but with North Korea and North Vietnam as well. The prediction is made that China will be admitted to the United Nations (UN) before the year is out. However, the CPUSA accuses some Chinese communist leaders of trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the underdeveloped nations, as well as the communist countries of Eastern Europe. This is characterized as an attempt to split the international movement that has tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress, and socialism.

The CPUSA contends that the existence of the socialist countries has made it possible for scores of nations to achieve independence and freedom in



a very short time and that Africans are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future. A joint statement issued by Premier Khrushchev and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in May, 1964, was interpreted as an indication that the African states support the concept of peaceful coexistence.

The governments of most of the countries of Central and South America are corrupt, in the opinion of the Party. It charges that the United States has interfered in the internal affairs of various countries of the Organization of American States (OAS) and has caused a further degeneration of democracy. The communists claim that Latin America has now been engulfed by the tidal wave of anticolonialism that swept Asia and Africa. They cite as an example the protests of the people of Panama. Restoration of trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba is one of the Party's propaganda themes.

The CPUSA asserts that the United States can no longer dictate to its allies; that only West Germany, among the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners, has pledged technical and other help in the "dirty war against South Vietnam." The Johnson administration, it is alleged, will have to awaken from a dream world or the United States will find itself isolated from the world as it moves into the future. Senator Fulbright's speech in which he envisioned the necessity for "unthinkable thoughts" is lauded as reflecting the needs of our day.

Repeatedly, the communists warn of dangers from dictatorial power and aggressive activities of "the military-industrial complex." They labeled the address President Johnson made to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy as "bomb-waving" and said that only Pentagon careerists and those vested interests among the armaments contractors were made happy by it.

Following precedent, the communists placed heavy emphasis on the movement for civil rights. They continued their demands for the use of Federal troops and other law enforcement personnel throughout the South and reiterated that they have always advocated full freedom and equality for Negroes. Nevertheless, their demand for Negro-white unity and their interpretation of the Negroes' efforts as a revolutionary struggle which is preparing all "class forces" for a revolution leading to "socialism" reveal the communists' real interest in the civil rights movement.

The President's program for war against poverty is also related to the class struggle. The statement is made that the program will enroll the impoverished masses and will manifest itself as the main front of the working-class struggle against the monopolists.

While declaring that the only permanent cure for economic ills is "socialism," the Party offers numerous "immediate demands" to combat the impact of automation and to improve the lot of the working class--a 30-hour workweek, double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, a massive public

works program, a \$2 minimum wage, and repeal of all "antilabor" legislation. In connection with other legislative matters, the CPUSA denounced the tax cut as class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. Medicare is considered a possible first step in the right direction, although further social legislation is deemed necessary. Above all, the Party is giving top priority to its all-out campaign for the repeal of the McCarran Act.

The communists assert that, in this election year, they have a great contribution to make in mobilizing the maximum number of Americans to defeat the ultraright. They say that the choice between candidates will be merely the lesser of two evils, in most cases. Thus, the possibility of communist write-in candidates is not ruled out.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, is making mass appeals for support for its foreign-policy objectives. For example, almost all segments of our society have been requested to "focus their demands upon Washington to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward the consolidation of peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Cuba." Increased emphasis will, no doubt, be placed on such requests as the 1964 elections draw near.
2. With the passage of the civil rights bill, the communists may be expected to seek propaganda value from any problems arising from its implementation.
3. While the President's program for war against poverty is seen as a step in the right direction, the CPUSA claims that it does not go far enough. In the words of the communists, "If capitalism does not abolish mass poverty, the impoverished masses will abolish capitalism."

4. The Party has set as a goal the repeal of the McCarran Act before the end of the year.
5. The CPUSA continued to follow the lead of the Soviet Union in propaganda for peace and peaceful coexistence. The Party emphasized need for solidarity of the working people of all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood, and prosperity. The labor unions in the United States have been urged to intensify activities on behalf of peace-- peace on communist terms, that is.
6. The claim that "socialism" alone will solve economic and social problems has been made throughout this six-month period and will undoubtedly be made in the next six-month period.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. policy, a disgrace to the American tradition, is collapsing not just in Southeast Asia but all over that continent.
2. Washington can no longer dictate to its allies. The neo-Nazis and monopolists of West Germany are the only partners among the NATO countries who offered to help in South Vietnam.
3. The people of Southeast Asia have the right to self-determination and should be allowed to solve their own problems.
4. General de Gaulle's recognition of the People's Republic of China is a starting point for the solution of problems in that area. Washington should establish diplomatic relations not only with China but also with North Vietnam and North Korea and support the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.
5. Africans are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future. The joint statement issued by Premier Khrushchev and UAR President Nasser attests to this fact. It indicates, too, that the new African states reject the concept that peaceful coexistence is impossible.
6. The governments in most of the countries of Central and South America are corrupt. U.S. intervention in the affairs of these countries has caused a further degeneration of democracy.
7. Senator Fulbright's speech in which he said that we must dare to think "unthinkable thoughts" reflects the needs of our day. This country's cold war policies are in growing contradiction to the realities of today's world.
8. Fidel Castro has offered to restore diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S. This country should accept the offer.

9. Some of the leaders of the Communist Party of China are trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the underdeveloped nations, as well as the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. This is an attempt to split the force that has tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress, and socialism. The Chinese will fail in this attempt, as did the forces of imperialism who have also made such an attempt.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. U.S. Policy in Asia Collapsing

"...the U.S. position in Southeast Asia is deteriorating at an accelerated pace. This is the result of the persistence of the Johnson administration in adhering to a policy which has disgraced the American tradition and is now costing us huge sums of money and material and lives of an increasing number of American young men."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1963, p. 11.

"The Johnson administration apparently is ready to concede the collapse of the foreign policy in relation to Europe..."

. . . . .

"THE VERY FACT that Washington has been forced to call on its West European satellites in NATO is in itself a confession of the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in Asia. It shows that Rusk and McNamara have been unable to find allies in the countries of Southeast Asia they are trying to force into submission by hot war, intrigue and conspiracy--or even in the rest of the Asian continent...."

"The present crisis in Laos is to the point. Washington is now trying to blame the situation there on the Laotian patriots in Pathet Lao...."

. . . . .

"BUT THE PRESENT U.S. policy is not only crumbling in Southeast Asia, it is collapsing all over that continent....

"The efforts to isolate North Korea are now being rejected by Washington's allies. In recent months, Japanese and French bankers and industrialists have been negotiating with the government of North Korea for the development of trade. The French have also been carrying on talks with the government of North Vietnam for the building of industrial plants there.

"But the most revealing example of Washington's failure is the report out of London that South Korea is seeking reunion with North Korea. For years now, the people of South Korea have been in ferment as they sought independence, peace and food."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 9.

2. Most NATO Partners Unwilling To Follow Washington's Lead

"The truth of the matter is that Washington can no longer even dictate to the tiniest of its allied regimes on foreign policy.... While the Johnson administration still persists in an economic embargo of Cuba, Britain consumes a big bus order... Washington holds on to the dessicated Chiang Kai-shek, but France prepares for diplomatic recognition... the West German bankers and industrialists carry on a profitable trade with the German Democratic Republic, while continuing to blackmail the Johnson administration into withholding recognition... Britain and the countries of Western Europe, including West Germany, keep increasing trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. But Washington continues to discourage such trade...

"The Johnson administration will have to awaken from the dream world in which it still dozes. Otherwise, the U.S. will find itself isolated from the world as it moves into the future...."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 11.

"THE NATO MINISTERS' parley revealed an unwillingness by almost all the members of NATO to follow Washington's lead on anything..."

"THE FIRST arm-twisting came over Rusk's attempt to get Britain and the other NATO countries to participate in an economic blockade of the Cuban Republic. But the pressure did not succeed. Britain and the others rejected the proposal entirely...."

"But even more imminently dangerous and irresponsible was the effort of Rusk to suck Britain, Italy and West Germany into active partnership for Washington's dirty war against the peoples of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos...."

"The French colonialists seeking rapprochement with the countries of South Asia are not willing to become catspaws for Washington."

"The only willing partners Rusk and McNamara found were the neo-Nazis and monopolists of West Germany, who have pledged technical and other help in the dirty war against South Vietnam."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 9.

"Erhard promised, in the joint communique with Johnson, to increase economic and political support to the Nguyen Khanh dictatorship in South Vietnam, and denounced North Vietnam as an aggressor."

"Erhard's support had been solicited by a visit of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to Bonn several weeks ago. The Johnson administration sought it to offset French opposition to U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, and because of the failure of the other U.S. allies to take any substantial action supporting the U.S. there."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 7.



3. Let Southeast Asia Solve Own Problems

"The peace movement, the labor, religious and Negro people's organizations, the youth, and women--all America must heed the alarm sounded by Sen. Morse and call upon President Johnson to bring our troops from Vietnam and to leave the people there free to seek a just solution to the civil conflict in conformation with their right to self determination."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"Henry Winston... ended an inspiring address at the May Day celebration..."

...  
"...his call for the removal of the 7th fleet of the U.S. Navy, and 'let the people of Viet Nam and Southeast Asia solve their own problems.' He said he agreed with the view of Claude Lightfoot, leading spokesman of the Communist Party in Illinois, who had preceded him that 'if we can't solve the problems of the Negro in the United States, how are we going to solve the problems of Viet Nam?' "

The Worker,  
May 10, 1964, p. 4.

"Neither is the interest of our people nor the cause of world peace served by the violations of the borders of Cambodia and of Laos by U.S. fliers and armed forces.

"On the contrary, our nation is dishonored and the peace of the world menaced by such reckless acts of aggression. The Administration must be compelled to see that the continued prosecution of these military adventures in Southeast Asia also further emboldens the dangerous influence of the ultra-Right political forces in the life of our country. Therefore, even from the narrowest partisan interests, not to speak of the broad humanitarian precepts which are being so shamelessly broken, the Johnson administration must take

a new course, a course of ending hostilities and withdrawing U. S. armed forces from Vietnam and all Southeast Asia."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, pp. 3, 11.

"In South Vietnam itself, the savage slaughter of the people goes on with a new intensity as the puppet premier Nguyen Khanh, responds to the prodding of U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to 'get on with' the already 12-year-old war by successive tyrannical governments against the nation's armed patriots."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

4. Relations with Communist China, North Korea, North Vietnam

"It will follow that France will add her influence to the side of those who have been consistently fighting to secure China's rightful status in the high council of the UN. It is likely that the delegation from the People's Republic of China will come to New York and take its seats in the Security Council and General Assembly before the year is over. So, the inglorious policy of trying to isolate China diplomatically and strangle her economically, which Washington has followed for the past 14 years, has come to naught."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 3.

"WHEN FRANCE'S Charles de Gaulle moved to establish diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China, he attested to the fact that recognition of the power of Peking in the Far East is a starting point for a realistic approach to the solution of problems of conflict and tension in that area."

"This means that Washington must break with its head-in-the-sand attitude to these governments which have been in existence continuously for years-- unlike South Vietnam, where the U.S. has recognized three governments in one season. It calls for Washington to establish communications and diplomatic relations not only with China but with the People's Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of North Korea."

The Worker,  
February 4, 1964, p. 2.

"The time has long since been overdue for Washington to recognize the government at Peking, to support the seating of the Peoples Republic of China in her rightful seat in the United Nations, and to open serious discussions at the negotiating table toward the resolution of conflicting claims and interests for the normalization of trade relations and for the relief of war tensions in the world."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

5. Africans Looking to Socialism, Not Capitalism, for Their Future

"Henry Winston, Negro Communist leader, will land at a N.Y. airport Feb. 29 after a stopover in London."

"Winston has learned from the Africans themselves that they are looking to socialism, not capitalism, for their future."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1964, p. 4.

"THE JOINT statement last Monday of Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Egyptian President Nasser marks a new stage in the relationship of forces in the world today...."

"It... indicates a rejection by the new nation-states of the concept that peaceful coexistence is impossible.

"The Khrushchev-Nasser statement further underscored the movement of the new nation-states of Africa toward a planned socialist system as the only way to achieve full and complete national independence. And it made clear the recognition by the new nation-states of the Soviet and socialist countries' role in this."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 1.

6. Degeneration of Democracy in OAS Countries

"In most of the countries of Central and South America the governments are corrupt and in control of a small group of bigoted families who are the instruments through which the U.S. monopolies dictate their policies of slavery."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 10.

" 'THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the USA unalterably condemns recognition of the forces which under direction of military leaders, now control the government of Brazil,' said Gus Hall, its foremost spokesman, last Thursday...."

" 'The Communist Party USA unqualifiedly condemns the ruthless colonial exploitation of Brazil's national resources.... It calls upon American

youth and the American people, lovers of peace and good neighborly relations, regardless of color, creed or political belief, to categorically condemn the attitude of this government and American monopoly toward Brazil and its people.' "

The Worker,  
April 14, 1964, p. 8.

"In spite of all the ballyhoo in respect to the Alliance for Progress, actual investment and direct financial or economic aid from the U.S. to Latin American countries have amounted to an inconsequential trickle and have provided the millions who suffer the pangs of starvation no relief whatsoever.

"The intervention of Washington in the internal affairs of the OAS countries not only has not arrested the deteriorating economies but has been accompanied by a further degeneration of democracy and a proliferation of military coups, as in Brazil, and popular repressions, as in Venezuela."

The Worker,  
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

7. Senator Fulbright's Speech Reflects Needs of Our Day

"The net effect of the Fulbright speech has been to raise the election year debate over foreign policy to the level of the national interest."

The Worker,  
March 31, 1964, p. 1.

"When Fulbright underscores, time and again, 'We must dare to think about "unthinkable thoughts," ' he is saying we must put an end to the cold-war prejudices and misconceptions that have long plagued our country under both Republican and Democratic administrations...."

"...It is no exaggeration to say that what the Encyclical Pacem in Terris, of the now deceased Pope John XXIII, achieved in the religious arena by shaking up the Catholic world on the need of adjusting to the new evolving world, can be achieved in the political arena by the speech of the Senator. A foreign policy which separates myth from reality, breaks with outmoded ideas and practices, bases itself on 'current world politics' in this 'complex and rapidly changing world,' is a new\* policy, a policy leading away from the cold war, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. That is why Senator Fulbright's speech reflects the needs of our day."

"The Country Needs a New Foreign Policy," Political Affairs, May, 1964, pp. 7, 9.

"Our government's cold war foreign policies, for example, are based on myths; hence they are in growing contradiction to the realities of today's world. This is why Senator Fulbright's myth-busting speeches have had such deep reverberations."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities: Communists and Catholics," Political Affairs, May, 1964, p. 14.

"...While President Johnson, judging by his March 16th address to the Organization of American States in Washington, does not recognize the changing tide of events in Latin America, others do. That anti-communism is not the answer in Latin America--or elsewhere for that matter--was most significantly stated later that same month by none other than Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee...."

John Alfred, "Latin America in Ferment," Political Affairs, May, 1964. p. 65.

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

8. Accept Castro's Extended Hand

" 'Instead of a trade barrier with Cuba, ' ... 'we should cultivate trade relations with Cuba. ' "

"...trade relations with all the socialist nations. "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"PEACE DEMANDS that President Johnson junk the advice of his Thomas Manns and respond to the reasoned offer and accept the extended hand of Fidel Castro and the government of the heroic Cuban people, which wants to restore anew diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S. but, of course, solely on the basis of equality and mutual self interest and peace. "

The Worker,  
April 26, 1964, p. 3.

"A TRUTH THAT HAS proven irrepressible is the truth that 'CUBA IS!' Yes, Cuba--free independent, democratic, and socialist..."

"The vital interest of our people in world peace, the ever-increasing material interest of our people...urgently call for new demands upon President Johnson to restore normal and equal diplomatic relations with Cuba. "

The Worker,  
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

9. Communist China Trying To Split Forces of Peace, Progress, Socialism

"THE LATEST statement of the Communist Party of China...

"...presents a political and philosophical thesis seeking to justify the splitting of the working class and its organizations as a necessary and even

desirable thing. It is a thesis that glorifies irresponsible, disruptive factional activities aimed at splitting Communist parties--that sets disunity as a goal for which to strive."

"A THESIS which justifies splitting ranks can at no time be in the interests of the working class. It is a disservice to the struggle for world peace, harmful to the struggle against imperialism and for colonial liberation, and detrimental to the struggles for democracy and for socialism."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1964, p. 3.

"ANY ATTEMPT to drive a wedge between the under-developed nations on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, as well as the eastern European countries of Socialism on the other hand, is doomed to failure. For years imperialism has tried to pull off this feat but in vain....

"Therefore, it is all the more appalling that some leaders of the Communist Party of China, because of their own narrow factional purposes, are following a policy of attempting to drive the same wedge. But this attempt is also doomed.

"... It is an attempt to split the force that tipped the scales on the side of peace, progress and Socialism.

"WHO CAN NOW DENY that it is the existence of the Socialist countries, and in the first place the Soviet Union, that has made possible the historic mass leap to independence and freedom by scores of nations and peoples within a very short period of years?..."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

"PRAGUE--The Chinese Communist Party leadership was charged here with trying to create dissension among the peoples of Czechoslovakia....



"The newspaper published a copy of a letter sent by the Chinese to Czech Communists and diplomats, which urged them to plot to defeat the present government in the national elections next month.

"The Chinese sought, by their letter, to split the electorate of Czechoslovakia, with appeals to chauvinism. They singled out for attack the leadership of the Communist party in Slovakia, in a blatant maneuver to split the Czechoslovaks on national lines."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1964, p. 2.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Much evidence has come to light indicating that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover informer for a U.S. agency.
2. The war on poverty will enroll the impoverished masses themselves and will manifest itself as the main front of the working-class struggle against the monopolists.
3. The fight against poverty must be tied in with the fight for peace. No less than \$20, 000, 000, 000 can be cut from the military budget and used to combat poverty.
4. A crash program of public works, financed by a reduction in military expenditures and concentrated on building housing, hospitals, schools, et cetera, is needed. Such a program would provide employment for the unemployed and help meet the long-held needs of the people.
5. Trade with socialist countries would provide desperately needed markets for U.S. goods and jobs for tens of thousands of workers now unemployed.
6. The building of working class-Negro unity is the building of the foundation for victory over monopoly capitalism in all its forms and manifestations.
7. The over-all tactic for the 1964 elections is how to mobilize the maximum number of Americans to defeat the ultraright. In most cases, the choice will be merely the lesser of two evils. In this effort, communists and all other left forces have a great contribution to make. Communists must not rule out the possibility of communist write-in candidates.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Oswald Undercover Informer of U.S. Agency?

"MORE EVIDENCE has come to light to confirm the theory that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover informer for a U.S. agency."

"...the press has been fed stories from alleged 'authoritative government' sources designed to shift responsibility for the assassination from the Birchites and kindred rightist elements."

The Worker,  
January 12, 1964, p. 1.

"Why is Marina Oswald held incommunicado?...Does she have evidence to back the mounting material pointing to a link between Oswald and U.S. undercover agencies?..."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1964, p. 2.

"...Was Oswald in the employ of one of the undercover agencies of the U.S. as indicated by much evidence that came to light since then?"

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 3.

### 2. War on Poverty Main Front of Class Struggle

"The 'War on Poverty' Slogan--Starting Point for a Program of Mass Struggle"

The Worker,  
March 1, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"...the trade unions 'must be in the forefront' in this fight.

" 'If capitalism does not abolish mass poverty, the impoverished masses will abolish capitalism.' "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 3.

"The masses have become conscious of their relative and absolute misery. And, mass action will follow mass consciousness, as day follows night."

...  
"... Ultimately the War against Poverty will enroll the impoverished masses themselves. Then the War Against Poverty will manifest itself with even greater clarity as the main front of the working class struggle against the monopolists.

"The struggle against the monopolists is a struggle for structural social change, a struggle to take the job rights, and consequently the destiny of man's life, out of the hands of private business men, along with the corporate magnates who dominate the business of production and distribution of all the material and social values which are vitally necessary to the life and happiness of man."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, pp. 6, 9.

"The anti-poverty program is in a certain sense a companion-cause to the Civil Rights movement. Victory for one cause requires the active solidarity and participation of the forces committed in the other. The greatest mobilization of popular opinion and demonstrative expression of the will of the people must be focused on the Senate to compel passage--without crippling amendments--of the Civil Rights Bill, and the same forces must let the members of the House know that immediate action on the anti-poverty bill is demanded."

The Worker,  
May 24, 1964, p. 3.

### 3. Finance War on Poverty with Funds Used To Fight Cold War

"The fight against poverty must be tied in with the fight for peace. The idea of obtaining the necessary funds by reducing military expenditures should be developed into a demand that the war-chest for the anti-poverty war be increased from \$1 billion to \$15-20 billion and that for the cold war be correspondingly decreased."

Hyman Lumer, "President Johnson's Economic Program," Political Affairs, March, 1964, p. 17.

"...where could such capital for commitment to the war against poverty come from? In the first place, it would have to be taken from the front of the COLD WAR. America will have to choose now, whether it is to waste further billions of dollars in the Cold War military adventuring in South Viet Nam, or invest 5 billion dollars this year in the war to free a million of our own citizens from poverty."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"...none of the questions now facing the country can be solved unless real steps are taken toward total disarmament. Taxes cannot be reduced; the social and economic needs of the people cannot be met; unemployment cannot be tackled sincerely, and the war against poverty cannot even be launched properly unless this happens."

The Worker,  
April 26, 1964, p. 11.

"The fight against poverty is inseparable from the fight for peace and disarmament, for the billions now squandered on arms are obtained at the expense of the public welfare and social needs of the people. The war chest for the war on poverty must be swelled by sharply reducing that of the cold war.

What is called for is a cut of no less than \$20 billion in military to combat poverty."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 6.

4. Public Works Program; Reduction of Military Expenditures

"A VAST PROGRAM of socially-needed constructions especially, housing, hospitals, schools--must be the foundation stone in any meaningful program to alleviate the plight of the fifth of our nation which is sunk in the quagmire of poverty and another fifth who live from day to day under conditions of extreme deprivation.

"This would require a vast capital investment in value-creating projects designed to meet long-held needs of the people. Such a gigantic home building, school construction and hospital erecting program would fill out the unused plant capacity, require a further expansion of the industrial plant and reabsorb millions of the almost 6 million unemployed."

"THIS IS the choice: Either we will continue the capital investment of billions in the arms race and the cold war, or we will secure the peace in one area after another through negotiation, and free this capital for investment in people."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, pp. 6-7, 9.

"...a crash public works program at union wages, starting with a minimum outlay of \$10 billion the first year and rising to \$20 billion a year thereafter, the funds to come from a progressive reduction of military expenditures. Such a program should concentrate especially on building housing, schools, hospitals, etc., in Negro ghetto and other depressed areas and on providing suitable employment in areas affected by reconversion to peacetime production."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

5. Communist Countries Potential Market for U.S. Goods

"THOSE 400 NEW BUSES Cuba has just ordered from British manufacturers for \$10.6 millions could just as easily have been made by the 6,000 Studebaker workers fired in South Bend, Ind. They could have been shipped to Cuba in vessels manned by seamen now on the beach in the U.S.

"Washington's Cuban policy is getting more ridiculous every day. Isn't it time for the Johnson administration to reverse it?"

The Worker,  
January 12, 1964, p. 3.

"The vast production plant of the United States is in increasingly desperate need of new orders--especially for capital goods--which can make for an increase in the working force. China with its 700 million people who are engaged in great construction and development activities is such a potential market."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 3.

"Increase trade with all nations, with removal of all bars to extending trade and credit to the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China and Cuba."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"...With a further improvement in the international climate, trade with the socialist countries and the new developing nations, if it will be trade based on mutual reciprocity and equal treatment, provides unlimited possibilities for expansion. And such trade expansion would be beneficial not only to the socialist countries but to the United States as well, providing jobs for tens of thousands of workers now unemployed."

"The Country Needs a New Foreign Policy," Political Affairs,  
May, 1964, p. 12.

6. Working Class-Negro Unity Foundation for Victory over Capitalism

"The Negro peoples revolutionary struggle is mobilizing and activizing and educating in the arts of struggle all the class forces requisite for conduct of the general social revolution for conducting successful struggles for genuine economic and political democracy, and for advancing the cause of the general social revolution against the reign of the monopolists as such, for a new stage in the advancement of the nation, for socialism."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"...All future progress in our land rests on the crucial question of working class-Negro peoples unity. The building of this unity, based on the struggle to end all forms of discrimination is the building of the foundation for victory over monopoly capitalism in all its forms and manifestations."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

7. Mobilize To Defeat Ultraright

"Our over-all 1964 tactics must be directed toward the following central tasks:

"How to mobilize the maximum number of Americans to express themselves politically against the ultra-Right. At this level the choice by millions against the ultra-Right in most cases will be merely a choice of the lesser of two evils."

"...our over-all electoral policy must deal with the question of Communist Party participation. It seems to me that we should not rule out even the possibility of Communist write-in candidates for president and vice-president. Also it would seem a serious mistake not to fight for and have some



Communists running for office, through whatever political channels are available...."

The Worker,  
January 5, 1964, p. 9.

"The Johnson administration cannot win a Presidential victory by me-tooing the ultra-Right pro-war program."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1964, p. 11.

"There is only one sure way to victory over the ultra-Right threat. And this is not to rely on Johnson to defeat Goldwater in November any more than it was possible to rely on Rockefeller and Eisenhower to defeat him in the GOP. IT IS TO RELY ON THE UNITY AND ACTION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, THE PEACE FORCES, THE FARMERS, THE YOUTH, THE SENIOR CITIZENS, THE PROFESSIONALS, ALL MEN AND WOMEN DESIRING PEACE AND EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL ADVANCE. Only such unity and action on every level, on single issues and on a whole peoples progressive program can counteract the pressures from the ultra-Right on the Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party in this election and create the climate and the instruments through which the people's interests can be advanced after the November elections.

"In this great effort the Communists and all other left forces have a great contribution to make.... a united, clear, militant left, working as an integral part of the great democratic coalition of the millions and tens of millions will thereby also be most effectively advancing their program of basic and radical change."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1964, p. 3.

"In previous periods the struggle in the GOP was between conservatives and liberals, between William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes and Elihu Root, on the one side, and such liberals as Robert LaFollette, George Norris, and Fiorello La Guardia, on the other hand.

"Today the conflict is between the Rights such as Nelson Rockefeller, and the ultra-Right such as Goldwater.

"The Rights, with an aggressive foreign and anti-labor policy, and with an anti-labor program such as presented recently by Scranton and Gov. Romney, in the state legislatures of Pennsylvania and Michigan, have naturally not mounted the kind of a campaign in the GOP that could mobilize the millions of Republican voters to crush the ultra-Right forces."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, pp. 1. 7.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. To help meet the job problem, there should be a 30-hour workweek, double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, and a crash public works program. The minimum wage must be raised to \$2 an hour.
2. The nationalization of industries is necessary to combat the destructive impact of automation.
3. Only socialism will bring full employment and rapid advances in living conditions for the working people.
4. Unity, joint action, and mutual support must be the guidelines for the civil rights and labor movements. Organized labor has the responsibility of mobilizing all workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, young and old, in the fight against the giant monopolies.
5. The preservation of peace is the first task of honor of our working class and of the workers of the whole world. There is a need for solidarity of the working people of all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood, and prosperity. Unity can halt the U.S. war program in South Vietnam and end invasions against Cuba, intervention in Latin America, and colonialism everywhere.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Shorter Workweek; \$2 Minimum Wage; Minimum Double-Time Overtime; Public Works Program

"I FULLY AGREE with those who say that 35 hours would not fully meet the job problem, and that an effective program must combine a many-sided approach. Even a 35-hour week plus a cut in overtime and moonlighting would not fully meet the problem. The labor movement is right in stressing an expanded works

program; \$2. 00 hour minimum; and end of discrimination; special efforts to revitalize the chronically depressed areas; modernized unemployment insurance; medical care for the aged; youth training and employment; expansion and improvement of hospitals and nursing homes; better education, etc., etc."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 5.

"LAUNCH a crash public works program at union wages...

"Reduce the standard work week to 30 hours with no cut in earnings."

. . . . .  
"Establish double-time pay as a minimum for all overtime, to discourage its use while workers remain unemployed."

. . . . .  
"RAISE the minimum wage to \$2 an hour and extend coverage to all wage workers."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

2. Nationalization of Industries To Combat Destructive Impact  
of Automation

"The coal industry has proved incapable of meeting its responsibilities to the country. We therefore propose national ownership of the nation's coal mines, with full recognition of the United Mine Workers as the bona fide bargaining agent for the miners. Coal mining has already been nationalized in such advanced capitalist countries as Great Britain, France and West Germany."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1964, p. 5.

"A...key issue is the destructive impact of automation on large sections of the American working people. The concrete tackling of this problem demands clearly defined positions on such specific issues as the thirty-hour week, nationalization of industries, labor and government control of automated processes, large government economic programs for jobs and social welfare, etc."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities:  
Communists and Catholics," Political  
Affairs, May, 1964, p. 21.

### 3. Socialism Alone Will Bring Full Employment

"In America, and elsewhere, socialism alone will bring stable full employment with rapid advances in living conditions, complete security, and broad opportunities in all fields for working people. But he who insists on socialism first, ignoring practical struggles for full employment now, will be ignored by the majority."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1964, p. 5.

"...it is essential to deal not only with the fact of poverty but with its causes....It must be made clear that poverty is a menace which threatens all workers, that it has its roots in their exploitation and robbery at the hands of the big capitalists--a process which will come to an end only with the end of capitalism and its replacement by a socialist society."

Hyman Lumer, "President Johnson's  
Economic Program," Political  
Affairs, March, 1964, p. 17.

"Mankind does not exist for the sake of profit. Men work and produce not to enrich a few but in order that all may live better. To wipe out poverty means to wipe out the profit system, which stands in the way of this aspiration. It means that the factories, mines and mills of our country must be owned by the people themselves and operated for their benefit--for use, not for

profit. In such an America--a socialist America--abundance will cease to be a 'problem.' No one will be unemployed and no one will be poor. Our tremendous productive capacity will provide for the well-being and security of all."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 7.

4. Negro-Labor Unity, Joint Action, Necessary

"Unity, joint action, mutual support, let these be the guide-lines of the civil rights and labor movements."

The Worker,  
January 26, 1964, p. 4.

"Political struggles of organized labor for basic reforms... are in essence struggles, directed against the monopolies, for the extension of democracy. As such, they dovetail with and are dependent on other democratic movements, similarly anti-monopoly in character. On the one hand, the demand for such measures as, say, price controls involves not labor alone but all sections of the people affected by monopoly price-gouging. On the other hand, labor's success in achieving its own objectives is clearly dependent on that of the civil rights movement in its struggles to democratize the South and end the power of the Dixiecrats, and to remove the drag which Jim Crow imposes on the wages and living standards of all workers in all parts of the country. Likewise, labor's future depends on the outcome of the all-important struggle for peace. In fact, all these struggles have as a common goal the achievement of basic democratic reforms."

Hyman Lumer, "Organized Labor and Government," Political Affairs, April, 1964, pp. 20-21.

"THE FIGHT against poverty and unemployment is a fight against the giant monopolies...."

"The key to success lies therefore, in uniting all these forces in common battle against the trusts. And for this, the primary responsibility lies with organized labor, which must mobilize all workers in the struggle, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, young and old. The combined action of labor with other sections of the people is equally vital, above all its unity with the Negro people."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"More than ever today, the labor movement, the Negro people, the peace forces, all the forces of progress and democracy will need to develop unity in action and unity for action to a degree greater than ever."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1964, p. 12.

5. International Solidarity for Peace, Brotherhood, Prosperity

"THE HISTORIC MISSION of our working class is not only to free itself, the Negro people, and all deprived strata of this capitalist society from exploitation and oppression at the hand of the monopolists, and to make a rich and new life for the masses, but it also bears the responsibility of safeguarding all that is worthy in the national heritage and all creations of civilization.

"Its destiny is to lead the nation to new heights of international fraternity and service to humanity...."

"The preservation of peace is the first task of honor of our working class and of the workers of the whole world...."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1964, p. 2.

"... IN OUR own country are the workers through their unions challenged by their brothers throughout the world to intensify activities in behalf of peace. The outrages against the people of Vietnam... must be stopped...."

"The workers the world around are no less anxious that our trade unions and our working people act to impress upon our government the necessity for putting an end to the provocations against Cuba and to reestablish peaceful diplomatic and trade relations with her."

"Now with the Civil Rights bill being threatened by a lynching in the Senate chamber, every trade union local and international, indeed, every worker is challenged to take special measures to compel the Senate to act to pass this bill which is so vital for democracy and for the unity of the working class in our country."

"... we witness a growing unity of action among Negro and white workers in struggle for their common urgent needs, and a greater awareness than ever of the need for solidarity with the working people in all lands to further the cause of peace, brotherhood and prosperity."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, pp. 1, 3.

"WARMEST congratulations and fraternal greetings to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of France..."

"We can well recall the fact that the ties of international working class solidarity and friendship of the people of our two countries have been expressed through many events since the very days of the founding of our country...."

"... unity can bring a halt to the dirty war program of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam.... can bring an end to invasions against Cuba and to imperialist intervention in Latin America.... can speed the end of colonialism



everywhere....can create a renewed upsurge for all forces of democracy, peace and socialism in accord with the basis demands of workers in all lands."

The Worker,  
May 19, 1964, p. 4.

"Warmest congratulations and fraternal greetings...the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia..."

. . . . .

"The normal bonds of international working class solidarity calls for unity to defeat every threat to world peace. The aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Southeast Asia and especially the dirty war in South Vietnam can be halted by the unity of all peace forces which are strengthened by the unity of the Communist movement on the world scene. Your courageous stand against all threats of thermonuclear war is a service to the cause of socialism."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1964, p. 2.

"GUS HALL, leading Communist spokesman, expressed appreciation to the Polish United Workers Party for its support in the struggle for democracy in the U.S. and for the preservation of world peace, in a message last week to the coming national congress of the party."

. . . . .

"We take this occasion to express our appreciation for your expressions of solidarity and support to our struggle against efforts to outlaw the Communist Party, U.S.A. and to destroy democracy in our land. We also express our appreciation for your work in behalf of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Your stand for peace has a special meaning in these days when American imperialism wages a dirty war in South Vietnam, a war against which masses of American people protest. The ties of solidarity between the people of your country and the American people go deep...."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 4.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Socialism promotes technical agricultural progress for the better living of the entire people rather than for the profit of a special class.
2. Millions of independent farmers in this country are being struck down under capitalism, not socialism. Under socialism, competitive production is replaced by cooperative effort.
3. To enable them to remain on their farms, small farmers should be given low-interest Government credit and other aid now available only to big capitalist farmers. Sharecroppers should receive special assistance in order that they can secure and maintain their own farms.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Socialist Technical Progress Benefits Entire People, Not Special Class

"CAPITALISM lately made rapid technical progress in agriculture because new circumstances made it profitable to the capitalists. But to realize the most profits, capitalism restricts application of that technique by curtailing acreage and destroying surpluses.

"Socialism promotes maximum technical advance at all times, for the better living of the entire people rather than for the profit of a special class."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1964, p. 5.

"Inherent in the plight of the masses of farmers is the contradiction between capital and family-farm agriculture, a contradiction which the

spokesmen for capitalism deny. Capitalism precludes maintenance of the status quo for the masses of farmers; technical progress under capitalism continuously undermines the existing family-size agricultural structure."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs, June, 1964, p. 43.

## 2. Capitalism, Not Socialism, Enemy of Independent Farmer in U.S.

"For over a century the propagandists for capitalism have proclaimed that socialism is the enemy of the independent farmer. But here, in the U.S., the farmers have been struck down in millions, not by socialism or communism, but by capitalism. Whereas, under socialism, 'independent' competitive production is replaced by cooperative effort, in the U.S. the competition of six million has given way to the competition of three million, who are trapped in an even more aggravated struggle for survival.

"The capitalist development of our agriculture has victimized the noncapitalist and least-capitalist farms, and has encouraged the most-capitalist farms, the farms with the biggest capital investment."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs, June, 1964, p. 45.

## 3. Extend Additional Aid to Small Farmers

"MAKE LOW-INTEREST government credit and other forms of government aid, now confined to the big capitalist farms, available to small farmers to enable them to remain on their farms and to secure a decent livelihood from them.

"Provide price supports to small farmers in the form of direct payments to farmers of the difference between market prices and 100 percent of parity.

"Extend unemployment compensation, minimum wage, social security and other benefits to all farm laborers.

"Give special assistance to Negro and white sharecroppers to enable them to secure and maintain their own farms."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"...The goal of federal action must be to succor farm families, not to aid 'agriculture,' for the latter always implies disregard of the farmers. A qualitative change in outlook is, thus, the first order of business."

Erik Bert, "Our Changing Farm Economy," Political Affairs,  
June, 1964, p. 46.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. The days of imperialism and neocolonialism are numbered. The chains of imperialism have been broken in all continents except South America. The common people of North and South America will soon become good partners, but not in the Alliance for Progress.
2. The tidal wave of anticolonialism that swept Asia and Africa has engulfed Latin America. The struggle of the people of Panama for national dignity and independence from Wall Street-Washington domination is a part of the world-wide rising against colonialism.
3. The socialist, particularly the Soviet, umbrella has made it possible for the militant struggles of the people in colonial lands to achieve success.
4. History shows that Marxism-Leninism is the only road to freedom from exploitation and oppression.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Days of Imperialism and Neocolonialism Are Numbered

"THE PANAMANIAN events are at this moment sparking the most explosive situation in the whole colonial world. This upsurge is an integral part of the oppressed peoples' determination to bring an end to colonialism everywhere.

"In all other continents the chains of imperialism have either been shattered or broken. Only in the Latin American continent are the brutal economic policies of imperialism in full force. Now, that continent demands full freedom..."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1964, p. 3.

"...the days of imperialism and neo-colonialism are numbered. The common people of North and South America will in fact become good partners in the not too distant future--but not in an imperialist dominated Alliance for Progress."

John Alfred, "Latin America in Ferment," Political Affairs, May, 1964, p. 65.

2. Panama Part of World-Wide Rising against Colonialism

"The struggle of the people of Panama for national dignity and independence from Wall Street-Washington domination is a part of the world wide rising of all...oppressed people against colonialism; it is an extension of the 'Freedom Now' crusade of the Negro people of the U.S...."

The Worker,  
January 21, 1964, p. 8.

"The tidal wave of anti-colonialism, of freedom and national sovereignty, that swept Asia and Africa has engulfed Latin America. The explosive outbreak in Panama on January 9th, and the continuing defiance of this tiny nation, with a population of just over a million, against the Colossus of the North, is symbolic of the seething determination to rid the hemisphere of U.S. imperialist domination...."

"The interests of the people of our country lie on the side of the just cause of the Republic of Panama, and not on that of the U.S. monopolists who plunder Latin America...."

"The Panama Crisis,"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1964, pp. 3, 8.

3. Socialist Umbrella Shields Struggles in Colonial Lands

"WHO CAN NOW DENY that it is the existence of the Socialist countries, and in the first place the Soviet Union, that has made possible the historic mass leap to independence and freedom by scores of nations and peoples within a very short period of years? The upsurge in the militant struggles of the peoples in the colonial lands is the basic ingredient for victory. But the powerful Socialist umbrella made it possible for these struggles to achieve a dramatic breakthrough...."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1964, p. 3.

4. Marxism-Leninism Only Road to Escape from Exploitation

"History shows that no people has been completely free from exploitation and national oppression except by the road of Marxism-Leninism...."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1964, p. 9.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. The tax law is class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. We need basic reforms that will plug all loopholes and shift the tax burden from the working people to the giant corporations and wealthy individuals.
2. The McCarran Act is unconstitutional. The Communist Party, USA, is not the agent of any foreign power. There are no organizational ties with any other party, while religious, labor, business, and other organizations do have international ties.
3. Medicare can be the first step in the right direction, but further social legislation is needed.
4. A crash program of public works and expanded apprenticeship training would help provide jobs for all able and willing to work.
5. All existing antilabor legislation should be repealed.
6. The American people should take up the fight with the President and their own Senators and Congressmen to commence a new course of equality and peaceful relation with Cuba, to act on Medicare, and to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Tax Cut Is Class Legislation Weighted in Interests of Rich

"All in all, the tax law will bring some relief to the low and middle income groups, but the bulk of the relief to individual taxpayers as well as that to corporations will go to the high income groups...."



"A major feature is the continuation of the loopholes by which the big corporations, the very rich and the oil magnates rob the government of billions of dollars. In general, Congress eliminated all the meaningful tax reform proposals which might have closed some of these loopholes and without much of an Administration fight."

"Clearly this is class legislation weighted in the interests of the rich. And because of this the actual benefits of the tax cut in stimulating the economy and increasing employment is nowhere near the claims being made for it."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1964, p. 10.

"In the area of tax relief, what is called for is a total structural reform to release all with incomes-below \$10,000 from any tax obligation, and to put the tax burden on those corporate interests and individuals most able to pay."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"Enact basic tax reforms which will plug all loopholes and shift the tax burden from the working people to the giant corporations and wealthy individuals. Raise personal exemptions to \$1,200 and abolish the withholding tax. Eliminate excise and sales taxes on necessities, which bear most heavily on the lowest income groups."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

2. McCarran Act Unconstitutional; CPUSA Not Agent of Foreign Power

"The McCarran Act sets tighter borders upon freedom of thought: . . .

"It prescribes a code by means of which ideas can be tested.

"It outlaws, for the first time in American history, a political party, whose views are not unconstitutional.

"It abolishes the right of travel for many native-born citizens."

"THE McCARRAN ACT: FACT AND FANCY,"  
Political Affairs,  
January, 1964, p. 13.

"...the Communist Party is 'an American working class party with its roots and ties and responsibilities to the American people.'...

"...the party will always learn from the experiences and achievements and mistakes of the communists of other lands...there are 'no organizational ties between the Communist Party of the U.S. and any other party. We are perhaps the only major organization without any such international ties, while the religious, labor and business organizations as well as others have such ties.'"

The Worker,  
February 2, 1964, p. 2.

" 'The American Communist Party is not the agent of any foreign power... Its link with the Soviet Union is stated only in the McCarran Act...' "

The Worker,  
April 26, 1964, p. 7.

"THE SUPREME COURT decision of June 8th confirms the victory in the December, 1963 decision of the Court of Appeals.... The contention of the Party that their officers are protected by the Fifth Amendment's provision against self-incrimination was upheld by the Appeals Court."

"This is a valuable turning point in the road towards complete victory, after 14 years of struggle. The road ahead should now be short.... We

rightly celebrate and cheer this victory but we must prepare for more determined struggles to end the McCarran Act and bury it with McCarthy and McCarran."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 2.

3. Medicare Can Be First Step in Right Direction; Additional Social Legislation

"The labor movement, the Negro people's movement, the ordinary people still have the job of fighting for a tax program based on ability to pay and for a genuine attack on poverty, for jobs, for higher minimum wages...for improvement in social security, for Medicare, for more and better housing, hospitals, schools and transportation."

The Worker,  
February 16, 1964, p. 10.

"THE ADMINISTRATION'S medicare program is sorely inadequate. But, even then it is the target of attack by all who are more concerned with the private interests of the insurance companies, the medical profession and group plans.

"The Administration's program becomes the focal point of the fight for the economic security, the individual dignity and the social usefulness of the older citizen, and for the concept of government and society's responsibility.

"The Administration medicare program does not really answer these needs nor fully embrace these concepts. But it can be made a first step in that direction..."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 8.

"Raise social security pensions to a minimum of \$200 a month for a single individual with \$100 additional for spouse.

"Permit retirement at 60 years of age with full benefits."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

"WHY SHOULD we pay five times as much as it costs for the same medicine applied to a dog? Or for the same professional treatment?"

"...all too many doctors do oppose even the fragmentary concession to workers' basic needs embodied in the present Medicare bill."

"Voters can use the election campaign to get candidates to commit themselves to help insure passage of the existing bill, and especially to help enact more far reaching legislation next year...."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 5.

#### 4. Public Works; Apprenticeship Training

"...1964's intensified boom still fails to offer promise of unemployment relief. Most employers can handle any prospective production increases with existing staff, so long as hours remain uncut and overtime unlimited. Employment cuts by some munitions contractors and paring of white collar staffs by large corporations may offset the few increases elsewhere."

"Labor's logical objectives are to take advantage of the boom and the small cut in the arms budget to win higher wages and especially minimum

wages, a reduction in working hours, a big public works program, and an opening of trade with socialist countries. Each of these could provide far more employment and security than the tax cut."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 5.

### "...JOBS FOR ALL ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK

"LAUNCH a crash public works program at union wages, starting with a minimum outlay of \$10 billion the first year and rising to \$20 billion a year thereafter, the funds to come from a progressive reduction of military expenditures. Such a program should concentrate especially on building housing, schools, hospitals, etc., in Negro ghetto and other depressed areas and on providing suitable employment in areas affected by reconversion to peacetime production."

"Expand apprenticeship training programs to twice their present size, with guarantees against displacement of older workers and with preferential enrollment of Negro and other minority youth."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

### 5. Repeal Antilabor Laws

"REPEAL all existing anti-labor legislation and return to the principles embodied in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, to secure the ability of labor to safeguard and raise the living standards of workers in all states and regions.

"Enact new legislation to abolish regional wage differentials, end the runaway shop evil, and guarantee equal pay for equal work regardless of age, sex, race or religion."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

6. Demands on Congress and the President

"The danger exists therefore, of escalating the South Vietnamese war for independence into one in which the American people will have to sacrifice scores of thousands of its youth in a vain effort to keep back the waves of freedom.

"The people can halt this perilous trend, by making known to President Johnson, their own congressmen and senators, and Sen. Mike Mansfield, by letter, wire, and delegations that they want U.S. troops and all other aid withdrawn from South Vietnam, that they want the South Vietnamese to have the right to decide their own destinies."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1964, p. 14.

"We urge all our readers and friends to urge every trade union, fraternal and other organization, including senior citizen, womes, youth and nationality groups, to call on their Congressmen and Chairman Wilbur Mills for action on the medicare bill, and to notify President Johnson of their support on this issue."

The Worker,  
May 5, 1964, p. 2.

"The vital interest of our people in world peace, the ever-increasing material interest of our people--beset by a chronic unemployment and need for millions of new jobs--in friendly relations with our neighbor countries for the sake of increasing trade and commerce; these considerations of our own self interest, quite aside from loftier requirements of justice, morality, urgently call for new demands upon President Johnson to restore normal and equal diplomatic relations with Cuba."

The Worker,  
May 26, 1964, p. 2.

"Only the intervention of the people, only through the mobilization of the widest and fullest expression of public opinion on the part of the trade

union, the church denominations, the student youth, the organizations of the Negro people's movement for freedom and equality can bring about the required change in policy. All the fraternal, civic and socially-minded associations of Americans should now concert their strength and focus their demands upon Washington to make a radical shift away from aggression and toward the consolidation of peace in respect to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Cuba on the one hand, and to force through a victory for the Civil Rights bill in the Senate on the other."

The Worker,  
May 31, 1964, p. 3.

"...Every American with a concern for the nation's welfare and for elementary human rights and justice should support the appeal to the President to use the Federal government's power to take full control over the rebel state and 'restore law and order and protect the life and liberties of all citizens in Mississippi.'"

The Worker,  
June 30, 1964, p. 6.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. For their own protection, the American people must end the dictatorial and aggressive activities of the military-industrial complex. The Pentagon careerists and the armament contractors are the only people made happy by President Johnson's bomb-waving address to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy.
2. The war in Vietnam brings misery to the people, dishonor to its sponsors, and death to thousands of Americans.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Dictatorial Power and Aggressiveness by Military-Industrial Complex

"... experiences with the relatively trivial matter of Pentagon releases confirms the validity of the critiques contained in Dr. Strangelove, Seven Days in May, Fail Safe. For their own protection, the American people must end the dictatorial power and aggressive activities of the military-industrial complex."

The Worker,  
April 12, 1964, p. 5.

"The military contractors, the generals and admirals, the ultra-Right, the racists, all those with vested interests in the cold war, are unhappy about President Johnson's speech of last Monday, precisely because it is another step in the relaxation of international tensions, because it marks another stage in destroying the false image of 'an external menace.' "

The Worker,  
April 26, 1964, p. 1.

"THE VOICE may have been the voice of President Johnson but the words were the words of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, when the



President made a bomb-waving address to the graduating class of the Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., last Thursday...."

"The only people who will be made happy by this are Pentagon careerists and those vested interests among the armaments contractors to the government..."

The Worker,  
June 9, 1964, p. 1.

2. Vietnam Means Death for American Soldier and Shame for American People

"Further intervention in South Vietnam can mean only the death of thousands of Americans and many thousands more of South Vietnam. And the ultimate result can only be defeat for the U.S. and ineradicable shame for the American people."

The Worker,  
February 25, 1964, p. 2.

"Vietnam's war is a project of a capitalist government trying to resurrect a dying policy of colonialism-imperialism, it brings only misery to the people and dishonor to its sponsors."

The Worker,  
May 19, 1964, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The New York press has "conjured-up" a crime wave out of the misery, degradation, and want of Negro youth. The so-called "crime wave" has been converted into a veritable tidal wave of anti-Negro incitations by irresponsible hirelings of the journalists' profession.
2. Communists have a long and honorable record of advocating full freedom and equality for Negroes.
3. The Soviet Union was the first state in the world to practice equality of races and nationalities. Equality and friendship are cardinal principles of the teachings of Marx and Lenin.
4. The Negro people's revolutionary struggle is mobilizing, activizing, and educating in the art of struggle all the class forces requisite for the conduct of the general revolution against the reign of the monopolists and for socialism. The struggle is developing as part of the struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism.
5. Federal marshals and troops should be sent anywhere in the South to safeguard the rights of the people to exercise their constitutional rights. Nothing short of total Federal stewardship of the State will meet Mississippi's arrogant challenge.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. New York Press Conjured-Up Negro Crime Wave

"THIS WEEK IN NEW YORK the Big City press has been dedicating its front pages and biggest and boldest type to trumpeting tales of terror which raiding bands of Negro youth are allegedly perpetrating against defenseless white neighborhoods."

. . . . .

"Every crime of violence in the city is angled into the news reports in such a slant as to suggest an association or origin in 'rampaging Negro hoodlumism.'

"In short, the newspapers have put together a 'Negro crime wave' which mounts in fury as it floods out from Harlem with every new edition of newspapers.

"The staid New York Times is in a breakneck contest with the pepped-up Herald Tribune, and both are out to match the blatant Daily News, and the sensation-mongering Journal-American and World-Telegram, in milking all the circulation they can from this 'crime wave' which they have conjured-up out of the misery, degradation and want of the Negro youth of the ghettos."

"THE SO-CALLED 'crime wave' of Negro youth vandalism has been converted into a veritable tidal wave of anti-Negro incitations and luridly colored inflammatory conjurings from the typewriters of irresponsible hirelings of the journalists' profession..."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1964, pp. 1, 11.

## 2. Communists Have Always Advocated Full Freedom and Equality

"... 'We Communists have a long and honorable record in fighting against racism, segregation and discrimination. We always advocated full freedom and equality for the Negro Americans. Yes, Communists are in that struggle today. We don't control it. We work in every such struggle.' "

The Worker,  
March 1, 1964, p. 3.

"... The current upsurge of the Negro people supported by a large section of the white population, marks a new high. But when the Worker was

launched with the goal of full equality for the Negro people one of its major goals, there were not many Negroes in all the trade unions of America as there are in just one of the major unions today. Most unions either barred Negroes or closed the doors to them through technicalities.

"The pages of The Worker, however, gave prominence to every manifestation of the fight against discrimination. The founding of the Negro Labor Congress in 1925 left leadership was one of the first of a chain of organizations for basically the same objectives that followed in later years. Only The Worker of that time contained the discussions and experiences on fighting jimcrow in employment and unions, the very problems we are still grappling with today."

The Worker,  
March 8, 1964, pp. 8, 13.

"THE STRUGGLE for Negro freedom is a dead-serious pursuit. Its justification is not to be sought in the decorous manner of those who fight its battles, but in the death-dealing slum conditions which have been produced from a profit-motivated segregation and discrimination system which grinds in its maw over 20 million Americans who are Negroes. The only question of relevancy in the area of manner and forms of the struggle is the question of whether the particular tactic allows for mass expression for both the Negro victims of discrimination and for mass solidarity on the part of their white allies."

"WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE to secure economic, political and social justice to the Negro people short of bringing all the wheels of the country to a halt. But if that should be what it would take to secure to the Negro people their rightful share in the democracy, that is what will be. But should the stubbornness of the nation's ruling clique compel such a general stoppage in the country before securing to the Negro his equal rights, one thing will be sure, the economy will be starting up again under a new management, and the plain people will have displaced the privileged scions of the establishment in government at all vital levels.

"We wish success to the World's Fair Stall-In for Civil Rights Now!"

The Worker,  
April 21, 1964, p. 2.

"THERE IS TALK among Democrats of importing Robert F. Kennedy or Adlai Stevenson to run against the GOP Sen. Kenneth Keating, but very little is being said about Changing the lily white character of the U.S. Senate."

"The liberal Party recently included Ralph Bunche among those it suggested as possible Democratic nominees for U. S. Senate from N. Y."

"But whether it is Bunche or someone else, no section of the population has recently produced as many vigorous, talented courageous fighters for democracy as has the embattled Negro people.

"The voices of such Americans as Rev. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, and A. Philip Randolph, have been heard throughout the land.

"It is time to hear such voices in the Senate."

"Such a nomination would be a ringing answer by the people of New York to the racist, reactionary, pro-war coalition rallying around Goldwater."

The Worker,  
June 16, 1964, p. 3.

### 3. Soviet Union First State To Practice Equality of Races and Nationalities

"...there were white people playing a role that history had never seen before, they were practicing equality and happiness to those nations and

nationalities which in our country were considered as colored and were subjected to discrimination.

"The Soviet Union was the first state in the world which put an end to exploitation and solved the national problem carrying out in practice the equality of people of all races and nationalities. The Soviet state also rendered moral and political support to other peoples fighting for national liberation."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"...What I would like all the American people to understand is that equality and friendship is a cardinal principle of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. This is what Marxism-Leninism offers all people."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 9.

4. Negro Mobilizing, Activizing, Educating Class Forces Requisite for Social Revolution

"The Negro peoples revolutionary struggle is mobilizing and activizing and educating in the arts of struggle all the class forces requisite for conduct of the general social revolution for conducting successful struggles for genuine economic and political democracy, and for advancing the cause of the general social revolution against the reign of the monopolists as such, for a new stage in the advancement of the nation, for socialism."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 9.

"As to the civil rights revolution of the Negro people in the U.S., this movement is developing as part of the struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism."

The Worker,  
April 14, 1964, p. 4.

5. Federal Trusteeship in Jacksonville; Federal Stewardship of  
Mississippi; Marshals and Troops Elsewhere in South

"Jacksonville Requires Federal Trusteeship"

"...the Jacksonville situation demands an extraordinary response from the Federal authority, it calls for the Administration--the President and the Attorney General--to counterpose to the defiant city authorities the full power of the Federal government: it calls for the Administration to establish a FEDERAL TRUSTEESHIP over Jacksonville until new free elections can be held in order to safeguard the lives and liberties of its citizens from the abuse and misuse of power by the local officials and police.

"The murderous events in Jacksonville challenge all to demand of Washington to act to establish justice and to safeguard the rights of the people to exercise their Constitutional freedoms. The Department of Justice must send Federal Marshalls in effective numbers and the President must stand ready to send Federal Troops to uphold the Negro citizen's right to the exercise of his freedom in Jacksonville as elsewhere and anywhere throughout the South."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 3.

"THE TERROR in Alabama must be the concern of all Americans.

"We urge all of our readers to call on President Johnson to intervene now, for only federal action can bring protection to the Negro people there.

"We ask our readers also to urge their union locals, churches and civic groups to make their appeals to the President at once."

The Worker,  
June 14, 1964, p. 1.

"Mississippi is an outlaw, a bandit preying upon the liberties and plundering citizens of these United States of their Constitutionally-proclaimed inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"The clear and commanding duty of the President of the United States is inescapable..."

"Nothing will meet Mississippi's arrogant challenge short of total Federal stewardship of the State until its citizens, relieved of the present ruling tyranny, can be enabled to reconstitute its official life in conformity with... the Constitution of the United States."

The Worker,  
June 30, 1964, pp. 2, 6.



## IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. Defenseless, though reluctant, high school students are given compulsory courses in communism--more accurately described as anticommunism. These courses, imposed by unfeeling educational authorities, are taught by ill-prepared teachers.
2. Sufficient Federal aid should be given to education to end teacher and classroom shortages. Education should be compulsory through 14 years. Living stipends should be provided to students, and there should be a national system of tuition-free colleges.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Reluctant Students Taught "Anti-Communism" by Ill-Prepared Teachers

"More than ever, Communism is being studied in the United States today. Alas, however, many of the students are reluctant scholars taking required courses imposed by unfeeling educational authorities upon defenseless high school kids. In many communities throughout the country, bored youths are compelled to memorize the approved answers to questions propounded by ill-prepared teachers--questions about class struggle, proletarian dictatorship, 'Soviet imperialism' and other current figments and realities.

"Let it not be thought for a moment that, in teaching 'Communism,' a fourth 'R'--Revolution--has been added to the conventional three. The courses, which have become compulsory for so many young Americans, are more accurately describable as courses in anti-Communism. Consequently Communists can take no joy in the spectacle of our young people having to cram so much misinformation into their heads at a time when all available space therein is sorely needed for social, scientific and suchlike studies."

A. W. Font, "What, Indeed, Is Communism?" Political Affairs, April, 1964, p. 61.

2. Massive Financial Aid from Federal Government

"The Mayor can begin his war on poverty by leading the people of N. Y. in a battle with Albany and Washington for massive financial aid to the nation's crisis-ridden and largest school system."

The Worker,  
April 28, 1964, p. 8.

"Provide federal aid to education sufficient to end all teacher and classroom shortages and to make possible extension of compulsory education through fourteen years of school by payment of living stipends to students.

"Make college education available to all through a national system of tuition-free colleges, with special aid to facilities the attendance of Negro youth and complete enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. A renaissance of American literature--arts in general--has been simmering for some time. Life fashions literature and is, in turn, fashioned by it. Recent movies, "Dr. Strangelove," "Seven Days in May," and "Point of Order," are a reflection of the growing revulsion to war. Radical songs are spreading everywhere. Agreements and disagreements in ideas between writers of East and West are being aired.
2. The social structure must correspond with the works of science. The age of nuclear miracles calls for a social structure that is itself a product of science and responsive to its laws.
3. The new relationship of people under communism has a creative quality that brings scientific and cultural achievement.
4. In view of a common aim--the betterment of mankind--there is no reason that Catholics and communists cannot initiate united activities to achieve this aim.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. A Renaissance of the Arts

"I BELIEVE we are in for a renaissance, if you will, of American literature, of the arts in general. It has been simmering quite a while...."

"LIFE fashions literature, and in turn, is also fashioned by it. The primary fact of our moment is the Negro upsurge in our country. To overlook that, and its consequences, is to overlook a cyclone. The phenomenon is central to our contemporary national life, and hence to our thought. James Baldwin, for example, has become a national tribune, his name (and his message) is known to millions. Contrast that with only yesterday, when a Negro had to become the heavyweight champion of the world to gain the publicist's attention off the sports page.

"...three Negro playwrights will have their works on Broadway this fall...."

"...all this has its inevitable impact upon the young whites. Youth responds to youth, as we know, and when the whites see the Negro youngsters face police dog and electric prod out of an exalted dedication, it has its effect....

"The revolution on the Negro rights issue marches at the side of the growing revulsion against war....

"The movie, Dr. Strangelove, is a reflection, a response, to this mood of people, and grows out of it naturally. As does the movie 'Seven Days in May,' as does the movie about the McCarthy madness, 'Point of Order.' Inextricably linked to all this is the impulse for a strengthened democracy the defense of the First Amendment's guarantees."

"...The ferment is aswirl, the search, the quest, the button-holing, the hot swing of argument. A national dialogue is shaping up. False prophets find their audiences dwindle."

The Worker,  
March 15, 1964, p. 6.

"...it's wonderful that the climate in America has changed so much, and that 'radical' songs are now again spreading everywhere, and the people's song movement, that forgotten voice of our democracy, has risen from the grave where Senator McCarthy thought he had forever buried it."

The Worker,  
March 29, 1964, p. 6.

"THE MEANINGFUL exchange of ideas between writers of East and West--socialist and non-socialist--is growing. Agreements and disagreements are being aired....

"A word on how matters seem to be developing at home: conflicting judgements on the nature of art, of literature, trends and perspectives, are increasingly being heard. Questioning is rising in all areas.

"Re-evaluation is nothing new, of course; each age spotlights a literature which the dominant forces of that period push onto the stage."

The Worker,  
April 12, 1964, p. 5.

2. Social Structure Must Correspond with Age of Science

"...Dr. Szilard...His scientific genius contributed to ushering in a totally new age of man--the nuclear age. His sacrificial and dedicated labors in behalf of peace illustrated and set an example for all to fulfill the social and humanist requirement that accompanies this age of scientific wonder. The social order must be made to correspond with the works of science, for the fate and well-being of mankind to be secured and enriched with the vast potential of the material abundance inherent in this age. The age of the nuclear miracles calls for a social structure which is itself a product of science and responsive to its laws--a science of society."

The Worker,  
June 2, 1964, p. 2.

3. Communism Promotes Scientific and Cultural Achievement

"Jackson emphasized 'the social responsibility of the individual as vital to the healthy growth of the individual personality.'"

"Condemning the 'racism engendered by capitalism,' he pointed to 'the new relationship among people under socialism and communism as having that creative quality which brings social and individual advancement, an end to poverty and insecurity, a new era of scientific and cultural achievement.'"

The Worker,  
April 19, 1964, p. 10.

4. Common Purpose--Betterment of Mankind--Basis for  
Catholic-Communist Dialogue

"...dialogue has since further expanded, including personal discussions and exchanges of views between Catholic and Communist spokesmen...

"...As the exchanges develop, the areas of agreement keep expanding. And they will continue to do so to the extent that the participants all start from the same basic premise--that they are all sincerely interested in the betterment and progress of mankind.

"We Communists, of course, are always ready and willing to take an additional step along this path. It is our conviction that as long as there are areas of agreement, there is no reason why we cannot initiate united activities to achieve these aims."

. . . . .

"...Pope John's Encyclical has truly opened the door to a new direction, a new course of action for the Church. And with this it has opened the door to meaningful dialogue between Catholics and Communists, for the basis of such a dialogue can be provided only by a common purpose in the all-important struggle for peace, freedom and human progress in our day."

Gus Hall, "Myths Or Realities:  
Communists and Catholics," Political  
Affairs, May, 1964, pp. 16, 21.

XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. After a century of a women's rights movement in this country, women in other lands are forging ahead more rapidly.
2. In the Soviet Union, good jobs are not so scarce that women are taught to keep away from them.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Women Forging Ahead in Other Lands

"HERE WE flatter ourselves that all is well and the boast is that compared to all other countries American women are in a favorable position. But this can bear investigation. A few questions will point it up.

"How many Negro women eligible to vote will be allowed to vote in the South in 1964?"

"Why is there not a single woman in the President's Cabinet or on the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO?

"What local unions of any size, especially where women members are in the majority, have a woman president?

"What women's colleges have women as their heads?

"Why is there such a small percentage of women doctors and dentists in the U.S. compared to the USSR? Or women architects, engineers, congressmen and Senators? Are there any women State Governors?

"These are disturbing questions after a century of a women's rights movement in the U.S., especially when women are forging ahead so rapidly in other lands."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1964, p. 7.

2. Good Jobs Not So Scarce in Soviet Union

"...What makes the Russians different is not language or geography, but their social system, in which good jobs are not so scarce that women are taught to keep away from them."

The Worker,  
April 21, 1964, p. 5.



## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The streets are classrooms for democratic struggles, as demonstrated by the 450,000 Negro, Puerto Rican, and white youths who participated in the boycott of the public schools of New York City on February 3.
2. This country should put into effect a job-training program for unemployed youth. All unable to find work should receive unemployment compensation.
3. The military should have no prominent role in operating any schools for retraining and rehabilitating youthful victims of poverty.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Streets Are Classrooms for Democratic Struggles

"...the New York City public school boycott demonstration....

"Staged by more than 450,000 Negro, Puerto Rican and white youth on Feb. 3, it was an event that marks a new high in terms of unity in the battle for a free America. Its political significance is not to be measured by the number of its participants, as important as that was.

"There was in this demonstration an ideological advance. It has not, however, brought complete understanding that the struggles Negroes are leading hold the future of American democracy. This is a weakness that is curable."

"For youth today, the streets are classrooms for democratic struggles."

The Worker,  
February 18, 1964, p. 3.

2. Unemployment Compensation and Job Training

"... a National Youth Act designed to meet all job, training, educational, recreational and health needs of American youth, with effective representation of youth, labor and civil rights organizations in its administration.

"As part of such a measure, enact the Administration's job corps, working-training and work-study proposals for unemployed youth and students, on a greatly expanded scale and with special aid to facilitate the undercutting union wages, against all forms of discrimination and against military control or influence over the proposed conservation camps."

"Make all young people entering the labor force and unable to find work eligible to receive unemployment compensation."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1964, p. 8.

3. Schools for Poverty Victims Must Not Be Military Camps

"... we have the announcement from Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, that the Army would be happy to take over the administration of a contemplated program for giving literacy and vocational training to 100,000 school drop-outs, and youths who failed the draft tests because of educational or physical deficiencies.

"In other words, the Army would take over the job of waging the so-called 'war on poverty.' The schools for retraining and rehabilitating the youthful victims of poverty would be military camps and barracks under the direction and command of the Army brass.

"Labor and progressive forces must be vigilant against any schemes which are brought forth assigning a prominent role to the military in the name of security from poverty (which capitalism breeds for many millions at the bottom of its system, while it pours out billions in profits for the few at the top end).

"Already, the greatest danger to democracy in our country is represented by the 'industrial-military' complex at the top with its political manifestations in the ultra-Right and Goldwater reactionary threats and influences on governmental policies."

"The people must make it clear to President Johnson that, in the war against poverty which we want waged with real vigor, there must nevertheless be no time for sergeants and no place for any other military manikins of the Pentagon."

The Worker,  
February 23, 1964, p. 3.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1964 -- DECEMBER 1964



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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1964--December 1964**

**January 1965**

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

During the last six months of 1964, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continued its attack on United States foreign policy. The Party's specific objective was the withdrawal of the U.S. from South Vietnam.

According to the Party, the United States is an aggressor interfering in the internal affairs of other nations. The communists say that President Johnson could prove the sincerity of his advocacy of peace if he would seek, through negotiation, a peaceful solution to the situation in Vietnam. To them, a peaceful solution is U.S. withdrawal. The Party demands that this country also get out of the Congo.

The United States is accused of suppressing democracy and charting a colonialist course not only in Vietnam, Laos, and the Congo but elsewhere in Asia and Africa, as well as in Latin America. All the while, the Soviet Union is depicted as the supporter of a colonial liberation movement of peoples struggling for national independence and peace.

The Party continues to side with the Soviet Union in the Sino-Soviet dispute and asserts that Communist China weakens the national liberation movement. The development of nuclear power by the Chinese is deemed unnecessary in view of the Soviet pledge of nuclear protection

to all "socialist" countries. According to the CPUSA, former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev made a contribution to world peace and, under its new leaders, the Soviet Union will continue as the bastion of peace.

Although the CPUSA supports the Soviet Union in the Sino-Soviet dispute, recognition of Communist China by the U.S., as well as its admission to the United Nations (UN), remains a Party objective. Also advocated are reciprocal trade relations with all "socialist" countries, including China and Cuba.

On the domestic scene, the Party emphasized the danger from the ultraright as represented by the candidacy of Senator Goldwater and claimed that communists played a significant role in the election results. The Party says that the ultraright, although badly beaten, is still a formidable force. To combat this formidable force, the communists, who refer to themselves as the responsible left and part of the democratic sweep in American political life, advocate the building of a stronger left force of communists and non-communists. They say that because of a "growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people" the potential for development of an influential and more vital force is rapidly maturing.

In a similar vein, the communists are calling for a "well coordinated coalition of people's forces of which the Negro-Labor alliance is a major base."

They say that for some time there has been a loose coalition that brought various groups--most unions, Negro organizations, family farmers, students, senior citizens, various liberals in the professional fields, and peace movements--into common political and legislative action. The March on Washington in 1963 was cited as an example of such activity. A strong coalition of all these forces is urgently needed, according to the Party, to combat the ultraright.

The ultimate objective in urging the formation or strengthening of such forces is clearly apparent in the statement: "The struggle for socialism is a logical continuation of the struggle for democracy, for peace, for economic security. The very same people who now fight for reforms...are the people who because of their experiences will say, 'Let's go one step further--a step to socialism.'"

The Party demanded Federal intervention in the South to assure the lives and liberties of the Negro people and their white allies. It also offered numerous proposals for ways to end police brutality.

President Johnson's program for War on Poverty was described as but a drop in the bucket. The communists appealed for a real war on poverty financed by money now used for military purposes. To diminish the effects of automation, the Party proposed a shorter

workweek, a lower retirement age, a \$2 minimum wage, and the repeal of all "antilabor" legislation. The communists continue to maintain that "socialism" is the only solution to the problems arising from automation.

Other legislation advocated by the Party included an end to the seniority system in Congress, medical care for the aged, more adequate social security, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American activities, and the repeal of the McCarran Act.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The CPUSA, during the past six months, appealed to "fellow citizens, youth and adults, Negro and white, women and men, religious believers of all faiths, trade union members, professional people, business men...all who love life, who honor liberty, who have a patriotic concern for the fate and good name of their country" to come forth and raise a barricade of protest against the continuation of U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam. The Party will intensify the drive for support of this communist objective.
2. The Party will undoubtedly continue its demands for reduction in military spending.
3. The Party is expected to seize every opportunity to exploit the civil rights movement.
4. Youth, especially, will be a target for exploitation and recruitment.
5. The claim that "socialism" (i.e. communism) is the solution of all economic problems will be made during the next six months as it has in the past.

## **I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line**

- 1. The United States should end its war against the Vietnamese people and get out of the Congo.**
- 2. The voice of Washington would receive a more attentive hearing if the U. S., instead of committing acts of aggression in Southeast Asia, would seek peaceful negotiation for settling war-tension problems and for banning the bomb.**
- 3. Policies of encirclement, deterrence, brinkmanship, anti-communism, and anti-Sovietism have poisoned U.S. relations with practically every other country of the world.**
- 4. This country should establish reciprocal trade relations with all socialist countries, including China and Cuba.**
- 5. The anti-Soviet campaign now being waged by the Chinese leadership weakens the national liberation movement. In keeping with their nationalist views, the Chinese leaders distort the principle of mutual aid among socialist countries.**
- 6. The development of nuclear power by the Chinese is unnecessary. China should have accepted the nuclear umbrella that the Soviet Union has pledged to all socialist countries.**
- 7. Communist China should be recognized and admitted to the United Nations.**
- 8. Khrushchev made a contribution to world peace. The world can accept with confidence the statements of the Soviet leaders that the policies of peace, support for colonial liberation movements, and the building of the material and technological base for a communist society will continue.**

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. End Vietnamese War; Get Out of the Congo

"We should end our 'Dirty War' in Vietnam, bring our boys home, stop the criminal slaughter of Vietnamese people, the killing of American soldiers and the waste of more than a million dollars a day in a war the American people never wanted."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964, p. 7.

"Get Out of the Congo!"

"WHEN THE UN ASSEMBLY opens this week...

"Certainly there can be no more urgent business before the world statesmen gathered this week than to take urgent measures to get the forces of alien military aggression and intervention out of the Congo and out of Vietnam. In both situations, to our national dishonor, the American presence is that of chief supporter or main practitioner of aggression against the liberation and freedom strivings of the peoples."

The Worker,  
December 1, 1964, p. 2.

"The most urgent of all tasks at this moment is the mounting of a powerful movement to stop the dirty war against the Vietnamese people and for bringing our boys back home. The fight for peace also requires mass pressure for...immediate withdrawal of men and aid from the mercenary war against the Congolese people..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.



2. Washington Talks Peace--Should Set Example through Peaceful  
Negotiation for Banning Bomb and Settling Disputed Questions

"Fellow citizens, youth and adults, Negro and white, women and men, religious believers of all faiths, trade union members, professional people, businessmen--let all who love life, who honor liberty, who have a patriotic concern for the fate and good name of their country, come forth now and raise a barricade of protest against the continuation of U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

"Support resolute measures on the part of the United Nations to force an end to hostilities in Vietnam and to bring about the immediate evacuation of the U.S. 7th Fleet and other forces of military intervention from North Vietnam, in particular, and Southeast Asia in general. Stop the fighting!

"Withdraw our armed forces from all battle zones and undertake the settlement of all disputed questions through peaceful negotiations at the conference table in accord with the spirit and charter of the United Nations!"

The Worker,  
August 9, 1964, p. 3.

"...it escapes no one that the voice of Washington would be given a more attentive hearing in world councils seeking to restore the peace if the U.S. had not just broken it by its aggressive act against North Vietnam. Now is an opportunity for Washington to set an example on how to settle peacefully a war tension problem, by undertaking to work out, with a reconvened meeting of the 14-nation Geneva Conference on Indochina, terms for her own withdrawal from Vietnam and the restoration of a sovereign and peaceful situation there as between the two states of North and South Vietnam."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1964, p. 2.

"HUNDREDS of defenseless Cypriote men, women and children were slaughtered last weekend by the bombs and shells of Turkish military forces because the Johnson administration a week earlier had ordered an outrageous attack on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the other side of the globe."

"The present Turkish regime is the first to follow the path of international crime blazed by Washington. When it announced its support of the Pentagon invasion of North Vietnam, the Turkish government elatedly declared that the Johnson administration was doing exactly what the Turkish government wanted to do to Cyprus."

The Worker,  
August 11, 1964, p. 1.

"THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION is pegging its election drive on the theme of peace. But the continued intervention in South Vietnam, against the will of the people of that country, is one of the most important obstacles to any real and sincere advance toward world peace.

"President Johnson can serve the cause of peace in Southeast Asia only by repudiating the reckless actions of the Pentagon brass in the Gulf of Tonkin, by immediate withdrawal from the arrogant, provocative and illegal patrol of the waters of North Vietnam, and by immediate steps toward withdrawal of U.S. military and political forces from South Vietnam."

The Worker,  
September 22, 1964, p. 2.

"THIS ELECTION, because of the pledges made by the victorious candidate is a mandate to the President and to the new Congress to carry out these proclaimed policies.

"The mandate calls for an end to the cold war, for getting on with the urgent job of disarmament and the settlement of all disputed questions through peaceful negotiations. It demands an end to the war in South Vietnam, the establishment of normal relations with Cuba; recognition

of the Chinese Peoples' Republic and its admission to the UN; and an end to intervention in the Congo and elsewhere."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1964, pp. 1-2.

"The fight for peace...requires mass pressure...for a world conference of nuclear powers to ban the bomb..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

### 3. U.S. Becoming Isolated from Rest of World

"...Tshombe, who became the last-ditch instrument of desperate anti-African forces in the Johnson administration and the permanent bureaucracy of the State Department and the Pentagon, appears to be on his last legs in the Congo. With him goes the last remnants of African respect for the United States."

The Worker,  
September 13, 1964, pp. 2, 11.

"WORLD EVENTS OF the last few weeks have revealed how isolated our nation has become as the result of the policy of encirclement, deterrence, brinkmanship, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism that has poisoned U.S. relations with practically every country of the world... Washington now has only two 'loyal' allies, the neo-Nazi generals and admirals of West Germany and the fascist dictatorship of fascist Franco..."

"NATO, the heart of the anti-Soviet, encirclement policy, lies in shambles, the final toppler being the attempt by the State Department and Pentagon finaglers to give the West German neo-Nazis a trigger on U.S. nuclear weapons..."

"AND NOW Japan's new conservative regime has declared itself independent of Washington's foreign policy...."

"THE JOHNSON administration persists, however, in its inherited foreign policy, which means the dirty war in South Vietnam, intrigue against Cuba, support for Chiang Kai-shek, non-recognition of People's China, backing for the dictators of Latin America, conspiracy against the new African nations, refusal to trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

"Washington also tries new schemes, such as the harebrained plan of some 'smart' operators to bar the Soviet Union from voting in the UN Assembly and perhaps wreck the UN altogether."

The Worker,  
November 22, 1964, pp. 6, 7.

#### 4. Trade Relations with All Socialist Countries

"...a cablegram sent to Fidel Castro by Gus Hall, leading U.S. Communist spokesman, in commemoration of Cuba's July 26 anniversary."

"Your dedication to the needs of the people of Cuba has won for you the love of your people and the admiration and respect of people in all lands, including in these United States. Those who conspire against you, and who conduct economic or military warfare against you from the States do not represent the will of the American people even when such acts are committed in the name of the U.S. Government. On the other hand, there is now growing expression of support even in government circles for new and normal relationships between our countries.

"Your statesmanship which represents the will of the people of your land has been of that higher quality which advances mutual respect between peoples on the basis of peaceful coexistence and points to a victory for the cause of peace and socialism."

The Worker,  
August 2, 1964, p. 12.

"We should establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with our socialist neighbor, Cuba, 90 miles from our shores just as the Soviet Union maintains such friendly relations with 'free-enterprise' Finland on its own borders."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964, p. 7.

"The fight for peace...requires mass pressure...for opening reciprocal trade relations with all socialist countries, including China and Cuba..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

#### 5. Chinese Anti-Soviet Campaign Weakens Liberation Movement

"Mao Tse-tung's hostility to the Soviet Union is throwing him into the arms of the Japanese militarists and giving comfort to the Pentagon. This ugly fact was clearly revealed in an interview Mao gave to a delegation of right-wing Japanese Socialists recently."

"Mao's bitterness is well known, but his support of the territorial demands of the Japanese militarists is surprising. The Japanese brass hats are traditional enemies of the Chinese people. Millions of Mao's countrymen perished in invasions by the Japanese. And Mao's Government has ardently supported Soviet claims to the Kuriles in the past.

"Mao also has his own territorial ambitions--in Siberia. He suggested in the interview that an area embracing a million and a half square kilometers really belonged to China. He included the entire area east of Lake Baikal."

The Worker,  
September 29, 1964, p. 4.

"...the Anti-Soviet campaign now being waged by the Chinese leadership--the false portrayal of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power working in league with U.S. imperialism, as seeking to impose its will on other countries, and as moving toward the restoration of capitalism--contributes only to isolating and weakening the national liberation movement itself.

"To be sure the CPC leaders and their supporters in other parties cannot, in the face of reality, simply deny the importance of mutual aid among socialist countries. However, they distort the principle in keeping with their nationalist views...."

Hyman Lumer, "Proletarian Internationalism and Bourgeois Nationalism," Political Affairs, November, 1964, p. 18.

#### 6. Nuclear Power Unnecessary for China

"On the question of China's nuclear explosion, Hall said it was 'a serious event and would lead to problems'.

"The expenditure and energy to develop that device was not necessary," Hall said. "China should have accepted for their defense the nuclear umbrella pledged by the Soviet Union to all socialist countries."

The Worker,  
October 20, 1964, p. 1.

#### 7. Communist China Should Be Recognized and Admitted to UN

"THIS ELECTION, because of the pledges made by the victorious candidate is a mandate to the President and to the new Congress to carry out these proclaimed policies.

"The mandate calls for an end to the cold war, for getting on with the urgent job of disarmament and the settlement of all disputed questions through peaceful negotiations. It demands an end to the war in South Vietnam,

the establishment of normal relations with Cuba; recognition of the Chinese Peoples' Republic and its admission to the UN; and an end to intervention in the Congo and elsewhere."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1964, pp. 1-2.

"...The fight for peace...requires mass pressure for recognition of People's China..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

#### 8. Soviet Union Will Continue as Bastion of World Peace

"I am confident," Hall said, "that the Soviet Union remains the bulwark of world peace."

"He said that the steps toward peace taken by the Soviet Union are 'irreversible trends.'"

"They have deep roots in Soviet society, '...They are not the brainchild of any one man. Khrushchev made a contribution toward world peace and the struggle for communism. It is my belief that history will treat him well.'"

The Worker,  
October 20, 1964, p. 1.

"As for the policies of the Soviet Union--their policies of peace, their support for the colonial liberation movements, and the building of the material and technological base for a Communist society are rooted deep. The world can accept with confidence the statements of their leaders that these policies will continue. The Soviet Union will continue to be a bastion of world peace. These policies were not at issue in the changes of leadership.

These are not the policies of one man, they are policies of a class, based on long experience and study."

The Worker,  
October 25, 1964, p. 3.



## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. The Warren report gives little space to material indicating that Oswald was an undercover instrument of a right-wing conspiracy or of a Government agency.
2. The U. S. should wage a real war on poverty. President Johnson's program is but a drop in the bucket, even though a step in the right direction. Money we do have, but it is now being used for military purposes.
3. Integrationist principles must be woven into every aspect of national life. It is better to spend one dollar for desegregated facilities than ten for segregated, discriminatory ones.
4. The Communist Party played a significant role in the 1964 elections and made a contribution to the victory that finally came.
5. The ultraright, although badly beaten in the election, still represents a formidable force.
6. The communists are not extremists; they are the responsible left. A more united left force, including communists and non-communists could form a coalition that would block the path to Goldwaterism. There is ample room for unity between the left and all other liberal and democratic forces.
7. The world is passing from one world system to another--from capitalism to socialism. The American people will try out every other possible solution to their unsolved problems, and after all these others have failed, socialism will be the answer.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Oswald--Instrument of Government Agency or Right-Wing Conspiracy?

"THE WORKER has from the start of the investigation stressed the mounting evidence that Oswald has at some stage, since the time he

unsuccessfully sought citizenship in the USSR, been used as an undercover informant. This was supported not alone by frequent bits of information, including his mother's view, but most clearly by his provocative acts and efforts to get a 'left' covering. History has shown that it is precisely such unstable characters and mental deviates easily given to 'leftist' provocation who make informants and instruments for the rightists..."

The Worker,  
October 4, 1964, p. 12.

### "Warren Report Brushes Off Ultra-Rightist Conspiracy"

"...the report gives comparatively very little space and that is hardly convincing, to the material that came before it indicating that a Right-wing conspiracy was in the making and that Oswald was a 'Left-painted' undercover instrument of such forces or of a government agency. Even the limited material the Warren Commission has put into the record on the Rightist conspiracy that was in progress, is an important contribution and provides a basis for further investigation."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964; p. 3.

## 2. Reduce Military Expenditures; Wage Real War on Poverty

"Johnson's 'War on Poverty' program shows recognition of the special plight of youth through its proposals for a job corps program doing conservation work in camps, a work-training program and a work study plan for impoverished students. But these proposals by themselves amount to a drop in the bucket, even though they are a welcome step in the right direction. They should be greatly expanded, and should include guarantees against undercutting union wages and against all forms of discrimination and military control."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs,  
August, 1964, p. 91.

"...the Communists suggested:

"Appropriation by the Federal government of a \$15 billion fund 'to put America to work to reconstruct the nation's Harlems and to revive its Appalachias,' eliminating 'the ghettos by transforming them from areas of blight, slums, depression and despair into thriving, healthy communities that can attract instead of repel new residents of all colors.'"

The Worker,  
August 9, 1964, p. 3.

"THERE WILL BE THOSE... who will shout that there is no money available to relieve the misery of those tens of millions. That is, of course, shamefully false. Money we do have. Today it fattens the manufacturers of war material, sustains our military and other puppets all over the world, is used to prosecute a rabid war in South Vietnam."

The Worker,  
November 17, 1964, p. 2.

"The war against poverty must be made into a real war... it is necessary to struggle for... a major crash program of ten billion dollars a year to combat poverty in America."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

3. Integrate the U.S.A.

"Integrate The U.S.A. -- Make Ours Truly 'One Nation Indivisible With Liberty and Justice For All.'"

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"It is better to spend one dollar for desegregated facilities than ten dollars for segregated, discriminatory facilities.... Intergrationist principles must be woven into every law and decree, into every dollar of spending, into every aspect of national life."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 5.

#### 4. CPUSA Played Significant Role in 1964 Elections

"...the role of the Left forces, including the Communist Party, who influenced the election far beyond their numbers..."

"The Communist movement and The Worker feel encouraged by the role they played and by the increasingly favorable hearing received from an increasing number of people. It is of great significance that the anti-Communist Big Lie has lost much of its effectiveness. This is due both to the positive role of the Communist Party itself, and to the growing maturity of the people. This places an even greater responsibility on every Communist and on every reader of The Worker in the days ahead."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1964, pp. 2, 10.

"IN THE 1964 ELECTIONS the Communist Party played an important and significant role. It helped bring greater clarity and a degree of unity to Left-minded people, and by speaking to tens of thousands in its own name made a contribution to the victory that finally came. Recognizing the danger of the ultra-Right long before the brazen coup d'etat at the Cow Palace, the Communist Party was prepared for the specific character of the election struggle as it unfolded."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

#### 5. Ultraright Still a Formidable Force

"Of course the menace of Goldwaterism will not end Nov. 3. And it will have to be fought not only in the Republican party. There can be no reliance on Johnson. As after all elections, the fight will be to interpret the mandate and to carry it out."

The Worker,  
November 3, 1964, p. 4.

"THE ELECTORATE has spoken. It has given a stinging rebuff to the arrogant bid of extreme reaction for government power...."

"...The ultra-Right, although badly beaten in the election, still represents a formidable force...."

"...It will seek to exert an unremitting pressure on the Johnson administration, on Congress, and on the state governments.... The November 3rd election was only the first major battle with the ultra-Right, not the decisive nor final one."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 6.

6. A United Left Could Gain New Status and Political Posture in U. S.

"If the Left can unite its ranks and become the initiators of the broad people's electoral movements against the ultra-Right, a number of things will happen:

"1. The enemy of all progress will receive a crushing blow.

"2. A broad people's democratic movement will become a permanent factor in the political life of the country.

"3. The Left will gain a new status, new following, with a new political posture in the country.

"It is a law of political development that masses will only learn through the process of their experience in struggle. They can move much faster; they can avoid many unnecessary deadends if we of the Left are with them."

"The struggle for socialism is a logical continuation of the struggle for democracy, for peace, for economic security. The very same people

who now fight for reforms, who express their electoral voice through the two parties, are the people who because of their experiences will say, 'Let's go one step further--a step to socialism.' What sense would it make for us to separate ourselves from these people?"

The Worker,  
August 2, 1964, p.8.

"...The Communist Party does not represent an extreme view-point. We are not extremists. If we are to be labeled, we are the responsible Left. We are the revolutionary sector of such responsible forces. We are part of the democratic sweep in American political life. We fight for and join forces with those who defend our democratic institutions."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1964, p. 3.

"A CENTRAL TASK IN HELPING to weld a coalition that can block the path to Goldwaterism, no matter what guise it may take, is the building of an ever more united and ever stronger Left force in American life of Communists and non-Communists...."

"There is increasing evidence of a growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people...This means that the potential for the development in American life of an influential and ever more vital Left force is rapidly maturing."

"...certainly the Left should actively urge the labor and Negro people's movements to begin fighting for increased representation all along the line, to put forth their own more advanced candidates in primary struggles and to refuse to go along with machine-chosen political hacks. Likewise, it should help stimulate the formation of a liberal-progressive bloc in Congress and in state and city legislative bodies."

"Certainly...there is ample room and need for Left initiative and for unity between the Left and all other liberal and democratic forces in the land."

The Worker,

December 6, 1964, pp. 7, 8.

7. Communism, the Way of the Future

"The struggle for socialism is a logical continuation of the struggle for democracy, for peace, for economic security. The very same people who now fight for reforms, who express their electoral voice through the two parties, are the people who because of their experiences will say, 'Let's go one step further--a step to socialism.'..."

The Worker,

August 2, 1964, p. 8.

"Capitalism is not able to function anywhere now as a strictly private venture. It can continue to be in business only because of the ever increasing government support..."

"The world is passing from one world system to another--from capitalism to socialism...."

"WE COMMUNISTS believe that Communism will be the way of the future...."

"Socialism is not today on the order of the day in the USA. The American people will continue to go through the process of trying out every other possible solution. They will try to reform capitalism in every way possible.

"Only after all these efforts have failed--and the unsolved problems continue to pile up, only then will our people think in terms of a more fundamental social change.

"We are convinced the change will be to socialism. It will not be in the image of socialism in any other country. It will be an American brand of socialism. It will reflect our experience as a people, our traditions as a nation."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 8.



### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. Millions of jobs could be created if \$20,000,000,000 a year were taken from the military budget and used for schools, hospitals, recreation centers, low-cost housing, transit facilities, and other public services.
2. A shorter workweek without reduction in pay and a lower retirement age without reduction in benefits would help create new jobs. Also needed is a \$2 minimum wage.
3. It is time for labor to demand a prolabor foreign policy. Demands should include withdrawal of troops from foreign bases; abolition of tax privileges for foreign investment income; substantial foreign aid to basic industrial development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; abolition of economic embargoes and discriminations against socialist countries; and granting the socialist countries 15-year credits for industrial development.
4. The combined strength of labor and the civil rights movement is impregnable and is capable of transforming the present negative effects of automation into a new advance for all workers--Negro and white.
5. There can be an abundance of everything for every human being. For a society of abundance, capitalism is obsolete. Socialism can provide a rich, useful life for all.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Create Jobs; Rebuild Nation; Reduce Military Spending

"...if we are plagued by persistent unemployment today, it is not because there is a lack of useful work to be done. The fact is that we suffer from a growing deficit of low-cost housing, schools, hospitals, transit facilities and other vital public services. The provision of these would require

enough manpower to absorb for some time to come all those now unemployed plus those engaged in military production. . . ."

Hyman Lumer, "Is Human Labor Becoming Obsolete?," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 8.

"Slums, old and inadequate schools, shortages of hospitals, recreation centers and parks are apparent everywhere. They are constant reminders of the tremendous job that must be done to build and rebuild our nation. Millions of jobs could be created if \$20 billion a year were taken from the military budget and used to build such projects. . . ."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 91.

## 2. Shorter Workweek, \$2 Minimum Wage, Lower Retirement Age

"...unity, extended to a national scale, could enable the labor movement to establish what all recognize would be the most effective answer to the job threat of automation; that is, the shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay. The carefully propagated myth that such a demand is beyond the practical limits of fulfillment has so far deferred the necessary campaign. But there are ample facts to prove its practicality."

"...Automation has made the general shortening of the work week both a possibility and a national necessity. But to make it a reality, organized labor will have to update the use of all its available tools, including collective bargaining. . . ."

Carl Winter, "Automation and Collective Bargaining," Political Affairs, August, 1964, pp. 75, 76.

"A shorter work week without a reduction in pay, and a lower retirement age without reduction in benefits, would...help to create new jobs for youth...."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 91.

"There is a comprehensive peoples program.... There is unity on most of the essentials of this program that goes also for the Communists...."

"In summary that program calls for:"

"A \$2.00 minimum wage...."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 8.

### 3. Demands for Prolabor Foreign Policy

"An effective labor program must include political as well as economic planks. Substantial groups from most sections of society are calling for basic changes in U.S. foreign policy. It is past time for labor generally to shake free from dependence on the State Department and the Pentagon, and to demand a pro-labor foreign policy. Relevant planks are:

"A Congressional Resolution stating a new U.S. policy on non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, recognizing the right of every country to make its own economic regulations, including those dealing with foreign investors."

"Withdrawal of U.S. troops from foreign bases; an end to CIA and Pentagon coups, kingmaking, and interventions.... It is time for labor to

realize that all such actions aim, finally, to expand the sphere of operations of U.S. big business, in the long run to counter U.S. labor interests."

"Immediate abolition of tax privileges for foreign investment income...."

"Assessment of tariff surcharges on all imports by affiliates of U.S. companies, including licenses, equivalent to differential labor cost. These duties will not apply to imports from legitimately foreign-owned companies with no U.S. investment or royalty interest.

"Stopping all loans or other financial assistance by U.S. Government agencies, and insofar as the U.S. influences them, international agencies, to U.S. companies for their foreign operations.

"Extension of the interest equalization tax to direct foreign investments...."

"Substantial foreign aid to basic industrial development in Asia, Africa and Latin America, usually by government-owned enterprises, without political or military strings. Such constructions would use much American-made equipment and materials, and the direct labor of many skilled American engineers and workers."

"Abolition of economic embargoes and discriminations against socialist countries and granting them 15-year credits for industrial development projects. A practical goal would be to raise exports to socialist countries to \$5 billion annually by 1970, and three times that by 1980. Now that major business organizations, and perhaps even a majority of big capitalists, support East-West trade, it is absurd that American labor, which has most to gain from it, lags behind on this issue."

The Worker,  
November 29, 1964, p. 5.

#### 4. Negro-Labor Unity Necessary

"Despite the intensity and militancy of the struggle for jobs on the part of the Negro people, progress in this area has moved ahead at a snail's pace, if at all.... Unless... labor takes the initiative to put an end to discriminatory practices within its own ranks and actively involves itself in tackling the specific problems of the Negro workers, all labor's gains achieved since the thirties will be seriously threatened."

"The combined strength of labor and the civil rights movement is impregnable. That strength is capable of transforming the present negative effects of automation into a new advance for all workers--Negro and white."

Betty Gannett, "Automation and the Negro Worker," Political Affairs, August, 1964, pp. 87-88.

"The current rapid pace of political realignment demands more than ever an organized and well coordinated coalition of people's forces of which the Negro-Labor alliance is the major base, that is strictly independent of political parties. There has been a loose coalition of sorts for some time that brought most unions, the Negro peoples organizations, family farm groups, mainly those associated with the National Farmers Union, student groups, senior citizens organizations and organizations of various liberals in the professional fields, peace movements and such into common political and legislative action. The civil rights, peace and antipoverty movements have tended to jell much of this coalition in action. The Freedom March on Washington in 1963 has certainly contributed very much in that respect. But the menace of Goldwaterism and the rightist coalition he heads, has made an independent people's coalition more urgent than ever. Moreover, the situation widens the potential base for this coalition."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 8.

"Because the root cause of Negro oppression is economic, because the great majority of Negro Americans are working people, and because the

self-interest of the white workers requires their joining with their Negro brothers, there is the basis for a natural alliance between the labor and Negro people's movement....

"When the spirit which today animates the Negro people's movement sweeps over into the ranks of labor, a great new rebirth of the labor movement will take place. It will complete the job of organizing the millions of still unorganized industrial, white collar and professional workers, including the South, squarely face the unprecedented challenge of automation, and place itself in the recognized leadership of all those working for social progress in the United States. It is toward that day that all class-conscious and militant trade unionists should work."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 7.

5. Capitalism Breeds Unemployment; Socialism Provides Rich, Useful Life

"It is capitalism...which breeds unemployment and which, with advancing technology, tends to render a growing body of workers superfluous..."

"This struggle for the alleviation of unemployment, as well as for improved living standards and working conditions, can produce genuine gains even in our present society. But in the end it must lead to--and is prerequisite to--the struggle for the kind of society in which the goal of a rich, useful life for all can be fully realized--a socialist society."

Hyman Lumer, "Is Human  
Labor Becoming Obsolete?,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1964, pp. 13, 19.

"...we are at the dawn of a qualitatively new technological revolution. Nuclear energy, automation are the harbingers of this new day.... The ball game of civilization calls for a new term...socialism."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 8.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Small farmers are having difficulty staying on their farms, while thousands of children in city ghettos lack proper vitamins.
2. The family farmer is demanding a Government-financed program to lend security to the small farmer.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. A Squeeze on Small Farmer

"A small farmer with 180 acres and 35 cows was recently notified by the local dairy company that it would no longer accept milk in cans, and he had to purchase a stainless steel tank. The new equipment cost him \$7,500 and he was faced with going into debt for 20 years, though the dairy company cut its collecting expense by 25 percent.

"In another instance of squeeze on small farmers, a man and his son, operating 500 acres found they could split \$2,800 the first year and \$2,000 the second year. But now they can't make it pay.

"As a result fruit and vegetables remain unpicked.

"And so, while thousands of children in city ghettos lack proper vitamins, thousands of tons of fruits and vegetables rot in the Michigan fields."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1964, p. 4.

##### 2. Small Farmer Demanding Security

"... The family farmer, defying all the traditional dog-eat-dog 'free enterprise' rules of capitalism, is demanding a government financed program that would encourage and lend security to small farming."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 7.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. Washington fears democracy in South Vietnam, Laos, and the Congo, as well as elsewhere in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.
2. The Soviet Union supports colonial liberation movements. Such support has no political strings attached and is not contingent upon whether or not the nations are taking a socialist path.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Washington on Colonialist Course in Asia, Africa, and Latin America

"Washington chose the shameful course of fighting the independence movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa...."

"...Washington has time and again bared its fear of democracy in South Vietnam, Laos and the Congo, as well as elsewhere in Asia, Latin America and Africa. It is afraid that the peoples of these nations will choose to determine their own destinies, without exploitation by Wall Street, British, German, French or any other imperialism. That is why it installs dictatorship, run by puppets, to impose a rule of iron on peoples, who want only to be free. Indeed, the issue, when cleaned of all the phoney verbiage, is independence or colonialism."

The Worker,  
August 23, 1964, p. 3.

"The latest events in Saigon emphasize that Washington's decade-old colonialist course there is sinking deeper into the mire."

"Neither ruthless military brutality, nor CIA dagger-politics, nor puppets, whether individual or triumvirate, whether decked with military



braid or disguised in civilian garb, has halted the people's struggle for independence and democracy."

The Worker,  
September 1, 1964, p. 2.

"This failure of the joint mercenary-Belgian paratrooper operation to conquer the Congolèse patriots, who are now retaking all the area overrun by the mercenaries, is forcing Washington to consider dumping Tshombe, its present agent in the Congo, and to look for another way to keep the Congo from achieving its freedom from imperialism."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 11.

## 2. Soviet Union Supports Colonial Liberation Movements

"The visit of the Soviet delegation to Egypt has strengthened Soviet-Egyptian relations and will have a profound effect upon all Arab and other nations struggling for national independence. It will also have a profound effect in the entire Middle East, and may go far in helping to create conditions for new relations between Egypt and Israel.

"The discussions and the agreements reached make it abundantly clear that any nation genuinely struggling against colonialism and for national independence and peace can expect support from the socialist countries and in the first place from the Soviet Union. Such Soviet support has no political strings and is not contingent on whether these nations are presently taking the socialist path. It takes such forms as helping to build industrial establishments and scientific and cultural institutions, to modernize agriculture and to train native technicians, skilled workers and scientists. A central objective is to help these countries become less dependent on foreign aid. Military aid has also been extended wherever necessary and requested. And in the case of Egypt, who can forget the warning issued by the Soviet Union in 1956 that unless the invading British, French and Israeli forces were withdrawn, she would come to the aid of the Egyptian people?"

Joseph Kane, "Khrushchev's Egyptian Visit: Some Observations,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1964, p. 56.

"As for the policies of the Soviet Union--their policies of peace, their support for the colonial liberation movements, and the building of the material and technological base for a Communist society are rooted deep. The world can accept with confidence the statements of their leaders that these policies will continue. . . ."

The Worker,  
October 25, 1964, p. 3.

## **VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line**

1. The seniority system used in choosing heads of House and Senate committees has made possible the defeat of legislation demanded by the people. This system should be ended.
2. Integrationist principles must be woven into every law and decree. Segregation by law or in practice must be eliminated.
3. Medical care for the aged and the extension of all social security and old-age benefits are necessary.
4. The Federal Government must embark on a major crash antipoverty program to rebuild the Nation's Harlems and Appalachias.
5. All antilabor legislation, including the state right-to-work laws, must be repealed.
6. The McCarran Act is a patently unconstitutional fascist-style law. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court clearly suggest that once the law is taken up for review, the high court will have no choice but to strike it down.
7. The House Un-American Activities Committee is a forerunner of Goldwaterism. The time has come to abolish it and all remnants of thought control.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. End Seniority System in Congress**

"The filibuster, the seniority system of choosing heads of House and Senate Committees and the undemocratic rules governing these committees ... have stymied all progressive legislation in the interests of the people.

"The murder of medicare is grim testimony to the long-overdue need for democratic reform in Congress."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964, p. 7.

"THIS ELECTION, because of the pledges made by the victorious candidate is a mandate to the President and to the new Congress to carry out these proclaimed policies."

"An end must... be put to the power of the Eastlands and other Dixiecrats, through their membership, seniority, and official positions on congressional committees, to hold up and defeat legislation demanded by the people."

The Worker,  
November 8, 1964, pp. 1, 2.

"... What is needed is a new federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights that unify and revitalize all of our democratic institutions. The time has come to make all laws pertaining to democratic rights and social legislation uniform throughout the land. To move in this direction requires a struggle for democratic reapportionment in all states; an end to the seniority system in congress; the abolition of HUAC and all remnants of thought-control; the protection of the rights of minority parties, including the right to the ballot; and an end to the persecution and prosecution of Communists."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

2. Weave Integrationist Principles into Every Law and Decree

"Make the courts instruments of justice free from racial bias and bigotry."

"Integrate The U. S. A. -- Make Ours Truly 'One Nation Indivisible With Liberty and Justice For All.'

"The ghettos must not only be transformed and ended as ghettos.

"Indeed to accomplish this, every branch and agency of the Federal Government must be called upon to lead the nation in a **GREAT CRUSADE TO INTEGRATE AMERICA**. For this the Constitution must be the law of the land in life, North or South. Segregation, **SOUTHERN OR NORTHERN STYLE** by law or in practice, and second-class citizenship, must be eliminated."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"...Intergrationist principles must be woven into every law and decree..."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 5.

3. More Adequate Social Security; Medical Care for Aged

"More adequate social security benefits and enactment of medical care for the aged."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 8.

"...In addition to the immediate adoption of an effective Medicare bill, it is necessary to struggle for a basic extension of all social security and old age benefits..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

4. A Major Crash Antipoverty Program

"...we propose that the Federal Government embark on a program to put America to work to reconstruct the nation's Harlems and to revive its Appalachias. This should be the number one national effort for which the Federal Government should appropriate a \$15-billion dollar reconstruction fund."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, p. 6.

"...Will the Administration push through congress a major crash anti-poverty program, transferring billions from military expenditures to the task of wiping out slums, building schools, expanding education, and providing jobs and opportunities for our youth, or will it be content with only token efforts in that direction?

"It is on these basic questions that the new Administration will be judged. ...."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 7.

5. Repeal Antilabor Legislation

"To protect labor's rights and to help in organizing the workers of the South and Southwest it is necessary to demand the repeal of all existing anti-labor legislation including the state right-to-work laws and to win a new and stronger charter of labor's rights."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

6. McCarran Act a Fascist Law; Supreme Court Would Strike It Down

"THE McCARRAN ACT is a patently unconstitutional fascist-style law--whose very language follows in exact parallel that of one of the notorious

Nuremberg Laws which Hitler perpetrated against the anti-Nazi and labor opposition to his reign in Germany.

"Recent decisions of the Supreme Court in reference to lifting restrictions on passports, etc., clearly suggest that once taken up by the Court for substantive review, the high court will have no choice but to strike down the McCarran Act which is a virtual noose about the necks of the Constitutional liberties of all Americans.

"...the McCarran Act is a fascistic nullification of the Bill of Rights and the Civil Rights laws and amendments to the Constitution."

The Worker,  
October 6, 1964, p. 2.

"To continue to prosecute people under the infamous law based on the Hitler big lie as regards Communism is to give aid and comfort to reaction and fascism and to weaken and stab in the back the Bill of Rights."

"Demand an end to prosecutions under the McCarran Act. Fight for its nullification and repeal as tens and hundreds of thousands have done since its passage in 1950 over the veto of President Truman."

The Worker,  
December 20, 1964, p. 12.

7. Abolish House Committee on Un-American Activities

"The McCarran 'Communist Control Act,' the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Attorney General's 'subversive' list, loyalty oaths, the Senate Internal Security Committee... and the House Un-American Activities Committee are all forerunners of Goldwaterism..."

"...IT IS TIME TO FULLY RESTORE THE BILL OF RIGHTS FOR ALL AND ELIMINATE ALL LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS TAINTED AND DISTORTED BY GOLDWATERISM."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964, pp. 7-8.

"... The time has come to make all laws pertaining to democratic rights and social legislation uniform throughout the land. To move in this direction requires... the abolition of the HUAC and all remnants of thought-control; the protection of the rights of minority parties, including the right to the ballot; and an end to the persecuion and prosecution of Communists."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.



## VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. American soldiers are being sacrificed to maintain an outpost of imperialist might in Vietnam. The whole enterprise is not worth the life of one U.S. soldier.
2. The Pentagon hotheads are obviously becoming desperate. Eager to snatch victory out of defeat, they are hunting everywhere for ways of escalating their war beyond the borders of South Vietnam.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Soldiers Sacrificed for Imperialist Outpost in Vietnam

"Out of the pockets of the American people two million dollars a day are now being poured down the sink-hole, with the blood of American soldiers who are being sacrificed to maintain an outpost of imperialist might."

"The installation of a made-in-the-U.S.-and-Japan 'civilian' puppet will bring neither democracy nor an end to the senseless bloodshed in the U.S.-inspired war of Vietnamese against Vietnamese. Certainly, it will not bring our boys out of the bloody morass."

The Worker,  
September 1, 1964, p. 2.

"Our allies in South Vietnam are the military brigands and venal politicians who feed from the CIA trough."

"The whole slimy enterprise is not worth the life of one U.S. soldier."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 3.

"The only debate that appears to be going on among the planners of Southeast Asia policy in the State and Defense departments is between those who advocate having only a relatively few Americans killed in South Vietnam in order to maintain U.S. imperialism's foothold there and those who propose extension of the war to North Vietnam."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 2.

## 2. Pentagon-Directed War Going Badly

"The Pentagon hotheads are obviously becoming desperate. The dirty war in South Vietnam, which they direct, is going badly. The people in the tiny segment of South Vietnam still in their grasp are expressing their anger at the puppet dictatorship. The workers strike. The students demonstrate. The masses protest. Even the lower ranks of army officers refuse to participate in the war."

"It is in such a situation that the Pentagon madmen, eager to snatch victory out of defeat, are hunting everywhere for ways to expand the South Vietnam war."

The Worker,  
September 27, 1964, p. 10.

"THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE patriots last week won new victories and captured more U.S. made arms in their campaign which has constricted the Pentagon-directed regime to the boundaries of Saigon."

"But that has not stopped the Pentagon and State Department from moving ahead with their fantastic scheme for escalating their dirty war beyond the borders of South Vietnam, supposedly to bomb 'supply lines.'"

The Worker,  
December 13, 1964, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. Integrate the U.S. A. It is better to spend one dollar for desegregated facilities than ten for segregated, discriminatory ones. Integrationist principles must be woven into every aspect of American life.
2. Special Federal assistance should be given to small businesses operated by Negroes. Preferential enrollment of Negro and other minority youth should be practiced in all expanded apprenticeship programs. Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican youth should be given financial subsidies through a Federal educational program.
3. Racial disturbances in Harlem, Rochester, and Philadelphia resulted from wanton brutality by policemen. Steps must be taken to end such brutality.
4. The people must demand Federal intervention in the South, especially in Mississippi, to assure the lives and liberties of the Negro people and their white allies.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Integrate the U.S. A.

"Integrate The U.S. A.--Make Ours Truly 'One Nation Indivisible With Liberty and Justice For All.'"

"Indeed to accomplish this, every branch and agency of the Federal Government must be called upon to lead the nation in a **GREAT CRUSADE TO INTEGRATE AMERICA**. For this the Constitution must be the law of the land in life, North or South. Segregation, **SOUTHERN OR NORTHERN STYLE**, by law or in practice, and second-class citizenship, must be eliminated.

"Toward this end we propose:

"Civil and Voting Rights"

"A multi-billion dollar Federal educational program to provide free, integrated schooling everywhere...

"A multi-billion dollar federal housing program to reconstruct our cities on an integrated basis..."

"A national Fair Housing Law barring discrimination in housing everywhere."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"It is better to spend one dollar for desegregated facilities than ten dollars for segregated, discriminatory facilities. The new Johnson regime has sufficient power to destroy the Dixiecrats as a national political force, and to pass welfare legislation with strong anti-discrimination provisions. No single law will do the job. Intergrationist principles must be woven into every law and decree, into every dollar of spending, into every aspect of national life."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 5.

## 2. Special Assistance to Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans

"A special Federal program to aid Negro small businessmen should be set up to provide them with long-term low-rate loans to enable them to exist and expand in the community. To meet the problems of Negro businessmen in greatest need of financial aid, assistance should be provided to all small businessmen with incomes of from \$10,000 yearly and less."

"A multi-billion dollar Federal educational program to provide free, integrated schooling everywhere... Special assistance, including financial subsidies to Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth to enable them to overcome the education lag due to decades of discrimination...."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, p. 6.

"All expanded apprenticeship programs should be set up to guarantee against displacement of older workers and with preferential enrollment of Negro and other minority youth."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs,  
August, 1964, p. 95.

### 3. End Police Brutality

"...Harlem, the nation's largest Negro community is in a state of siege after a cataclysmic nightmare of violence--Mississippi style."

"There is no doubt that enraged and frustrated youngsters resorted to throwing bottles and bricks in resistance to the police assaults. There may have been even some smashing of store windows and some looting in a misguided attempt to avenge the racial brutality of the police."

"But the real criminals of the weekend of terror in Harlem are not the chanting demonstrators nor the youngsters who fought off the clubs."

"They are the men who, under cover of the police badge, established the 'law and order' of terrorism by wildly beating into submission all who happened to cross their paths. The bloodletting and violence in Harlem rests squarely on the shoulders of the New York City authorities."

The Worker,  
July 21, 1964, pp. 1-2.

"IT WAS IN ROCHESTER over the weekend as it had been in Harlem the week before, an act of wanton brutality by a policeman that inflamed the long-smouldering wrath of the Negro community."

The Worker,  
July 28, 1964, p. 1.

"End Police Brutality

"End occupation of Negro and minority-group ghettos by largely white police forces.

"The composition of the police force in these areas must be reversed, and should be primarily Negro-led and manned.

"End police brutality and the protection of and collusion with the criminal element.

"City civilian review boards should be set up to hear and act on all complaints of police abuse and brutality.

"Prompt punishment of police who abuse their authority.

"Make the courts instruments of justice free from racial bias and bigotry."

The Worker,  
August 16, 1964, pp. 6-7.

"The emotions of a hungry, angry people exploded in the Negro community of North Philadelphia last Friday night. Young and old were out to defy those who have abused, robbed, degraded and abased the community for years."

"It was no race riot. All the city officials, community leaders, and even Police Commissioner... had to admit this was beyond the pale of race protest.

"Neither was this a civil rights demonstration. Singled out for vengeance was the police. For years the people have suffered the outrages, terror and indignity of a police force that has viewed the community as a 'jungle,' the nickname bestowed on the community by the city's officialdom."

The Worker,  
September 1, 1964, p. 1.

#### 4. Federal Intervention in South

"The situation in Mississippi today calls for the President to send in a Federal police force of U.S. Marshalls or of contingents of the U.S. Army in numbers sufficient to secure the rights and liberties of all of the state's citizens. Also, Federal police agents must be commanded to ferret out the guilty gangs of bombers and bring them to justice under existing laws of treason now in the U.S. Codes. What exists today in Mississippi is a counter-revolutionary insurgency against the Union and the lives of its citizens who are loyal to it.

"The time has come for the armed might of the Federal government in Mississippi. Dilatoriness in this matter can no longer be abided."

The Worker,  
October 6, 1964, p. 2.

"THE TERROR AND intimidation in the South, especially in Mississippi, must be answered. The people must demand Federal intervention to assure the lives and liberties of the Negro people and their white allies.

"The federal government has always had the statutory power to act, and in addition it was given on Nov. 3 the unconditional mandate to enforce the Constitution and to invoke the law against the usurpers, the insurrectionists, against inciters to violence and murderers."

The Worker,  
November 15, 1964, p. 3.

"...possible is the federalization of the state police and the use of federal marshalls pending a probe of the crimes committed against Negroes and civil rights workers by police and other racists until evidence is given that Mississippi officials are serious about prosecuting murderers and arsonists."

The Worker,  
December 8, 1964, p. 7.



IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. A multibillion-dollar Federal school program is needed to overcome classroom and teacher shortages and to provide integrated schools of quality everywhere.
2. There should be compulsory attendance through 14 years of public school. College education should be available through a national system of tuition-free colleges.
3. A prerequisite for quality education is integration.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. A Multibillion-Dollar Federal Aid Program

"Teacher and classroom shortages can be overcome through federal aid to education..."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 95.

"...the crisis of our cities... requires urgent Federal attention and massive aid, such as:"

"A multi-billion dollar Federal school program to provide integrated schooling of quality everywhere."

The Worker,  
October 11, 1964, p. 7.

2. Compulsory Education and Tuition-Free Colleges

"... Compulsory public school education should be extended through fourteen years of school. In addition, a college education can be made available to all through a national system of tuition-free colleges...."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 95.

3. Integration Prerequisite for Quality Education

"... In our country today a prerequisite for quality education is integration. Thus, the struggle for integrated quality education and its implementation takes on a new meaning. It is inseparably linked to the progress of our country."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 94.

"... the problems of quality education cannot be separated from the fight for an integrated school system."

The Worker,  
November 24, 1964, p. 8.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. The moral and cultural climate in America is changing. Figures who were black-listed for over a decade again have been able to work creatively in many areas and fields.
2. Federal funds could be used to establish workshops for young writers, actors, athletes, and artists.
3. Cultural centers could be developed to promote talents in Negro communities and to stimulate the process of integration there.
4. The Democratic Party will have to consider the peace declarations of many scientists and religious leaders.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. "Black Pall of Fear" Is Lifting

"A special note is in order on the meaning of this election to artists, writers, intellectuals, scientists, teachers, scholars....The 'black pall of fear'--to use Mr. Justice Douglas' words--that descended over the scientific and cultural and artistic community in our country was in many ways the essence of McCarthyism. In the past eight years, there has been the beginning of the lifting of that pall, and figures who were blacklisted for over a decade again have been able to work creatively in many areas and fields...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Dr. Strangelove's Nomination," Political Affairs, September, 1964, p. 26.

"'LIFE' MAGAZINE...committed a strange act in a recent issue. It published a warm salute to Pete Seeger, the great folk-singer...."

"ANOTHER LITTLE surprise in the same issue of the magazine--a beautiful close-up of Sean O'Casey, the Irish proletarian playwright, a folk genius of our time, a Shakespeare of the Dublin slums, and thrilling poet of the modern world, when poetry is considered the lost cause of a scientific and commercial time."

"...the moral and cultural climate in America must be changing from McCarthyism, when a Seeger and an O'Casey, can be canonized by 'Life' magazine?"

"...No, it hasn't changed the cold war or the imperialist slaughters in Vietnam that 'Life' has praised a folk singer. Yet it must indicate at least, that something has been happening in the high places, to wean them from the McCarthyism they accepted and encouraged less than a decade ago."

The Worker,  
November 1, 1964, p. 8.

## 2. Workshops for Young Writers, Actors, Artists

"Federal funds can be used to establish workshops for young writers, actors, athletes, and artists. The \$55 billion a year now spent by the federal government on armaments production would provide a secure future for youth if it were spent to meet the needs of the people."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs,  
August, 1964, p. 91.

## 3. Cultural Centers To Promote Negro Talent

"The Communist proposals included the setting-up of 'a national task force, led by the trade unions and civil rights groups:'"

"To develop cultural centers 'to promote the fullest use of the great reservoir of talents in the Negro communities, to make this national treasure available to all and to stimulate the process of integration in these communities.'"

The Worker,  
August 9, 1964, p. 3.

4. Peace Declarations by Scientists and Religious Leaders

"A PEACE LOBBY and a Peace Vigil will bring the peace demands of the American people to the Democratic Party Convention Aug. 25...."

"Many scientists have expressed their peace views through meetings of the Scientists on Survival, prominent persons in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and through separate petitions, including those initiated by such scientists as Dr. Linus Pauling.

"This convention will also have to consider the impact of the 'Pacem in Terris' Encyclical of the late Pope John.

"Leading bodies of the Jewish Protestant and other religious organizations have also made peace declarations."

The Worker,  
August 23, 1964, pp. 1, 11.

## **XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line**

1. The equality of women is one of the most notable achievements of the Great October Revolution.
2. The majority of some 27 million women who work in the U.S. are discriminated against in the size of their pay checks.
3. There should be an expanded program for child-care centers and other ways to help children and working mothers.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Equality of Women Notable Achievement of October Revolution**

"The equality of women is one of the most notable achievements of the Great October Revolution. Remembering the particularly abject position of Asian women, this achievement in the Asian Republic of the USSR is especially striking. To see college presidents and Cabinet Ministers...who are women and Asian women is a memorable experience."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Renewed Old World," Political Affairs, October, 1964, p. 53.

#### **2. Discrimination against Women in U.S.**

"SOME 27 MILLION women work today; they make up about one-third of the U.S. job force.

"They are, in their majority, in the lower-paying work categories and are discriminated against in the size of their pay checks in most of these categories."

The Worker,  
August 30, 1964, p. 5.

3. Child-Care Centers for Children of Working Mothers

"Of the more than 13,300,000 married women working, eight million working mothers have children. Licensed day-care centers in the nation take care of only 185,000 of these children. And nearly 500,000 children under 12 must take care of themselves while their mothers work...."

The Worker,  
August 30, 1964, p. 5.

"Enforcement of laws for protection of women and an expanded program for child-care centers and other ways to help children and working mothers."

The Worker,  
September 6, 1964, p. 8.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. There should be a national youth act enacted to meet all the job, training, educational, and health needs of youth.
2. There is a growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people, especially young people.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. A National Youth Act Should Be Enacted

"... a national youth act should be passed to meet all of the job, training, educational and health needs of the youth. One of the most important tasks of any society is to provide every opportunity for its youth to be useful and productive members of the community."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 91.

"The Communist proposals included the setting-up of 'a national task force, led by the trade unions and civil rights groups':

"To construct schools specializing in science and the humanities to tap the vast unused talents and creative genius of the frustrated Negro youth.

"To build technical and scientific training centers for semiskilled and unskilled workers, particularly the young workers, to equip them for the jobs of this automated age."

The Worker,  
August 9, 1964, p. 3.



2. A Growing Ferment among Progressive-Minded Youth

"History shows that the capitalist class has never given anything to the workers of its own initiative. The benefits many young workers enjoy today, such as unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and disability insurance, had to be wrung from the capitalists at the cost of workers' blood. What many young people take for granted today, such as public education and tuition-free colleges in some cities, represent many years of hard struggle.

"The militant youth of our nation have risen out of the doldrums of McCarthyism. During the past years we have witnessed many actions of youth in the fight for peace, jobs and integrated quality education. It is becoming increasingly evident that these struggles are interrelated. As they increase in intensity it is becoming clearer that the enemy holding back progress is the same, and with this the basis for united efforts of all youth becomes greater."

Andrea London, "Automation and the Youth," Political Affairs, August, 1964, p. 95.

"There is increasing evidence of a growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people, especially young people..."

The Worker,  
December 6, 1964, p. 8.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1965--JUNE 1965



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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The chief foreign policy objective of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues to be withdrawal of United States forces from Southeast Asia. Steps taken by the U. S. in South Vietnam to halt communist aggression have been characterized by the Party as naked aggression against a sovereign people, an effort to maintain an outpost for some new colonialism, a denial of the right of self-determination, a betrayal of the November election mandate, and a danger to world peace.

Action by the U. S. in the Dominican Republic has likewise been condemned by the communists. According to the Party, "The Johnson Doctrine of commitment to wage holy war with U. S. armed forces against so-called 'communist threats' the world around, is inescapably comparable with Hitler's Doctrine of Anti-Communist Crusade, and of the Manifest Destiny of the Anti-Communist Axis to 'cleanse the earth of the communist menace.'"

The Party claims that never before in all history has the United States stood so alone; that it is hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for brutality, cruelty, and the violation of morality. The Party further asserts that, although the U. S. is the mightiest imperialist

power in history, it is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world, because the divisions in the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair.

The CPUSA continues to advocate expanded trade with "socialist" countries, admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and normal diplomatic relations with Cuba, as well as with Communist China.

Communist propaganda designed to lessen popular support for U. S. foreign policy has been directed at virtually every segment of our society. The Party press has made broad appeals to all Americans to help win "the mind of the President for peace in South Vietnam." One such appeal, for example, urged every American to participate in picket lines and demonstrations, to write or wire the President and Members of the Congress, to organize delegations to visit Washington, and above all, to involve members of churches, labor unions, civil rights organizations, neighborhood groups, and all other centers of people's activity in the struggle for the President's mind. Another such call to action proclaimed, "The hour is late. . . . The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow. . . ."

Almost every issue pertaining to matters domestic has been related by the Party to the withdrawal of U. S. troops from South Vietnam. The Party has tried particularly to exploit the Great Society, the war against poverty, labor objectives, and the civil rights movement.

For example, the communists say that they support every facet of the Great Society concept but are convinced that the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough. They assert that a Great Society and a War Society are two opposites; that the war against poverty can die in Vietnam or on some new battlefield; and that the President's "war policy" is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interests of the vast majority of the American people.

The Party supports a shorter workweek, a \$2 minimum wage, increased vacation, and other labor objectives. But interspersed with various observations on the position of labor in this country today is the theme that the U.S. must withdraw from Vietnam. The Party says that escalation of war in Vietnam is the gravest threat to world peace and consequently to the interest of the working class. Labor is urged to demand an end to the "bloody business that the Johnson administration is carrying out in Vietnam." The money now spent for war, the Party suggests, could create jobs for the unemployed through the building of housing, hospitals, schools, roads, et cetera.

The CPUSA claims that it, of all the present political, religious, and labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, has the longest record of continual service to this cause. While endorsing

the elimination of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people, the Party warns that the U. S. "war drive" endangers the gains of the Negro people and that they will be told to wait for their rights. The civil rights movement is urged to join with labor to raise a voice for peace.

The communists stress that Negro-labor unity is necessary. They say that the "Negro-labor coalescence" is an alliance of the oppressed and exploited and, in a sense, a political and economic community that will become the power that will determine the direction of events in this country. The American workers, the CPUSA says, are not fighting alone, since "socialism" exists in a good part of the world and people everywhere, marching toward greater freedoms, are all allies in the struggle. "Socialism" is described by the communists as a better, a more humane social system that would transform this country into a virtual paradise on earth.

#### B. Conclusions

1. In keeping with its objective to force United States withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the CPUSA can be expected to intensify its condemnation of U. S. foreign policy.
2. The communists will continue emphasis on a reduction in military spending by pointing out numerous benefits for the American people that could be derived from similar expenditures on other programs.
3. The CPUSA, can be expected to make further claims that it is a "necessary party that has influence on every segment of social activity in the country" and that "wherever you find struggles for progress, you will find Communists there." The repeal of the

McCarran Act and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities remain high-priority Communist Party objectives.

4. Negro-labor unity will receive further attention, with emphasis on the theme that the objectives of workers, Negro people, educators, professionals, youth, women, and family farmers are indivisible. The communists can be expected to exploit what they describe as "the academic revolution" that "is purifying our land."
5. The Party will, undoubtedly, continue the claim that "socialism" is the greatest of all societies and that problems that give rise to the Great Society concept could be better solved through "socialism."

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. armed presence in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic is naked aggression.
2. Every American can play his role in winning the President's mind for peace. Now is the time to speak out--to participate in picket lines and demonstrations, to organize delegations to Washington, to write or wire the President and Members of the Congress. Labor, the whole civil rights movement, and other groups must come out against the Government's dirty war.
3. The November election obligated President Johnson to uphold world peace. The provocative air strikes against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam are a betrayal of the election mandate.
4. The Johnson Doctrine is a return to the worst days of gunboat diplomacy for the protection of special interests of U.S. monopolists. Commitment to wage holy war against so-called "communist threats" is comparable with Hitler's "Anti-Communist Crusade."
5. Never before in all its history has the United States stood so alone. Our nation is hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for its brutality, cruelty, and violation of morality. Since the bombardment of North Vietnam, the U.S. has been the victim of a real domino effect.
6. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. U.S. imperialism is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history and stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.
7. A big boost in trade relations between the U.S. and the socialist world could have the most far-reaching consequences on economic as well as social developments in our country.
8. The People's Republic of China has a rightful seat in the United Nations. The withdrawal of Indonesia from the UN does not strengthen the general struggle against colonialism and

imperialism, but it is nowhere nearly as serious for the future of the organization as the pressure by Washington against the Soviet Union and other members over dues arrears.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Naked Aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic

"JAMES E. JACKSON, editor of The Worker, sent the following telegram Sunday morning to President Johnson from Chicago where he was attending The Worker's press conference:

"Bombing North Vietnam provokes general war, endangers U.S. security. Stop it. Withdraw armed forces. Respect Vietnam's self-determination."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1965, p. 1.

"The world witnesses the Government of the United States opening a second front of aggression against sovereign peoples last week. As in Vietnam, the U.S. armed presence in the Dominican Republic is naked aggression. It cannot be defended on grounds of national interest or law."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 2.

"The invasion by the American Marines of the Dominican Republic under orders of President Johnson is a blatant act of imperialist intervention against the democratic peoples of that country....

"This military intervention is designed to prevent the establishment of a democratic and popular government in that republic. . . ."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

"For the past few months our country has been thrown into a state of crisis by the escalation of U. S. imperialism's aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. Now the crisis has been greatly deepened by a new act of aggression, this time against the people of the Dominican Republic. . The nakedness of this invasion surpasses anything in the recent history of imperialist outrages. . . ."

"The Dominican Invasion,"  
Political Affairs,  
June, 1965, p. 1.

2. Demonstrate! Picket! Speak Out! Write the President; Senators,  
Congressmen! End the War!

"Every American can play his role in winning the mind of the President for peace in South Vietnam--

"By participating in picket lines and demonstrations expressing the will of the people.

"By writing or wiring President Johnson, and your congressman and senators.

"By organizing delegations to visit Washington to present your demands.

"Above all, by involving the members of your church, of your union, of your neighborhood group, of your civil rights organization, and all other centers of people's activity in the 'struggle for the President's mind. '"

The Worker,  
February 16, 1965, p. 6.



"It is one minute before midnight. But there is still time to force the Johnson Administration to retreat from this new exercise in brinkmanship. From every corner of our land, there must rise a powerful demand: Halt U.S. intervention in South Vietnam! Withdraw U.S. military forces from South Vietnam! The people of South Vietnam have an inalienable right to self-determination.

"This is not the time to remain silent in public and disturbed in private. This is the time to speak out!" \*

"This is the Time to Speak Out!"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1965, p. 3.

"ALREADY THE Washington march showed that the civil rights movement was coming to see the identity of interests of the Negro people's freedom movement with the anti-imperialist objective of ending the neo-colonialist war of the U.S. against the people of Vietnam. "

"The dirty war against Vietnam enjoys the patronage and strengthens the position of every racist and chauvinist force in the Government and in our national life. Therefore, the whole civil rights movement must come out against the Government's dirty war as a part of its own struggle for freedom from racist outrage and exploitation at the hands of our society's ruling powers.

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done. "

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U.S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class."

"Labor must demand an end to the bloody business that the Johnson government is carrying out in Vietnam.

"This struggle must be undertaken and accomplished by the fullest involvement of the whole labor movement, and it must be done with the utmost urgency in labor's and the nation's self-interest."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

"...Peace and patriotism go hand in hand. In the name of humanity and our own welfare, we urge all our fellow Americans and fellow workers to tell President Johnson:

"We demand unconditional peace!

"Let the peoples of these countries decide their own destiny!

"Halt the escalation and defeat the nuclear world war danger!

"Get out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic now!"

The Worker,  
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

"Indeed, the struggle for peace is the task of the patriot. And in these days, the struggle for peace means mass actions to compel the Government to take our country out of the dirty war in Vietnam, and, to take the Marines out of the Dominican Republic."

The Worker,  
June 15, 1965, p. 7.

### 3. Vietnam War Betrays Election Mandate

"The November election... obligated Johnson to guarantee the full rights of the Negro people and to stop all military operations against Vietnam, the Congo and Cuba. It also obligated the president to seek friendly relations among the nations, to uphold world peace."

The Worker,  
March 21, 1965, p. 2.

"Henry Winston condemned the provocative air strike which the Johnson Administration is conducting against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and termed them a betrayal of the election mandate of last November."

The Worker,  
March 23, 1965, p. 4.

"Johnson has betrayed the mandate of the people. Instead of war against poverty, his policies have brought death in wholesale lots of destructiveness to peoples in distant lands, and the corpses of hundreds of American soldiers are counted in the costs of his foreign follies."

The Worker,  
June 20, 1965, p. 3.

### 4. Johnson Doctrine-Gunboat Diplomacy-Comparable with Hitler Doctrine

"The path on which President Johnson has set the feet of our country, in foreign relations, has already led us into a shameless war, some 7,000 miles from here against the people of Vietnam who rose against tyranny."

"Now, he has taken the country into a war against the people of the small island of Santo Domingo."

"He has proclaimed a new doctrine: the Johnson Doctrine. This is Gunboat Diplomacy in the nuclear age. This is the proclamation of the privilege of imperial rights to dominate small countries on the part of a big bully country in the age of anti-colonial victory."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 1.

"The invasion by the American Marines of the Dominican Republic under orders of President Johnson is a blatant act of imperialist intervention against the democratic peoples of that country. It is a return to the worst days of gunboat diplomacy for the protection of the special interests of U. S. monopolists."

"This military intervention is designed to prevent the establishment of a democratic and popular government in that republic. This again exposes our government as the protector of strongarm dictators who do the bidding of the U. S. monopolists. This is also an effort to cover up the anti-Cuban plots which are being hatched on the soil of the Dominican Republic by the CIA and anti-Castro Cubans representing the groups that have lost their privileges because of the great Peoples Revolution in Cuba."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

"...The Johnson Doctrine of commitment to wage holy war with U. S. armed forces against so-called 'communist threats' the world around, is inescapably comparable with Hitler's Doctrine of Anti-Communist Crusade, and of the Manifest Destiny of the Anti-Communist Axis to 'cleanse the earth of the communist menace.'"

"Indeed, the dangerous Johnson Doctrine is wholly alien to our country's national interest. It is a policy that must be wholly repudiated or it will doom the nation and involve the world in a horrendous military holocaust."

The Worker,  
May 11, 1965, p. 2.

## 5. Our Nation Isolated from Rest of World

"Never in all its history has the United States stood so alone as it stands today--with its imperialist aims nakedly revealed before the world."

"This is the Time to Speak Out!"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1965, p. 3.

"Our country is isolated, the most hated, because the ruling class of America is obsessed by the cancer of anti-communism. One hundred billion dollars has been spent in the last 20 years in the U. S. to outlaw Communism, but the virus of anti-Communism has affected the American people more than it has hurt Communists,' Lightfoot said.

"He added to this the virus of racism injected by the American ruling class, and he maintained that our nation today faces a crisis. People are starving, he said, yet Secretary of State Rusk calls on the nation to fight Communism.

"But this American ruling class hasn't offered anything better than Communism to the millions in the world, suffering and dying from hunger, disease, bombings and lethal gas.' "

The Worker,  
April 18, 1965, p. 9.

"Our nation has become isolated from the rest of the world. It has become the pariah of the international community, hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for its brutality, cruelty and violation of morality.

"Washington has lost all its friends, even among those governments that it brought to power or kept in power by bribery, armaments or outright force. The only 'true' friend the Johnson administration now has in international affairs is the West German regime of monopolists and neo-Nazism and they could also doublecross."

The Worker,  
May 9, 1965, p. 8.

"...since the United States commenced its bombardment of North Vietnam in February, 1965, it has been the victim of a real domino effect. What has indeed happened since that fateful February decision? Cambodia has severed all relations with the United States. Relations with Indonesia have deteriorated to the point where they are purely formal...

"Opposition in Japan has reached the point where it is manifested in official circles... Anti-American feeling--not only among the masses --in the Philippines has reached a high point. The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is splintered beyond recognition; thus, in recent naval maneuvers held by that Organization, the two major non-American partners, Pakistan and France, refused to participate. Both powers have publicly affirmed their opposition of U.S. policy in Vietnam...

"At the same time--and again largely because of the U.S. actions in Vietnam, aggravated by that Government's intervention in the Caribbean--the cornerstone of American post-war diplomacy, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), lies in shambles...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Further on Vietnam," Political Affairs, June, 1965, pp. 42, 43.

## 6. Divisions in Ranks of World Socialism Not beyond Repair

"U.S. imperialism has the greatest facilities, the largest staff, the mightiest armed forces at its disposal of any imperialist power in history. But it is not big enough. It is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history. It is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.

"Imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact this new unity is being welded now.

"It should be clear that we have a new stage opening up in the struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism. There are new dangers. But the

main thing that stands out is the new upsurge, the new people's movement to save the United States from its present path of no return."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 6.

"...the existence of the socialist sector of the world, led by the Soviet Union, the development of the new non-aligned, independent nations of Africa and Asia, the turn to the left of center of many Latin American countries are going to make much more difficult than at any other time the conquest of the Dominican Republic by U.S. imperialism."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 6.

#### 7. Trade with Socialist Countries

"A really big boost in trade relations between the U.S. and the Socialist world could have the most far-reaching consequences on economic as well as social developments in our country. A massive development of trade between the U.S. and the socialist countries would likewise make a dramatic contribution to the relief of war tensions. It would tend of itself to recommend a change of the terms in which the competition between the two social systems develops, from accumulation of thermonuclear weapons to a contest in the production and exchange of goods and produce. Trade will help the cause of peace."

"The pressure building up in the business community for Congress to take away foolish trade restrictions on business with the socialist countries is a good thing. It will not only profit the businessmen, but it can be the basis for employment and reemployment of thousands of our working people.

"This then is one of those issues fully in the national interest. The unions should not leave this cause purely up to the Chamber of Commerce.

"It is a national issue such as labor must take pride in leading the struggle to achieve.

"A victory here on this question will bring forth many dividends in the interest of the working class and the people of our nation as well as in the cause of world peace and friendship.

"The logic of the campaign for more trade with the socialist countries must lead its advocates to demand of Washington the early recognition of the People's Republic of China and restoration of normal diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. "

The Worker,  
January 12, 1965, pp. 2, 8.

"...much of American business, and certainly all of American labor, has much to gain by the really wide expansion of East-West trade the U.S. can have if it stops its wars of conquest and adopts a business-like policy of trading with socialist countries for mutual advantages and without futile attempts to dictate their politics as a condition. "

The Worker,  
June 6, 1965, p. 5.

8. Indonesia, Red China, and the UN

"The offense to Indonesia and the anti-colonial cause is measured by the seating of Malaysia against the still stubborn refusal to accord the People's Republic of China her rightful seat in the UN. "

"Indonesia has been demanding the dismantling of this expanded British base for armed aggression and for neo-colonialist intrigues on the part of the SEATO and NATO imperialist countries. "



"The struggle of Indonesia in regard to Malaysia is a part of the general struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This is clear. Nevertheless, in our opinion, it does not strengthen the struggle for Indonesia to withdraw from the UN community of nations where the socialist states and the newly emancipated anti-imperialist African and Asian states are a steadily growing force for determining the course of world events."

The Worker,  
January 17, 1965, p. 3.

"The withdrawal of Indonesia from the UN is nowhere nearly as serious for the future of that organization as is the present pressure by Washington against the Soviet Union and other members over dues 'arrears.' "

The Worker,  
February 9, 1965, p. 6.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Without world peace, all concepts of the Great Society will be so much talk. A Great Society and a War Society are two opposites.
2. President Johnson's war policy is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interest of the American people. Practically the only group in the U. S. supporting the war in South Vietnam is the Republican leadership in Congress, its few fellow-travelers among the Democrats, and the ultra-rightists in the GOP outside of Congress.
3. A merging of the struggles for peace, for freedom and equality, and for a real war on poverty is most encouraging.
4. The Communist Party, USA, is a necessary political party. Its size is no measure of its influence.
5. The problems that give rise to the concepts of the Great Society would be better solved through socialism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Great Society and War Society Two Opposites

"Perhaps the single most glaring contradiction in the President's outline of the Great Society was his silence on disarmament:

"He spoke boastfully of the \$3.5 billion saved in governmental economy last year.

"Yet about \$51 billion was spent for military expenditures at the same time and more than \$1.5 is being wasted in a brutal war that most Americans do not want. But the President promised to continue to expand the nation's treasure to achieve greater superiority in the arms race and in the war in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 11.

"We do not believe the measures in the Great Society concept are realistic in an economy based on war production. Without world peace, all concepts of the Great Society will be so much talk and go up in smoke. A Great Society and a War Society are two opposites."

The Worker,  
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"...Mr. President...

"How can you hope to build a new America, a Great Society, moral and democratic and clean, when you are at the time leading a colonial war, a slavery war?"

"The contradiction is too huge to be manipulated away by the cleverest political orator and flag-waver. Truth crushed to earth must always rise again."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 8.

"Washington may be more concerned about its dirty wars in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic but it is the war on poverty which the people are anxious to wage."

"The war on poverty faces the danger of never really getting started.

"It can die in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic or someother new battlefield chosen by the President and his war hawks."

The Worker,  
May 16, 1965, p. 10.

## " LET US POINT OUT

"that no country--not even our rich United States--can for long have both guns and butter. If you are not one of the five million unemployed, take a look at your tax return and see how much you're paying for guns. Then figure what that money, in your pocket, could do to make family life easier.

"If you are unemployed, figure how many jobs the \$50 billion a year now spent for war could create for the building of low and middle income housing, hospitals, schools and roads...and figure, too, that if that money were spent for peace instead of war, we would all **BE SURE OF A WORLD IN WHICH TO LIVE AND WORK!**"

The Worker,  
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

## 2. War Policy, Instigated by Concern for Rich, out of Step with Consensus of American People

"**PRACTICALLY THE ONLY** group in the U.S., and perhaps in the world, supporting continuation of war in South Vietnam and pressing for extension of the war north is the Republican leadership in Congress, its few fellow-travelers among the Democrats, and the ultra-rightists in the **GOP** outside of Congress."

The Worker,  
February 28, 1965, p. 1.

"Following the elections those in and around the Johnson Administration apparently drew some wrong conclusions. They miscalculated on what was the mood of our people. They proceeded under the misconception of some general 'consensus' and operated under the assumption that 'promises' would be enough, interpreting the vote as a vote for 'their man.' The last few months have been a political shakedown cruise for the Administration. The events have shattered their illusions. They are now learning that the vote was not for

'their man,' but for policies the people expect 'their man' to carry out. There is no 'general consensus.' The people are demanding the fulfillment of promises. "

Gus Hall, "The Mandate:  
Selma and Vietnam,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1965, p. 9.

"President Johnson's war policy... is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interests of the American people.

"'There has never been a U.S. policy,'... 'so out of step with the "consensus of the American people" that President Johnson likes so much to talk about. These policies are not geared to national defense, they are geared to aggression.'"

The Worker,  
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

"The April 17 march in Washington when 25,000 took part in the greatest peace demonstration ever held in the nation's Capitol, the hundreds of teach-ins, the growing united action of peace, civil rights, academic and religious groups, the dramatic protests by some of our most outstanding literary and cultural figures and the scheduled Madison Sq. Garden rally, June 8, have all combined to convince an increasing number of Congressmen that Congress is out of step with the people on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. "

The Worker,  
June 8, 1965, p. 6.

### 3. Merging of Struggle for Peace, Freedom and Equality, War on Poverty

"One of the most heartening and promising developments revealed in the Washington action on April 17 was the unprecedented

participation of the number of young Negro men and women in the demand for peace in Vietnam and, as some observers remarked, the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty."

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"Most encouraging in the past year was progress towards... the 'coalition of conscience'--progress towards what amounts to a merging of the struggle for civil rights, the movements against poverty, for peace and for more social welfare legislation for all...."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 5.

"Countries which abide the oppression of members of their own national family are unlikely to practice justice or pursue peace in their world relationships."

"Therefore it is everywhere necessary to COMBINE the struggle for peace with the fight against injustice. In our country, we see the war against prejudice and poverty as a corollary of the struggle against war in general and for an end to U.S. wars in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic in particular."

The Worker,  
June 20, 1965, p. 3.

#### 4. Communist Party a Vital Part of American Life

"The C.P. is a movement which nurtures and grows on conditions in the U.S. We are a necessary party that has influence on every segment of social activity in the country. Our size is not a measure of our influence. We are a vital part of American life and have been contributing to it for the past 45 years."

The Worker,  
March 2, 1965, p. 6.

"AT THE VERY moment the fight for the ballot in the South is on the verge of significant victories, the Government is acting to restrict the franchise further in the Tax Court in N. Y. City on March 22.

"Should the Director of Internal Revenue win his claim for approximately one million dollars in taxes and back penalties for the year 1951 against the Communist Party, the director will have unlimited power to determine which political parties will be taxed out of existence and which he will permit the people to vote for.

"No political party, large or small, has ever been taxed. Now the Director claims the right to discriminate, to decide which political parties he does not like and wishes to tax out of existence. The Internal Revenue Service attempts to hide its assumption of dictatorial powers by claiming that the Communist Party is not a political party. This flies in the face of the millions of voters who at one time or another voted for Communist candidates. It also contradicts the vigorous and consistent efforts of the Communist Party throughout the years to participate fully in the electoral process. These are efforts that have had to contend with every kind of harassment and unconstitutional law such as the McCarran Act."

The Worker,  
March 21, 1965, p. 3.

"Wherever you find struggles for progress, you will find Communists there."

The Worker,  
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

##### 5. Socialism--Solution for Problems Confronting Great Society

"A new society is always a natural and logical continuation of the struggle for reforms and concessions in the old society.

"The Great Society concepts are not steps towards socialism.

"But the problems that give rise to these ideas we believe would be better resolved through socialism. The greatest of ALL societies will be socialism."

The Worker,  
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"We live in an age whose main characteristic is that the springtime of man is breaking out all over. It is the age of the ascent of socialism with its promise of abundance, and the demise of imperialism with its record of deprivation. . . ."

The Worker,  
February 2, 1965, p. 2.



### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line.

1. Last November, labor cast its vote for the Johnson promise to wage war against poverty. The war in Vietnam is a betrayal of labor's election mandate.
2. The Negro-labor coalescence is a political and economic community. This community will determine the direction of events in our country.
3. Organization of the unorganized is the chief hope of the employed poor.
4. Big business and the Federal Government could exert economic pressure to force an end to the oppression and segregation inflicted on southern Negroes. Instead, big business has helped the racists by expanding in the Deep South.
5. A \$2 minimum wage would provide real ammunition in a war against poverty, and the need for a shorter workweek is now well established.
6. Socialism would transform our country into a virtual paradise on earth.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Labor's Election Mandate Betrayed

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U.S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class."

. . . . .

"When labor went to the polls in the presidential election last November, the only vote it cast was for the Johnson promise to wage 'war against poverty.' The war in Vietnam is a criminal diversion from, and betrayal of, labor's election mandate, on the part of the Johnson administration.

"Labor must demand an end to the bloody business that the Johnson government is carrying out in Vietnam.

"This struggle must be undertaken and accomplished by the fullest involvement of the whole labor movement, and it must be done with the utmost urgency in labor's and the nation's self-interest.

"... The peoples of the world await, confidently, the initiative of the mass of the American trade union movement to add its decisive strength to the sacred cause of defending the peace of the world against the Washington War Hawks who are bent on escalating the role of the U. S. in the Vietnam war into a general war."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

## 2. Negro-Labor Community Will Determine Direction of Events

"The Negro-labor alliance has been the foundation on which the forward direction of American life has rested for a long time, although this has not always been obvious because its influence has been indirect and without organizational forms.

"This is an alliance of the oppressed and the exploited. It is an alliance based on mutual self-interest and the oneness of the enemy...."

"As is the case with colonialism on the world scene, the ending of the system of jim crow has emerged as the most crucial domestic question for the United States...."

"In a sense, the Negro-labor coalescence is more than an alliance or a united front formation. It is a political and an economic community, an overlapping, interlinked unit. As the consciousness of this grows in its ranks, this community will become the power that will determine the direction of events in our country.

"On a world scale, the working class is emerging as that class on whose shoulders the future of civilization rests. Because it is the leading element in the world socialist, anti-imperialist, peace community, it is now the decisive force determining the course of world events...."

Gus Hall, "The Negro-Labor Community," Political Affairs, February, 1965, pp. 5, 7.

### 3. Organization Chief Hope of Employed Poor

"It is... clear that the chief hope for the impoverished employed lies in organized labor, in coming under the protection of the trade unions, and in a labor policy which seeks to constantly raise the living standards of the lowest paid as a sure means of reinforcing and safeguarding union wage scales and conditions already won.

"The organization of the unorganized employed poor looms as a major and decisive front of the anti-poverty war. For success on this front would go far to winning that war all down the line."

"The war on poverty has many fronts, but few are as decisive as that front on which the trade unions, by virtue of their very being, must be the spearhead--the organization of the unorganized employed poor."

The Worker,  
May 30, 1965, p. 4.

#### 4. Big Business Helping Racists in Deep South

"... Big business and the Federal Government have the power to exert overwhelming economic pressure to force abolition of the oppression and segregation inflicted on southern Negroes. Nationally-owned corporations dominate the Southern economy, and their officials freely pledge to integrate employment and hint at supposed behind-the-scene pressure for moderation....

"...big business has helped the racists by expanding in the Deep South."

"BIG BUSINESS and the big business government will no more take the initiative to end segregation than to end neo-colonialism overseas. They disagree with Rev. King's proposal not, as they claim, because the boycott cannot work, but because they fear it will succeed. That minority of business firms which really support the civil rights struggle, as by refusing to buy Alabama bonds, are to be applauded. One objective of a boycott is to persuade more of them to help.

"...a really mass boycott by millions of whites and Negroes may be an effective weapon in forcing the hand of the white power centers; just as mass demonstrations and parades forced the Administration to introduce voting rights legislation."

The Worker,  
April 18, 1965, p. 5.

"Nor is the Ford alliance with racists limited to South Africa. The company announced that as part of its expansion program within the U.S., it will spend \$8,000,000 to build a 24,000 foot building addition to its aluminum foundry in Sheffield, Alabama."

The Worker,  
June 15, 1965, p. 4.

5. Shorter Workweek, \$2 Minimum Wage, Increased Vacations, Decreased Workloads

"The AFL-CIO has set \$2 hourly as a national minimum. If anything would provide real ammunition in a war against poverty and a boost to the nation's economy, it would be enacting the AFL-CIO proposal into law."

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 11.

"WHEN THE RICH make millions in profits, this is hailed as a great achievement. When the workers ask for a few pennies in wage increases, this is denounced as threatening the so-called 'public interest.'"

"THESE HUGE PROFITS must stimulate the 'new look' by the trade unions on the question of economic demands. Is it not a fact that the real public interest suggests that as automation takes over, the work week can and should be progressively cut from 35 to 25 to 20 hours a week--that the retirement age should progressively lower--that vacation periods should be progressively increased--and that work loads should be progressively decreased?

"It is in the very nature of capitalism that big business will never volunteer to give up one penny of its acquired loot. Therefore it is to the real public interest for the trade unions to unite their forces behind a new massive struggle that will raise economic demands to the level that corresponds to the new level of technology."

The Worker,  
February 7, 1965, p. 3.

"The need of a shorter work week is now well established and is seen as an important way of protecting jobs. Along the same lines, there is a demand for earlier retirement plans, extended vacations and the like."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 6.

"Unquestionably, the steel workers are entirely justified in making demands for substantial wage and fringe increases, as well as a demand for the shorter work week. The companies are fully able to meet these demands without raising the price of steel at all.

"The companies are whipping up a great fog of misinformation to cover up the essential facts and figures. This fog must be blown away and the naked reality exposed for all to see. It is in the national interest that the steel workers win their demands. They deserve the fullest support not only of Labor, but of the whole people."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 7.

#### 6. A Socialist U. S. A. -- A Virtual Paradise

"The American workers are not fighting alone and they are not isolated. Socialism with its many benefits and examples already exists in a good part of the world. Peoples everywhere are marching towards greater freedoms, genuine independence and a better life. They are all allies in our struggle."

"Socialism, production for the people's needs and not for profit, would transform our country into a virtual paradise on earth. No country that has taken the socialist road has as yet had the advantages, the immediate possibilities that we have.

"From the very beginning each family--even on the basis of the present production levels--could be guaranteed a minimum standard of living equivalent to about \$10,000 a year. Under socialism, by full employment, by abolition of waste, etc., this could be doubled in a very short time.

"We, like the entire world, need a better, a more humane, social system, socialism. Let us fight to win a better life now. And out of the struggles of today build towards a socialist future tomorrow."

The Worker,  
March 7, 1965, p. 10.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. The alleviation provided to agriculture discriminates against the poorer farmers.
2. Negro farmers are victimized by capitalism and racism.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Discrimination against Small and Middle Farmers

"Help for the farmers, particularly the poor farmers, is being cut by \$537 millions, at a time when the government itself admits that the poor farmers are having a hard time. The Johnson solution for this is to drive most of the farmers off the land and into the urban areas. This has been the policy of every administration since the 1930s."

"That the cut in farm expenditures is aimed at the poorer farmers was made clear by the President, who said they would come in 'expenditures for the farm income support programs supported by the Commodity Credit Corp. and proposed legislation which will reduce expenditures for the Farmers Home Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration.'"

"Agricultural aid is cut by \$537 millions to 04.1 billions, but the direct military budget is cut only \$200 millions out of a total amount of \$50 billions, with no comparable cuts of any consequences in the other aspects of war preparation."

The Worker,  
January 31, 1965, pp. 1, 11.

"...the alleviation provided to agriculture has discriminated in favor of the largest farms, and against most of the farmers, against the small and middle farmers...."

Eric Bert, "The Government and Agriculture," Political Affairs,  
June, 1965, p. 35.

2. Negro Farmers Victimized by Capitalism and Racism

"The Negro farmers are, like the small white farmers, victimized by capitalism; they are also the victims of the racist precipitation from the days of slavery...."

Eric Bert, "Discrimination  
Against Negro Farmers,"  
Political Affairs,  
May, 1965, p. 58.



## V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. imperialism supports colonialism and benefits most from it. This country is a partner in every imperialist venture--in the Congo, in South Africa, and in Latin America. It partially owns West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium, and every other capitalist country.
2. Although U.S. imperialism is a world policeman, the old colonial powers are not leaving the stage.
3. The U.S. must withdraw from Vietnam, where it is maintaining an outpost for the restoration of some new colonialism in Southeast Asia. Our Armed Forces must also withdraw from the Congo, from bases in Cuba, and from all other countries in which we have military outposts.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. U.S. Main Beneficiary of Colonialism

"... American big business has always sought to conceal its imperialist character behind the fact that the United States possesses few outright colonies. But U.S. imperialism is today the bulwark of world colonialism and neo-colonialism--of the oppression and exploitation of peoples under the cloak of nominal independence...."

"Communists and Negro History,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 2.

"What are some of the specifics about U.S. imperialism now being exposed in the glare of the world's spotlight?"

"It is the most extended salient of military and economic imperialist aggression. The advance outpost of military aggression against Vietnam now being exposed and isolated is a case in point. U.S. imperialism is the center for and the support of colonialism and the main practitioner of neo-colonialism.

"It is the main beneficiary from the world's oppressive system of colonialism.

"At this moment it is the single most serious obstacle to a world in peace, it is the center of war and the drive towards war."

"It is the economic, financial center and clearing house for world imperialism. It is a partner in every imperialist venture. It is a partner in the Belgian operations in the Congo. It has a piece of the enslaved industry of South Africa. It is the dominant imperialist force in Latin America. It is part owner and master within the home industries of every other imperialist country. It is part owner of West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium--wherever there is capitalism, U.S. imperialism is there."

The Worker,  
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

## 2. Old Colonial Powers Not Leaving Stage

"Another consideration to be borne in mind is that although U.S. imperialism is a world policeman and the chief enemy of the peoples, it is not the only enemy. The old colonial powers are not leaving the stage and are laying claim to leading roles. Vigilance against their intrigues remains a condition of the success of the struggle against neo-colonialism. It is imperative to keep in sight both the new and the old enemies, the possibility of an alliance between them, and the contradictions that are a permanent feature of the imperialist pack of wolves."

Henry Winston, "United States Neo-Colonialism," Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 34.

"... It is becoming clearer every day that Washington is no longer able to impose the will of Wall Street imperialism on its rivals in London, Paris, Rome, Bonn or Tokyo. All these now are seeking a way to disentangle themselves from the imperialist ventures of Washington all over the world, and to

use for their own advantage the antagonism created by Washington throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries.

"One can expect these conflicts to grow. Meanwhile the national interest of the American people suffers from Washington's sabotage of the UN and its continued reliance on a bankrupt foreign policy."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1965, p. 6.

### 3. U. S. Must Cease To Maintain Outposts in Vietnam, Congo, Cuba

"The U. S. with no vital interest in Vietnam must withdraw the vain and murderous pursuit of maintaining an outpost for the restoration of some new colonialism in Southeast Asia. Similarly, it will serve the interest of our people to bring about immediate withdrawal of our armed forces from the Congo as well as from bases in Cuba and from countries where our military outposts have been poached."

The Worker,  
January 3, 1965, p. 3.

"He put the question that is being asked in anger by ever increasing millions of Americans in regard to Vietnam: 'Why are we there?' Yet, the answer he offered was no answer at all. He merely 'explained' that three Presidents before him had supported a pledge made 10 years ago to fight alleged Communism in Vietnam, and that he (Johnson) will not break the pledge.

"But the American people must certainly reject this alibi for the Government's waging of a murderous colonial war 5,000 miles from our shores against a people whose struggles for control of their country and for the exercise of their right to self-determination violate no vital interest of our country."

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 1.

"... The ending of World War II signaled the beginning of the struggle against colonialism and servitude of nations to imperialist powers. In the post-World War II world the struggle of the deprived and subject peoples everywhere to be free is both universal and irrepressible. "

"The finger of history points accusingly to US on the occasion of this 20th anniversary of the victory over Hitler Germany; it demands that the Johnson government withdraw the troops from the territory of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam now! If we should fail in putting an end to this doctrine of military aggression, the lesson of history from World War II is that history will not absolve us. "

The Worker,  
May 9, 1965, p. 3.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. Communists support every measure of the Great Society concept but are convinced that the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough.
2. Federal troops must be used when and where necessary to protect the voting rights of citizens.
3. The Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional that section of the Landrum-Griffin Act which prohibits communists from becoming officers in trade-unions is a victory for democracy.
4. The McCarran Act is used as an instrument of harassment, compulsion, and political oppression. The indictment of the Communist Party under this Act is to create an atmosphere of hysteria for the purpose of silencing all opposition to the conduct of an unconstitutional and unjust war of aggression in South Vietnam.
5. The House Committee on Un-American Activities is the enemy of all that every decent American wants--peace, equality, and economic security.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Needs of Today--Medicare, 30-Hour Week, \$2 Minimum Wage, Integrated Housing and Education

"We Communists support every measure of the Great Society concept that benefits the people. We are for every measure in the struggle against poverty. We support every measure that puts an end to the system of discrimination against our fellow Negro Americans. We support every measure towards social security, including Medicare.

"BUT WE ARE critical because we are convinced the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough."

The Worker,  
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"The test today is not on the measures won through the struggle in the 1930's but on the needs of today, such as Medicare, the 30-hour week, a \$2 an hour minimum wage, full employment, better and integrated education. better and integrated housing, jobs for our unemployed youth etc."

The Worker,  
March 7, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"THE 'MEDICARE' Bill... is still far short of the comprehensive health system in operation in most developed lands."

The Worker,  
April 13, 1965, p. 2.

## 2. Voting Rights Bill

"The March on Washington in 1963 was for a civil rights bill. Now there is need for a march to demand that the law be made good; that troops be sent to any state where the law is defied; that federal registrars be named to guarantee that every qualified person be insured the right to vote; that all sections of the bill, especially its ban on job discrimination be implemented fully and with vigor; that the drive against poverty be pressed on a much larger scale to make it meaningful."

"The urgency to send troops to Alabama is even greater now than it was during the Little Rock, Birmingham and Oxford events. They should be sent without delay and in sufficient number to enforce the Constitution of the United States and the Civil Rights Law, and to prosecute all responsible for the Selma outrages to the full extent of the law."

The Worker,  
March 14, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"Mr. President, on behalf of all American Communists, we join Americans of all political persuasions, religious beliefs and ethnic groups

in applauding your address to Congress and the American people. If its spirit and content remain uncompromised, it will rank in history as one of our nation's greatest speeches.

"We Communists pledge to do all in our power to help implement your efforts to pass a right-to-vote law at the grass roots level of America."

"...Citizens must be protected in the exercise of their constitutional rights. In the pursuit of this goal Federal troops must be used when and where necessary."

The Worker,  
March 21, 1965, p. 1.

3. Supreme Court Decision Wipes Out McCarthyite Attack on Trade Unionism

"THE SUPREME COURT by a 5-4 decision on Monday declared unconstitutional that section of the Landrum-Griffin Act which prohibits Communists from becoming officers of trade unions...."

"This goes a long way in restoring the basic democratic right of the members of unions to elect their own leaders. It wipes out a reactionary McCarthyite attack on trade unionism.

"Communist trade unionists have a long, honorable record of serving their unions honestly and militantly in many leading positions.

"Union members can again elect Communists without fear of punishment whenever they are convinced it best serves their own self-interests. This is a victory for democracy."

The Worker,  
June 8, 1965, p. 1.

4. "Scrap the McCarran Act"

"The decision of the Justice Department to retry the Communist Party for refusal to register under the malicious terms of the McCarran Act is a dangerous concession by the Johnson Administration to the discredited and infamous ultra-Right...."

"The consequences of registration and the new attempt to enforce the McCarran Act have impelled the democratic forces of varied political views and associations to demand an end of that law, a halt to all prosecutions. Let the wrath and protest against such willful affront to the people's liberties be heard. An ever stronger and more vigorous, more extensive and persistent movement must make this the time to put the demand to President Lyndon Johnson and his Attorney General, to halt all McCarran Act prosecutions and dismiss all indictments and proceedings. Scrap the McCarran Act! Save the Bill of Rights!"

"Scrap the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 3.

"The new indictment of the CP is another example of the Administration's policy of talking one thing and practicing another. The Administration talks about a policy of consensus and practices a policy of compulsion, harassment and political oppression.

"This new indictment of the CP is to create an atmosphere of hysteria and emergency for the purpose of silencing all opposition to the conduct of an unpopular war, undeclared and therefore, an unconstitutional and unjust war of aggression in South Vietnam.

"This is the use of an unconstitutional law in support of an unconstitutional war of aggression."

"The policy of aggression in South Vietnam is isolating the U. S. from all those who are for peace. This political persecution further isolates the U.S. from all who are for democracy."

The Worker,  
March 2, 1965, pp. 1, 6.



5. House Un-Americans Flagrant Subverters of U.S. Constitution

"The House Un-Americans, the most flagrant subverters of the U.S. constitution in the nation's history, want to make it a crime for citizens to contact government agencies, and for a newspaper to provide information for its readers."

"The House Un-Americans are the enemies of all that every decent American wants--peace, equality for all people, economic security. Most of the nation holds the Un-Americans in contempt. They maintain their uneasy existence by intimidation and threat."

The Worker,  
April 13, 1965, p. 2.

## VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. The Pentagon generals and admirals are demanding full control of the war in Vietnam. Made desperate by their failures, they are trying to shift the blame.
2. The broad masses of the people have made clear that they want the Americans to leave Vietnam, and the Americans themselves, who are made to shed their blood, have no desire to stay.
3. The Pentagon and the State Department are trying to keep the truth about Vietnam from the American people.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Pentagon Generals and Admirals Demanding Full Control in Vietnam

"THE PENTAGON generals and admirals are now demanding that President Johnson give them the full military control over decisions for the dirty war in Vietnam...."

"In the first place, as the U.S. casualty lists mount, the generals and admirals are seeking to shift the blame from themselves for the dead and wounded American soldiers in the dirty war...."

"Second, the top brass are seeking to alibi for their failure to achieve victory over the South Vietnamese patriots, despite their overwhelming superiority in manpower and armaments...."

"Third, they want complete power over decisions in the Vietnam war so that they can take into their own hands the government of Saigon and the few enclaves in South Vietnam still under occupation by their troops."

"Fourth, the generals and admirals have been made desperate and reckless by their failure to achieve victory in the dirty war...."

The Worker,  
June 20, 1965, p. 10.

2. Americans Not Wanted and Have No Desire To Stay in Vietnam

"The broad masses of the people of the Congo, Vietnam, etc., have repeatedly and unmistakably made clear that they want the Americans to go, and the rank and file of the American 'advisors' themselves, who are made to shed their blood for no good or honorable reason, have no desire to stay."

J. M. Budish, "The Monetary-Credit Crises," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 59.

3. Truth Being Kept from American People

"THE SHOOTING-DOWN of two U.S. planes in the heart of Laos last Thursday brought into the open the flagrant violations for several months now by Washington of the 14-nation Geneva accord of 1962, barring outside military intervention, which the U.S. signed. The Pentagon and the State Department have been trying to keep from the American people and the rest of the world this defiance of international law and the nation's pledge, in its bombing of Laotian territory, a direct intervention.

"... The Pentagon and the State Department have been trying for weeks now to keep the American people and the world from learning that the dirty war in South Vietnam now has been extended into Laos, in direct contradiction of the pledge given that there would not be an escalation of the conflict."

The Worker,  
January 19, 1965, p. 1.

"THE PENTAGON is gassing civilians in South Vietnam. Every decent American shudders with horror at these atrocities.

"The big brass in Washington tried to keep the truth about this from the nation. They gagged reporters on the spot in South Vietnam. But the truth leaked out.

"So now all Americans know that Washington has violated the Geneva Convention of 1925, which prohibits the use of gas in warfare...."

The Worker,  
March 28, 1965, p. 3.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. Of all the present political, religious, or labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, the Communist Party has the longest record of continuous service.
2. Peace abroad and equality--freedom in every sense--at home are bound together as clearly as the head and tail of a coin. The April 17 demonstration to end the war in Vietnam revealed the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty.
3. The U.S. war drive endangers the gains of the Negro people. They will be told they will have to wait for their rights. The war in Vietnam will put an end to the war against poverty.
4. Withdraw troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and send them to Alabama and Mississippi. The barbarity exists only because the Federal Government refuses to enforce the U. S. Constitution.
5. The Mississippi marchers on Capitol Hill must be the first wave of numerous interventions that the real grass-roots representatives of the people must make with their Representatives and Senators.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communists Have Long Supported Civil Rights Struggle

"In celebrating Negro History Week, it is important to give due consideration and credit to the role played by the Communist Party during the past 35 years in the struggle of the Negro people for their freedom, particularly in the South. It was the Communist Party that forged its way into the South in the early thirties, and especially into Alabama, and forced the brakes to be applied to the lynchers' car. It was the Communist Party that led the fight to save the nine Negro youths of Scottsboro,

Alabama, first from the lynch rope and then from the electric chair, and so opened up the only real iron curtain--the iron curtain of the South, U. S. A. -- and let the whole world see how the Negro was being lynched and denied all rights as an American citizen. "

John Williams, "Struggles of  
the Thirties in the South, "  
Political Affairs,  
February, 1965, p. 15.

"...we Communists support the total elimination of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people as being in the best interests of all Americans. We have been doing this for a long time and it is a record of which we are most proud. Many of our members, Negro and white, participate in various movements, whether they be for the right to vote, equal access to decent housing, equal job opportunities, or what have you. "

The Worker,  
March 30, 1965, p. 5.

"We Communists do not look for any special credits, but we are proud of the fact that of all the present political, religious or labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, we have the longest record of continuous service, a commitment that goes back almost 50 years. We now join with the millions in hailing the victories of Selma and Montgomery and pledge to continue to participate and to give our full support until the day when Jim Crow will be no more in any corner of our 50 states. "

The Worker,  
April 4, 1965, p. 3.

## 2. Peace Abroad, Civil Rights at Home--Head and Tail of a Coin

"THE NATION is in the midst of a struggle for its soul. Index to that struggle is the degree of equality, freedom in every sense, that the Negro people win. Significant victories have been won. But the tempo, the scope of these victories, is inevitably affected by what our nation, our government, is

doing abroad. If we sear and torture and burn the people of a nation beyond our borders, the forces responsible for that will not shrink at searing and torturing and burning our own people. This is axiomatic, and dare never be overlooked.

"The two are bound together as clearly as the head and tail of a coin. There is no such thing as a policy envisaging a Paradise at home while creating a Gehenna abroad. The flames of the latter will inevitably lick at us as surely as it does at our fellow-men in other lands. To ignore that is to tempt the holocaust."

The Worker,  
April 11, 1965, p. 7.

"One of the most heartening and promising developments revealed in the Washington action on April 17 was the unprecedented participation of the number of young Negro men and women in the demand for peace in Vietnam and, as some observers remarked, the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty."

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"ALREADY THE Washington march showed that the civil rights movement was coming to see the identity of interests of the Negro people's freedom movement with the anti-imperialist objective of ending the neo-colonialist war of the U.S. against the people of Vietnam."

"If there was hesitation on the score, it was quickly dispelled by Defense Secretary McNamara's 'defense' of the use of deadly gas against the inhabitants of Vietnam villages on the ground that similar gas has been used against Negroes in civil rights demonstrations in the United States."

"The dirty war against Vietnam enjoys the patronage and strengthens the position of every racist and chauvinist force in the Government and in our national life. Therefore, the whole civil rights movement must come out against the Government's dirty war as a part of its own struggle for freedom from racist outrage and exploitation at the hands of our society's ruling powers."

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done."

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"...neither Rusk's tortured explanations nor his attempts at derision will deflect the evergrowing lovers of peace, justice and humanity from taking up the struggle against the barbarous war of the U.S. imperialist forces against the people of Vietnam.

"The proof of this was given within hours of Rusk's speech when the Rev. Martin Luther King called to those preparing for the great freedom march to Boston Common to recognize the identity of interest in the struggle of those who would be free with the struggle to stop the aggression of U.S. imperialism with its bombings and burnings and gassings in Vietnam.

"The following Saturday, 30,000 marched in the rain in Boston for civil rights and peace at home and abroad."

The Worker,  
April 27, 1965, pp. 2, 6.

### 3. Negro Freedom--Casualty of War in Vietnam

"As the contrast between President Johnson's vigorous action in Vietnam and his 'helplessness' in Selma shows, one of the great casualties of the stepped-up war in Vietnam is civil rights.

"It is not only that the President's pre-occupation is with military movements in Southeast Asia.

"It is not only that millions of dollars are being added to the \$2 million daily spent in Vietnam and that a large-scale war toward which we are rapidly moving will eat up a good deal of the very modest appropriations for the schools, housing and anti-poverty programs.



"The War in Vietnam will put an end to the War Against Poverty."

The Worker,  
March 14, 1965, p. 2.

"Winston... pointed out that 'the U.S. war drive endangers the gains of the Negro people.'

"They will be told they will have to wait on their rights, he said."

"James Jackson, editor of the Worker, said 'In the 1964 elections more than 47,000,000 voters gave LBJ a mandate to wage one kind of war only, that is, a war against poverty and prejudice.'

"But LBJ turned his back on the people and is fighting the wrong war, Jackson added."

The Worker,  
May 9, 1965, p. 4.

4. Withdraw Troops from Vietnam and Dominican Republic; Send Them to Alabama and Mississippi

"On this Bloody Sunday, the right to vote as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution was trampled by the horses and smashed by the 'law and order' racist hoodlums in uniform. Such mad brutality is the fruit of jimcrow oppression.

"This barbarity against a people continues to exist only because of the failure and the refusal of the Federal government to guarantee the protection and enforcement of the U.S. Constitution."

"Bring the Marines back--and send Federal troops to Alabama--that is the will of the people."

The Worker,  
March 14, 1965, pp. 1, 10.

"Withdraw the troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and send them to Alabama and Mississippi," Winston said. "

The Worker,  
May 9, 1965, p. 4.

"Let the President use his full authority to halt the racist terror. Let him withdraw troops from Vietnam and Santo Domingo and send them to Mississippi. "

The Worker,  
June 20, 1965, p. 10.

#### 5. No Letup in Demonstrations

"The cowardly failure of a majority of the Congress to honor the Constitution and deny the Mississippi white supremacists their usurped seats was as shameful an opening act for the 89th Congress as the silent picketline of the Mississippi freedom fighters was honorable.

"The Mississippi marchers on Congressional Hill, indeed, must become the first wave of numerous interventions which the real grass roots representatives of the people must make with their formal Representatives and Senators during this session of the Congress, if anything of enduring worth will be born out of the L. B. Johnson Message On The State of The Union. "

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 3.

"WE DARE NOT RELAX!

"There is no truce on the battlefield!

"There should be no letup in demonstrations, because the crucial stage of the struggle as was so well demonstrated in last year's struggle, comes after, not before a bill is introduced. "

"THE PEOPLE'S guard should be up until the day the President signs a good bill, and then there will still be a struggle to make the law a reality in life. The plans discussed by the 'Coalition Conscience' and the sponsors of the 1963 Freedom March, for a Second March should be hastened in view of the faster time-table which the president has set for enactment of the bill.

"We hope that we will not hear voices now opposing a March on Washington on the grounds that it might 'alienate' support. The great march of 250,000 on August 28, 1963, was a major factor in the enactment of the Civil Rights Law.

"Meanwhile, let us not forget that despite even speedy enactment, the law will not become effective for many months. The Negro people in Selma will still be subjected to terror tactics, and every form of discrimination. Federal troops or marshals should be sent to Selma to insure the right of the Negro people there and in all Alabama, to line up at a registrar's office without being clubbed and jailed."

The Worker,  
March 21, 1965, p. 3.

"There can be no let-down in the vigilance and activity of the freedom movement. All forces must rally to launch a massive voter-registration drive to realize the full strength of the Negro vote. The difficult task of sweeping into oblivion the Wallaces, Thurmonds and Eastlands--all who sought and seek to stifle democracy--and replacing them with men and women from the ranks of the people--both Negro and white--will require maximum unity of the Negro people and labor. And in the process a real assault on poverty, on economic deprivation, on job opportunity will require the further strengthening of the Negro-labor alliance to organize the unorganized, to repeal 'right-to-work' laws, to eliminate the wage differential, to achieve freedom and equality in fact and not in words.

"In addition, it is urgent, too, that labor and the civil rights movement raise their voices for peace. For the unleashing of an all-out war in Vietnam can bring to a dead halt further progress for the Negro people and the labor movement."

"Selma--And After," Political  
Affairs, April, 1965, p. 3.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The academic revolution is purifying our land. The democratic upsurge on the Nation's campuses is universal. The day of the teach-in can hardly tolerate the shackles of McCarthyism.
2. A way must be found, and soon, to replace a school system based on de facto segregation. The Negro people will not wait.
3. President Johnson says that education is our primary weapon in the war against poverty and the principal tool for building a Great Society. Yet, in his budget for a Great Society, some \$50 billion was designated for military expenditure and only an additional \$1.25 billion was requested for Federal aid to schools.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Academic Revolution Purifying Our Land

"THE 25,000 OR 30,000 young fighters for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, who marched on Washington Easter weekend, were indeed the walking delegates of millions who are demonstrating and speaking out throughout the country against the Administration's outrageous war upon the people of Vietnam."

"The college campuses, both students and teachers, are setting the required pace for all other forces who constitute the coalition of conscience and concern for the norms of humanity as well as the honor of our country."

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"A DEMOCRATIC REVOLT is shaking Ohio State University, a bastion of McCarthyite repression."

"The issue that triggered off the latest and most powerful wave of rebellion was the OSU administration's refusal to permit Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian, to speak on the campus.

"Aptheker was invited to speak May 10th on 'The Civil Rights Movement: A Marxist Analysis,' by a campus group..."

"The free speech fight in Ohio State demonstrates that the democratic upsurge on the nation's campuses is universal and is now penetrating even those centers of learning still in the grip of the repression of the '50's. The day of the teach-in can hardly tolerate the shackles of McCarthyism."

The Worker,  
May 16, 1965, pp. 3, 11.

"The academic revolution that has been brewing for about eight years and now is blowing through the country--with its full potential yet to be realized--is purifying our land...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Further on  
Vietnam," Political Affairs,  
June, 1965, p. 49.

## 2. De Facto Segregation Must Be Ended

"For New York, as is the case for most cities outside of the South, ... a way must be found, and soon, to replace a school system based on de facto\*segregation. Time, and the Negro people, will not

\*Underlined portion italicized in the original.

wait for the long-range and more difficult need to readjust the ghetto housing patterns upon which the segregated schools are 'naturally' based. "

Mike Davidow, "For First-Class Integrated Education," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 36.

### 3. War Spending Makes School Appropriation Inadequate

"Education, said Johnson, 'is our primary weapon in the war on poverty and the principal tool for building a Great Society.'

"But war spending is so great that he can only propose a total of \$2 billions in immediate appropriations and \$600 millions more to come with pending legislation. This \$2 billions is only \$500 millions above the 1965 education appropriation. And, to get this increase, the farmers are being robbed of \$537 millions in the budget. "

The Worker,  
January 31, 1965, p. 1.

"Ever since Sputnik was launched by the Soviet Union in 1957, Americans have become increasingly aware of our lagging educational system...."

"... A great debate has been stimulated: what kind of schools our children and our country require; the significance of integrated education for both white and Negro children; the need for free higher education, including colleges; and, on school subsidies for needy pupils, particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican.

"The issue is, of course, far from resolved. How can it be when in President Johnson's budget for a Great Society, some \$50 billion is designated for military expenditure while only an additional \$1.25 billion is requested for Federal aid to the schools?..."

Mike Davidow, "For First-Class Integrated Education," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 33.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. The Great Society will never have a chance if the people are not protected from the mental poison and degradation of commercialism.
2. The real causes of the moral breakdown in our society are the threat of war, racism, exploitation and poverty, and urban and rural slums.
3. There is a sweet, kindly, brave goodness in the Negro that is winning the American future.
4. The peace forces should work for a wide-ranging program for expansion of cultural and educational interchange, for tourism, and for trade with the Soviet Union.
5. We should put our wonderful technological achievements at the service of mankind. They represent the achievement and labor of the many. Full enjoyment by the many can be realized only in a socialist U. S. A.
6. The President probably would not have found it so easy to get the Congress to vote for an additional \$700 million to extend the war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic if the communities had been mobilized to participate in the war on poverty. It is time for religious and other groups to take a hand in determining the conduct of the war.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Commercialism and Mental Poison

"I have a hunch half the sick people of New York rapidly recovered their health during last year's newspaper strike that lasted several months. What a dose of brain poison Americans imbibe in their daily paper, along with the morning ham and eggs.

"The human mind needs healthy, creative food to keep it healthy and creative. Or would you say he is better fed on this newspaper diet of endless murder, rape, gangsterism, movie blondes with silly faces and big hair-dos and the like?

"The citizens of ancient Greece in her intellectual glory were fed the tragedies of Aeschylus, not the daily dose of sensational sadism and rape, reported by slaving hacks of TV and Press.

"The Great Society President Johnson sees in a vision as a radiant skyscraper will never have a chance to reaching even first floor if the people are not first protected from all the mental poison and degradation of commercialism. It must go, if our culture is to live. Will our President have the guts to buck the great monopoly of the commercials?"

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 5.

"...literature, radio, movies, television...the subject of 'no small' discussion for a long time, and little, if anything, has been done about it. If anything, the blight has gotten worse. Johnny may have trouble learning to read, but these merchants of pornography and violence take care of that. Illiteracy is no barrier."

"...The visual art of television bears its own sinister cargo. It is scarcely a comfort to reflect that we now have Early Bird satellites up there that can beam Jack-the-Ripper anywhere on the globe....

"...I do not believe this topic is a take-it-or-leave-it matter and that it has no urgent bearing on the shape of our lives. I believe it is central to our time, and that we have here a crisis in our national morality."

The Worker,  
May 30, 1965, p. 7.



## 2. Decadence and Moral Breakdown

"... There are conflicts in American life involving increasing numbers of people. There is decadence and a struggle against decadence. There are masses of exploited people--workers, farmers, itinerant laborers--and there is the special and brutal exploitation of the Negro people and other minorities."

"It seems evident that the members of the middle class--clerks, administrators, employees of service industries, farmers, salesmen, members of the arts, sciences and professions--have lost the 'virtues' which characterized their class at an earlier stage of capitalist development...."

"... real and deep-going crisis in American life. The crisis is not due to the passivity of people, but to their irrepressible activity. The portrait of the American as a bumbling neurotic is false. It is not even true of the intellectuals who exploit their own neuroses for practical compensation. There is a moral break-down in our society, but it has real causes--in the threat of war, racism, exploitation and poverty, urban and rural slums--and it has real and complicated effects on personal behavior, including the behavior of intellectuals."

John Howard Lawson, "'Decadence' in American Culture," Political Affairs, March, 1965, pp. 32, 34.

## 3. Negro's Goodness Winning American Future

"I BELIEVE there is a special goodness and kindness in most Negroes that derives from their special suffering. It is illustrated best, I believe, in the masterly drawings of Charles White and the epic novels of John Killens.

"Both of these young masters come from the loins of the people, and deep in their bones have a knowledge of and love for their peasant families, and the lives which their ordinary working folk live."

"Most representative writing and art in the capitalist West has become fixed on the portrayal of human evil, as if his 'original sin' (the apple of Adam and Eve) is the main truth of human nature.

"It is almost impossible for a writer to portray goodness without feeling self-conscious and naive. But the Charles Whites and John Killens' make the goodness of their Negro families so heroic, so simple, so pure that it becomes a new esthetic experience as well as a moral truism that points the way for the art of all humanity, white and black, American as well as Russian and Chinese.

"Goodness is all--there is a sweet, kindly brave goodness in the Negro that is winning the American future, that cannot be stopped by assassin bombs or racist gunshots. Negro liberation is near in America. World peace is on the horizon. We cannot despair. The day of the people is here..."

The Worker,  
February 9, 1965, pp. 4, 7.

#### 4. Peace Forces Should Work for Soviet-U.S. Trade and Cultural Exchange

"We think that this Johnson call for an enlarged dialogue with the leaders and people of the Soviet Union should be taken up by the peace forces and elaborated into a wide ranging program for a dramatic expansion of cultural and educational interchange, for increasing tourism, and for eliminating discriminatory barriers to the growth of really big scale trade with the Soviet Union as well."

The Worker,  
January 10, 1965, p. 1.

#### 5. Socialist U.S.A. and Epoch of Technology

"THE LONG-RANGE public interest demands that we take these wonderful technological achievements and put them at the service of mankind. The total of these huge profits and the production of goods in great quantities represents the achievement and labor of all of our people. With the exception of the few parasitic rich, the people as a whole have all contributed in one way or

another to this mass production of goods. It is as natural as day follows night that this social achievement of the many should be used and enjoyed by the many. Therefore, the long-range public interest of the epoch of this new technology can only be realized by a socialist U. S. A. "

The Worker,  
February 7, 1965, p. 3.

6. Time for Religious and Other Groups To Help Determine Conduct of War

"Is there any doubt that if the communities were mobilized to participate in the war on poverty that the President would have hardly found it so easy to get Congress and the U.S. Senate to vote for an additional \$700 million to extend the war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic?"

"It is time for the poor, the communities, labor, civil rights, and religious groups to take a hand in determining the conduct of this war."

The Worker,  
May 16, 1965, p. 10.

## XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Women's organizations, the youth, and the civil rights movement see the need to combine the fight for their special needs with the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. The various groups, including also educators, workers, small farmers, and professionals, see their objectives as indivisible.
2. The militant tradition of Negro womanhood should be embraced by all American women. White women need the abilities and leadership participation of Negro women in joint common struggle.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women and Other Groups See Struggle for Civil Rights, Social Welfare, and Peace as Indivisible

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U.S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class.

"Already the masses of Americans are actively joining the struggle to compel a halt to the war that the U.S. is waging against the people of Vietnam. The youth, the women's organizations, and the civil rights movement see the need to combine the fight for their special needs with the struggle to end the war in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

"Most encouraging in the past year was progress towards... the 'coalition of conscience'--progress towards what amounts to a merging of the struggle for civil rights, the movements against poverty, for peace and for more social welfare legislation for all. Basically, it is the same active groups of the population--workers, Negro people, educators, professionals, youth, women, family farmers--who see all those objectives as indivisible. And 'we shall overcome' is the common theme song."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 5.

## 2. Militant Tradition of Negro Womanhood

"THE RICH, vibrantly militant tradition of Negro womanhood should be claimed and embraced by all American women. For white women need the abilities and leadership participation of Negro women in joint common struggle. And countless Negro women heroines walk across the pages of American history. Among them:

"Deborah Gannett, the only woman to fight as a soldier in the American Revolution.

"Harriet Tubman, who returned 19 times to the South to lead some 300 slaves along the Underground Railroad to freedom. . . .

"Margaret Garner, fugitive slave, who killed her daughter when they were caught near Cincinnati so 'she would never know what a woman suffers as a slave.' . . .

"Lucy Parsons, who until she died at 80 devoted her life to selling at union meetings the eloquent speeches and farewell speeches of her husband and his four fellow labor leaders who were framed and killed for their labor activities. "

The Worker,  
February 9, 1965, p. 7.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. Funds for a massive job corps can be obtained by a \$20 billion reduction in the arms budget.
2. Youth, the first to die in war, believe that war will be conquered when those who want peace march in the streets as have those who want civil rights.
3. Student marchers have shown the way; all decent and patriotic forces of the Nation must follow until peace is achieved.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Reduction in Arms Budget To Expand Youth Conservation Corps

"... The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) proposed by Congress is patterned after the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) won during the 1930's except for the startling fact that the CCC reached about 500 thousand in size while the YCC limit is set at 60 thousand. With millions of additional youth swamping the job market by 1970, the government's YCC would, operating at full capacity, relieve fewer than three percent of this jobless multitude!

"The funds for a massive job corps can readily be obtained by a \$20 billion reduction in the arms budget."

The Worker,  
March 14, 1965, p. 8.

#### 2. First To Die in War--Yearn for Peace

"... on the eve of this May Day--our perennial day of promise--I do feel that the currents for peace will swell greater than the Mississippi floodwaters and sweep the evil handiwork of the warmakers into the sea.

"It is not an idle hope. I did go to Washington and I did see the spokesmen of the American youth in assembly for peace....

"...Who can yearn more for peace than those who die first in war?...

"WHAT I saw in Washington was the representative vanguard of a new generation. The first to die who are already dying, far away from home. They marched before the White House; they marched before the Capitol. They are marching in their hometowns, and they are speaking against war in volumes rarely, if ever, equalled before.

"...They believe, as Dagmar Wilson, valiant head of Women Strike for Peace, that war will be conquered when those who want peace will go down into the streets and march like those who have marched for civil rights."

The Worker,  
May 2, 1965, p. 7.

### 3. Student March Shows Way To Stop War in Vietnam

"THE 25,000 OR 30,000 young fighters for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, who marched on Washington Easter weekend, were indeed the walking delegates of millions who are demonstrating and speaking out throughout the country against the Administration's outrageous war upon the people of Vietnam."

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done."

The Worker,  
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"...James West, Illinois Communist spokesman..."

"...cited the example of the Washington march of American students and youth on April 17th, and the many local marches throughout

the country that same day demanding a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war as the kind of patriotic activities which, if multiplied and sustained tenfold over, could and would win peace and peaceful coexistence. "

The Worker,  
May 18, 1965, p. 3.



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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1965 -- DECEMBER 1965

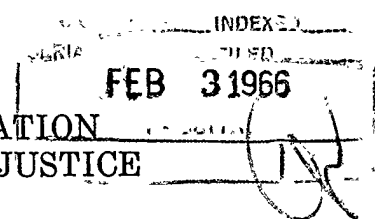


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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1965--December 1965**

**January 1966**

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues its propaganda attack against United States efforts to halt communist aggression in Southeast Asia. The Party demands, and urges all Americans to demand, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Party charges that the United States is waging a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam; that U.S. Armed Forces have committed every crime against humanity; and that the Government is planning to turn Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos into a base of operations from which to subjugate Asia.

U.S. foreign policy is equated with that of Hitler through such statements as "Morally and spiritually, the war which the Government is waging in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led the German nation."

The communists assert that the United States, because of its policy in Southeast Asia and the Dominican Republic, has become one of the most hated nations of all time. According to the Party, while the U.S. wages a war of aggression in Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union stands as the bulwark of peace. The CPUSA theorizes that oppressed nations are often forced to

wage war for their freedom and that all such wars are just wars and are supported by communists. The situation in Vietnam is cited as an example of a war in which communists give full support to "the people in their heroic struggles for their freedom and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U.S. imperialism."

According to the Party, all Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, suffers political and economic domination by the United States. The recent agreement between Cuba and the U.S. for the safe transport of "Cubans who want to join their relatives in the USA," the Party asserts, is a victory for Cuban foreign policy and shows the world that normal relations and a settlement of outstanding questions between the two countries can be reached by negotiation.

The Party claims that most Americans want no part of the war in Vietnam; that almost all the Nation's clergymen, writers, college professors, teachers, students, and business people want President Johnson to call a halt. According to the communists, the only ones openly backing U.S. policy are "the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen and other racists."

The claim that the majority of the American people already oppose U.S. foreign policy does not lessen the Party's effort to influence public opinion in this regard. The communists continue to ridicule the Great Society, belittle



the war on poverty, and exploit labor issues, the Negro movement, and problems of farmers, youth, the aged, and other groups. The CPUSA says that intervention in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam has made a mockery of the Great Society and the war on poverty; that it is impossible to wipe out ghettos and slums when billions are being squandered on armaments. Labor is told that minimum wage improvement, repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act, and other measures of interest have been neglected by the Congress because of the war in Vietnam. The Party boasted of its support for equal rights, deplored "police brutality" and urged that civilian control of police be established. It warned that the civil rights movement must see foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom.

During the period covered by this monograph, the CPUSA intensified its emphasis on "mass struggle." In commenting on congressional legislation, the Party states that the measures of interest to the working class were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President but were the result of mass struggle.

Labor is urged to take up a position of leadership to form an alliance of peace forces, the Negro movement, and the trade-union movement. Such an alliance acting as an independent force in politics, the Party predicts, could force a change in foreign policy toward peace;

could end the Jim Crow system, north and south; and could bring into being more meaningful reforms to deal with poverty, insecurity, the problems of youth, and the crises in the cities.

The Party insists that interest in Marxism is increasing in this country; that the only real answer to the problems of poverty is "socialism"; and that, while there are many roads to "socialism," the working people of this country will find their own road.

#### B. Conclusions

1. In its attempt to bring about U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the CPUSA can be expected to continue its denunciation of U.S. foreign policy.
2. The repeal of the McCarran Act and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities continue as CPUSA major objectives. The Party will exploit to the fullest the Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional the provision of the McCarran Act requiring Communist Party membership registration. As an illustration, pleas for and claims of increased Party membership have been and will be made.
3. Unity of the peace forces, the Negro movement, women's groups, the trade-union movement, and "other progressive organizations" will continue to receive especial emphasis.
4. There can be no doubt that the Party will intensify its campaign to influence the thinking and activities of today's youth.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. The mark of Forrestal is upon McNamara; there are marks of madness all about him. He should be kicked out of the Defense job and stripped of his Cabinet post.
2. Most Americans want no part of the dirty war against the Vietnamese people. The only people openly backing the war are the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen, and other racists.
3. The war will not be confined to South Vietnam. It is now clear that the U.S. plans to turn South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and whatever other territories it can subjugate into a vast base of operations from which to subjugate Asia. There has been an ominous overtone of threats to China.
4. All forces in America, black and white, should unite to make their opposition to the war felt. They should demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam.
5. Morally and spiritually, the war in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led Germany. Millions of Americans are protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic because they realize that the U.S. could share the ignominy and shame that are Germany's.
6. It is clear that Brazil is to be the center of Washington's operations to destroy democracy in all of Latin America.
7. The recent agreement for the safe transport of Cubans to the U.S. shows the world that normal relations and the settlement of outstanding problems between the two countries can be reached through negotiation.
8. America stands as one of the most hated nations of all times.

9. The Soviet Union continues to be the leading force for peace, progress, and socialism. Communists support the Vietnamese in their just war of national liberation and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U.S. imperialism.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Oust McNamara Now!

"THE MARK of Forrestal is upon him.

"You have seen it there on the TV tube. The dilated pupils. The glassy stare. The mirthless giggle...."

"WHETHER OR NOT our appraisal of McNamara is clinically sound, it cannot be denied that there are marks of madness all about him...."

"The war madness of McNamara is the monkey on the back of our nation.

"The time is long overdue for being rid of this symbol of our affliction.

"McNamara has got to go. He needs to be kicked out of the Defense job and stripped of his Cabinet post. That is a requisite step that must be taken to enable the Administration, under the pressure of the people, to find its way back from the brink of disaster to the path toward peace.

"The demand should rise to a crescendo to--

"Oust McNamara now!

"No more escalation!

"No more bombings!

"No more war in Vietnam!"

The Worker,  
December 5, 1965, p. 3.

## 2. Most Americans Want No Part of War in Vietnam

"THE MARCHES last Saturday in N.Y. and other places by President Johnson's 'supporters' revealed that most of the American people want no part of the dirty war against the Vietnamese people...."

The Worker,  
November 7, 1965, p. 12.

"THE CHARRED bodies of three gentle, peace-loving Americans cry out to the conscience of America."

"As Marxists, we believe that as heroic and self-sacrificing as the acts of idealistic individuals may be, only the united, mass protest of millions of Americans, joined in similar actions by the people of the world, can achieve the objectives for which the three peace martyrs gave up their lives.

"But we think the nation can and must be aroused to the significance of their moving acts of self-sacrifice.

"Their martyrdom is an expression of the deep revulsion against the dirty war in Vietnam, unprecedented in our history, that is gripping hundreds of thousands of our finest youth, our academic world, our greatest playwrights and poets--and, particularly, tens of thousands of religious leaders and followers of all faiths."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, pp. 1, 3.

"The truth is that most Americans want the Johnson administration to halt the Vietnam war and get their sons and husbands out of that country. Almost all of the nation's pastors, priests and rabbis have made it clear that is what they want. So have most of the country's writers, college professors, teachers, students and business people, as they have shown in newspaper advertisements, teach-ins, demonstrations, marches and picket lines.

"The only people who are openly backing the Johnson administration's Vietnam war are the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen and other racists."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 10.

### 3. Vietnam a Base of Operations on Mainland of Asia

"There is no longer any pretense about helping the South Vietnamese preserve their freedom. Now Washington is taking over the war--and it is a war supposedly for the 'national integrity' and the 'national honor' of the U. S. And it is supposedly a war to defend the national borders of the U. S. and it is a war that will not be confined to South Vietnam.

"There was an ominous overtone of threats to China. And there was an indication that the Johnson administration would move militarily into any Asian country where the people dared to act for their freedom and independence."

The Worker,  
August 1, 1965, p. 1.

"The long-range significance of this massive buildup in South Vietnam goes far beyond the fighting in Vietnam itself. For it is now clear: the plan of U.S. imperialism is to turn the area of South Vietnam, Thailand,

Laos and whatever other territories it can subjugate into a vast military complex, a vast base of operations on the Asia mainland. The aim is to turn this area into a huge Guam or Okinawa. "

The Worker,  
November 7, 1965, p. 2.

"The Administration is forced to hide a policy that is against the best interests of our people. . . .

"It is a policy of making the world safe for exploitation by U. S. Big Business. It is a policy of turning Vietnam, Thailand and Laos into a massive military complex from which to subjugate Asia. It is a policy of turning the world back to the days of open colonial slavery. "

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 2.

"Behind the lies of 'unconditional discussion' stands a policy of establishing a U.S. military base on the Asia mainland from which to dominate that part of the world. "

The Worker,  
December 12, 1965, p. 9.

#### 4. Withdraw All Troops from Vietnam

"You can help. Write President Johnson, telling him you want him to order a ceasefire and withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam. Write your Congressman and Senators, urging them to back full, open hearings on the Vietnam war, why the U.S. became involved, who wants it to continue, and what Washington wants to get out of it. Get your friends, neighbors, fellow-workers, unions, civil rights groups, and churches to help you. "

The Worker,  
July 11, 1965, p. 3.

"Obviously patriotism is not to be found in supporting policies which alienate people, which not only destroy our prestige but could result in our extermination. All forces in America, black and white should join together and call for an end to a policy which makes us a policeman trying to determine how people should order their lives in the jungles of South Vietnam...."

The Worker,  
August 29, 1965, p. 10.

"...It is becoming more obvious every day that the American people will have to make felt their opposition to the dirty war in Vietnam, if there is to be a cessation in the mass killing initiated and carried on by Washington.."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1965, p. 7.

"Washington must be compelled to change its bellicose and defiant posture and take instant measures to decelerate and then abandon its murderous military adventure in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
December 14, 1965, p. 2.

##### 5. U.S. Policy--Hitler Infamy

"Morally and spiritually, the war which the Government is waging in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led the German nation. History will not absolve our nation should our countrymen remain silent and acquiesce in the crimes against humanity being done in our name against the people of Vietnam. This was the Judgment of Nuremberg and we cannot evade its clear and present implications."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 1.



"...It is with the fearful realization that our country can share the ignominy and shame that is Germany's that millions of Americans have risen in unprecedented rebellion against the war in Vietnam and the invasion of the Dominican Republic, and are beginning to challenge the entire course of U.S. foreign policy."

Mike Davidow, "Triumph Over Hitlerism," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 61.

#### 6. Destruction of Democracy in Latin America

"Now reports indicate that some madmen in the state Department are going to push the plan of a military occupation force for all Latin America at the Nov. 17 meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization of American States in Rio de Janeiro.

"Will the Johnson administration never learn? Must the American people and the peoples of Latin America suffer because of Johnson's unwillingness to turn away from his ruinous Latin American policy...."

The Worker,  
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

"It has become clear that Brazil is to be the center of all of Washington's operations to destroy democracy in all the Latin American countries. Ever since the Pentagon installed Castelo Branco as puppet military dictator, Washington has been building up Brazil for this subversive operation."

The Worker,  
November 2, 1965, p. 8.

#### 7. Agreement for Transport of Cubans a Victory for Cuban Foreign Policy

"The recently concluded agreement between the Cuban and US government for the safe transport of Cubans who want to join their relatives in the USA,

is a victory for Cuba's foreign policy, based on the principle of peaceful co-existence and respect for the sovereignty of all nations, big and small.

"November 6th, 1965, therefore, will go down in history as an important date, breaking the deadlock between the two neighboring countries, and showing world and U. S. public opinion that normal relations and a settlement of any outstanding questions can be reached by negotiations....

"The substance of this agreement, originally proposed by Cuba, gives the lie to those who had been crying to high heaven accusing Cuba of not permitting departures to the USA...."

The Worker,  
December 5, 1965, p. 6.

#### 8. America One of Most Hated Nations of All Times

"...Today America stands in the world as one of the most hated nations of all times. Most of today's world has labelled us: 'The Ugly American.'

"The continuation of the foreign policy as pursued by President Johnson in time is going to reduce this nation to a second or third rate power, or no nation at all."

The Worker,  
August 29, 1965, p. 10.

"The aggression in the Dominican Republic will cost the American people dear in the loss of friendship and the increase of hate by the Latin American countries who suffer with their Dominican brothers and sisters from U.S. imperialism."

The Worker,  
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

9. USSR--Bulwark of Peace

"...The socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, have given unstinting aid and support to the oppressed nations seeking their freedom, and to those recently liberated in their efforts to develop their economic independence...."

"To be sure, oppressed nations are often compelled to wage war for their freedom. Communists unhesitatingly support all such wars of national liberation as just wars, directed against imperialist enslavement....

"The war in Vietnam is a case in point. Communists give full support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggles for their freedom and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U.S. imperialism...."

"The central fact of modern history is that the Soviet Union, the first country to take the path of socialism, continues today to be the leading force for peace, progress and socialism in the world...."

"USSR--Bulwark of Peace,"  
Political Affairs,  
November, 1965, pp. 4, 5, 6.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Those who participated in the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam are the vanguard of the true conscience of our nation.
2. Intervention in the Dominican Republic and the stepped-up war in Vietnam have made a mockery of the President's Great Society and the war on poverty. It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still spend the billions needed to wipe out ghettos and slums.
3. The problem of providing electric power is getting beyond the control or solution of the free enterprise system. America has become the target of ridicule in other capitalist countries, like England, where power is nationalized.
4. Ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore in the Negro movement. The youth, the intelligentsia, groups in the trade-unions, peace workers, and many church organizations are grasping the central character of the Negro struggle and see a need for deeper analysis and more antimonopoly effort. They, too, are becoming more interested in Marxism.
5. Capitalism will not make poor people rich, or even comfortable. The only real answer to the problems of poverty is socialism.
6. There are various roads to socialism, and the working people of this country will find their own road.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Congratulations to Marchers for Peace

"GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS to you who have come out against the horrendous war of aggression which the Government is waging against the people of Vietnam.

"You youths and adults, you workers and students, you Negro and white citizens from the crossroads and grassroots of America.

"You who have a genuine regard for the honor of our country and a concern for the rights of Man everywhere, you are the vanguard of the true conscience of our nation."

"The March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam is both a mandate from the people and a clarion call to the people:

"ACT OUT your yearning for peace NOW!

"Let the united voice of millions thunder across the land to proclaim Peace to Vietnam. Let none be silent!

"Let all demand that the President immediately GROUND THE PLANES and proceed to WITHDRAW ALL U.S. ARMED FORCES FROM VIETNAM.

"Let the people of South Vietnam exercise their right of self-determination in accord with the Geneva Convention of 1954, without U.S. interference.

"Let all work unitedly to mobilize the conscience of America to compel the Government to end its war in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 1.

2. Intervention in Vietnam and Dominican Republic Makes Mockery of Great Society and War on Poverty

"... in Washington intervention in the Dominican Republic and the stepped up war in Vietnam made a mockery of the President's Great Society and the war that never really started, the war on poverty. More than two billion dollars

a year is being pumped into the Vietnam war, with untold billions to follow, while only \$1.5 billion is still being considered by Congress to fight poverty. "

The Worker,  
July 11, 1965, p. 2.

"Mr. President...the time for emergency action is now. Stop the war against the Vietnam peoples! Spend billions for life, not death! Meet the emergency with an immediate reconstruction appropriation bill of no less than \$15 billion!..."

The Worker,  
September 12, 1965, p. 11.

"...not the least of the obstacles to a real war on poverty...is the continued escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the consequent diversion of growing sums to military purposes. The welfare of the people of Watts, and of the poor everywhere, is inseparable from the fight to end the war in Vietnam."

"Watts and the 'War on Poverty,'" Political Affairs,  
October, 1965, p. 7.

"UP TO NOW, the only artillery being heard in President Johnson's War on Poverty is the popgun of publicity. The jobs that were promised for the unemployed--the Negroes, the youth, the jobless in the Appalachias--are not forthcoming. The slums and the ghettos are not coming down. The Wattses throughout the country still fester and burn. No housing of any consequence is being built to fill the need. Segregation still is rampant in the schools of the South, and in many sections of the North. There is no integration of the Negro into the economic, social and political life of the South--or the North."

"If President Johnson is sincere about the war on poverty, he would shift a large portion of the \$50 to 60 billions now being squandered on the destructiveness of war to the constructive projects urgently needed to solve the people's economic problems...."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1965, p. 2.

"... There can be no real war on poverty and against the ghetto as long as the nation plunges ever more deeply into the morass of armaments and war. It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still invest the tens of billions needed yearly to wipe out ghettos and slums and modernize education and transportation...."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

"... Little aid can be expected from the federal government for education, health and other needs with the dirty war in Vietnam continuing to drain federal funds. Only stronger pressures for an end to the war in Vietnam can release these funds for the needs of the people."

Irving Potash, "Elections in New Jersey," Political Affairs, December, 1965, p. 21.

### 3. Electric-Power Problem Getting beyond Solution by Free Enterprise

"The power companies find it much more profitable to arrange for power flow from other sources for periods in the day when consumption is higher, than to build additional generating capacity or to provide 'back-up' plants that could be operated if something goes wrong."

"The problem is getting beyond the control or solution of the 'free enterprise' system. America has even become the target of ridicule from the other capitalist countries, like England, where power is nationalized."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1965, p. 8.

#### 4. Interest in Marxism Growing

"...The demands of the Negro movement are in fact taking on a greater structural character; increasingly, ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore, notwithstanding everything.

"Increasingly, too, wider elements among the white population are grasping the central character of the Negro struggle; the youth, the intelligentsia, groups in the trade unions, the peace workers, many church organizations. As they see the interconnection they also see the need for deeper analysis and more fundamental, more independent, more anti-monopoly effort; among such groups, also, the interest in Marxism is growing. Indeed, I think it is a fact that not in thirty years have so many Americans been studying so seriously and so eagerly the Marxian outlook."

Herbert Aptheker, : "The Watts  
Ghetto Uprising," Political  
Affairs, November, 1965, p. 41.

"The big wonder in America today is how, after 15 years of such harassment under the McCarran Law and years of oppression earlier under other laws, the Communist Party is here and Communism a more widespread topic of discussion in America than ever before."

The Worker,  
November 21, 1965, p. 10.



"...Not in thirty years has there been so serious, deep and widespread an interest in Marxism and in socialism as there is now in the colleges, universities and scholarly organizations and professions in the United States."

Herbert Aptheker, "Recent Ideological Developments in the United States," Political Affairs, December, 1965, p. 48.

5. Socialist Society Only Answer to Problems of Poverty

"...We are for a real war on poverty. It is true that capitalism will not make poor people rich, or even comfortable and that the only real answer to the problems of poverty (sweat shops, lack of skills, technological unemployment, etc.) is a socialist society where the resources are used in the interest of all, not just of a small capitalist class. Nevertheless, the war on poverty is important in our immediate struggles."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 9.

6. Americans Will Build Socialism Their Own Way

"AMERICANS will, when the time comes, build socialism their way in the United States--the U.S. way...."

The Worker,  
October 3, 1965, p. 7.

"...Our club is the Boston area youth club of the Communist Party of the United States of America and, as such, has a definite world view derived from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. We firmly believe that the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, war, racism and ignorance will be finally achieved only by a socialist reorganization of society, by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class. We hold that there are

various roads to socialism, and that the working people of this country will find their own road to socialism. "

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 6.

"With all due respect to the experiences of the countries that have established Socialism, Socialism in the U. S. A. will not be patterned after any other model. It will be molded by our experiences--by our traditions as a people.

"Our point of reference is that capitalism as a system is on the way out and socialism as a system is on the way in. "

The Worker,  
December 26, 1965, p. 8.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. The root cause of poverty is the exploitation of labor. An above-poverty income requires a \$2 minimum wage, at least.
2. Repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act, minimum wage improvement, and many other measures listed as a must by labor have become lost in the din of martial music accompanying the parade of men to Southeast Asia. The escalation of the war is accompanied by growing Government interference in union affairs. If the war continues, labor will face wage freezes as well as rising prices. Regardless of what position top labor leaders take toward the war, the workers have a stake in the fight for peace.
3. Labor should take a position of leadership in an alliance of the peace forces, the Negro freedom movement, and the trade-union movement. Such an alliance could force a change in foreign policy and could end the Jim Crow system, north and south. It could bring into being more meaningful reforms to deal with poverty, unemployment, the problems of youth, and the crisis in the cities.
4. Full economic security for the Negro, as for the white worker, can be achieved only under socialism.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. At Least, a \$2 Minimum Wage for All Labor

"... Exploitation of labor is the root cause of poverty..."

"Higher minimum wages--\$2 per hour at least--for all labor everywhere, are needed to end extremes of exploitation and to assure above-poverty incomes for the employed...."

The Worker,  
September 19, 1965, p. 5.

## 2. Labor's Stake in Fight for Peace

"The steady escalation of the U.S. government's intervention into the affairs of foreign countries is accompanied by growing government interference in union affairs at home (finances, elections, contract negotiations). The government now emerges as the third party sitting at the bargaining table--not merely as an observer or an umpire. It seeks to impose a settlement on the workers which is satisfactory not only to the steel companies but to monopoly capital as a whole. This is state-monopoly capitalism in practice."

A. Krchmarek, "Observations on the Situation in Steel," Political Affairs, July, 1965, p. 40.

"...the directive of President Johnson, made on the eve of Labor Day, calling for a cut of some nine billion dollars in non-defense spending because of increased expenditures on the aggressive war in South Vietnam represents a serious challenge to labor, the Negro Freedom movement and all progressive forces. It spells a reversal of domestic policy to correspond to the reversal in foreign policy."

"...Clearly the organizations of the workers cannot be silent on the aggressive war in Vietnam or the intervention in the Dominican Republic."

The Worker,  
September 5, 1965, p. 3.

"...What has happened in recent weeks while labor has waited for miracles from Johnson? The civil rights struggle suffered a heavy blow with the defeat of home rule for Washington, D. C., a Republican-led filibuster killed 14b, possibly for this session of Congress; minimum wage improvement was shelved again; and many other measures listed as a must by Labor and the Administration, have become lost in the din of martial music accompanying the parade of men and arms to Southeast Asia.

"The Administration is far more preoccupied with war mobilization and finding another \$10 billion a year for Vietnam expenditures than with effectively implementing the new legislation or passing additional measures.

"Most serious, however, is the counter offensive which the anti-labor forces are endeavoring to build up on the wave of the disappointment experienced by union forces. Determined to prevent enactment of 14b repeal in 1966, they are also steaming up their pressure clagues for new legislation to restrict the right to strike."

"WHY NOT A MASS mobilization in Washington when Congress opens? That would be a most effective way to both counter the offensive the employers are trying to build up and to spotlight the demands of labor and other peoples' organizations."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 5.

"If this war continues labor will face government wage freezes as well as rising prices. Sooner or later, our cold war and hot war expenditures abroad will so reduce gold reserves as to compel devaluation of the dollar and wide-scale inflation. And, in a general atmosphere of war hysteria all the enemies of labor get the upper hand. That is why the period of the cold war has been the one in which labor has made the least gains. And, regardless of what position top labor leaders take toward the war, the workers as potential draftees, as parents, as poor people, as people interested in preventing a world war, have a stake in the fight for peace..."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

### 3. Labor's Leadership Needed To Build Alliance with Peace Forces and Negro Movement

"The Washington weekend for peace in Vietnam was also a demonstration of a vital and strategic development that is shaping up among the forces of

social progress in our country. The Washington Assembly was another evidence of the growing merger and conscious inter-action of the fighting forces for Negro freedom, the forces of the Civil Rights Revolution and those who have been for so long advocating an end to war and cold-war policies in the Government's conduct of foreign affairs.

"The cause of peace has become now a major banner which the legions of Negro and white fighters for justice and equality for Negro Americans fly alongside of their civil rights standards."

"As the Negro freedom movement has come to a recognition of this truth, so must the trade union movement come to grasp the banner of the struggle for an end to the dirty war Washington wages in Vietnam."

The Worker  
August 15, 1965, p. 3.

"In fact what is needed is that the labor movement on the issue of peace take up a position of leadership as it does on most issues, and that the alliance of the peace forces, of the Negro Freedom movement and of the trade union movement be built on every level in the neighborhoods, the communities, the cities and towns, in the states and nationally."

"Unitedly and acting as an independent force in politics, this great alliance can compel a change in our country's foreign policy towards peace. It can put an end to every vestige of the Jim Crow system, North and South. It can help bring into being ever more meaningful reforms to deal with the widespread poverty, unemployment and insecurity, the problems of our youth and the crisis in the cities."

"This is the sure and only road toward social progress in a world of peace."

The Worker,  
September 5, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"It must be made clear to the peace advocates that within the trade unions there is a growing realization, spurred by the civil rights movement that the war against poverty, the fight for civil rights, for economic security and for peace are indivisible. This realization is becoming the strongest gravitational force drawing together those sectors of the population that made up the loose coalition against Goldwaterism and the rising ultra-Right. Johnson received his major support from the labor movement, the Negro people, the family farmers, the professionals and middle classes of the cities and the impoverished people generally, because of his promises to maintain peace, to create a 'Great Society' and to advance civil rights."

George Morris, "U.S. Labor and Peace," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 41.

"The vast majority of the over twenty million Negroes are working people and they constitute the heart of the most exploited segment of the American working class as a whole. Increasingly that class character of the people's liberation effort is coming to the fore; the imaginative, more and more uncompromising, militant character of the effort reflects this class composition and its increasing weight in action. That will continue to mount.

"More and more this must activate the working class as a whole; as increasingly it will itself raise more basic demands and demands of a more and more universal scope--i. e., peace, anti-imperialism, and attacks upon bad housing in general, bad education in general, unemployment in general, inadequate health facilities in general, antimonopoly in general, etc. The demands of the Negro movement are in fact taking on a greater structural character; increasingly, ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore, notwithstanding everything."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 41.

#### 4. Full Economic Security under Socialism

"In the struggle for civil rights, we do not write off any organization working for the end to discrimination. We feel every such organization has a

distinct role to play, and a distinct contribution to make. We recognize that this is a 'multi-class struggle' integral to the fight for democracy in this country. While it is true all these organizations will not go beyond the fight for immediate goals, each of them has its particular place at this stage of struggle. Major victories can be won against discrimination before socialism is achieved. Moreover, the fight to end Jim Crow will produce some very fundamental changes in this society. If the vote becomes a reality to the Southern Negro, for example, it would destroy the Dixiecrat-Republican conservative coalition that dominates Congress, and allow the passage of key legislation (such as genuine home rule for Washington, D. C., repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law, and so forth). However, for the Negro, as for the white worker, full economic freedom and security can only be achieved under socialism."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 9.



#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. The situation of most farmers is worsening in the face of a rising economy.
2. The poor farmer should unite with the working class to fight for survival.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farmers' Situation Worsening in Face of Rising Economy

"...What kind of prosperity is it, indeed, whose main effect is to widen the gap between rich and poor? And what kind of economic policy is it which, in the name of fighting poverty, devotes itself primarily to 'dispensing largesse to the rich'?

"...omitted from the beneficiaries of prosperity are the bulk of the farmers. From 1961 to 1964 the parity ratio, expressing the ratio of prices paid to prices received by farmers, fell from 79 to 75, continuing a decline which began in 1953. Net farm income remained virtually unchanged: it totaled \$12.5 billion in 1961 and again in 1964. (Its postwar peak, attained in 1947, was \$17.3 billion.) The farmers' share of retail prices has continued to shrink; from 51 per cent in 1947 it has declined to 37 per cent today. This persistent worsening of the farmers' situation in the face of a rising economy reflects the growing dominance of the food and other monopolies and the increasing tribute they exact, particularly from the small farmers."

Hyman Lumer, "Where Is  
The Economy Heading?"  
Political Affairs,  
July, 1965, pp. 5, 6.

##### 2. Poor and Middle Farmers' Interests Coincide with Those of Working Class

"...There can be no doubt that large-scale farming, and as an alternative some attempts at collective solutions, will be made in the future....

Our program should give much more emphasis to the present development among the farm population. A thorough study in depth of the basic farm problems should be made. There can be no doubt that corporation farming will lead to an increasing utilization of wage labor on the farm. The poor and middle farmer's plight will become worse. The only way he can cope with his problem is to unite together with his kind and fight it out to survive. In this struggle he will naturally seek the help of the workers. His interests more than ever coincide with those of the working class."

Vincent Ignatius, "The Role of the Working Class," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 50.

## V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. Puerto Rico is one of the diminishing number of old-style colonies in an era of disintegrating empires. All of Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, suffers political and economic domination by the U. S.
2. Were it not for Soviet power offering an alternative, it is doubtful that over a billion and a half people would have been able to free themselves from colonialism and imperialism.
3. No class is so powerful that it can withstand the tides of history. U. S. presence in Vietnam contradicts the laws of history and cannot long abide.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Puerto Rico Old-Style Colony of United States

"Behind the changing face of Puerto Rico lies the unchanged fact that the island is a colony of the United States, one of the diminishing number of old-style colonies in an era of disintegrating empires....

"... The whole of Latin America suffers political and economic domination by the United States, with the sole escape so far of Cuba. But the domination is exercised in a semi-colonial relationship, with nominal political independence and economic penetration alongside the political framework...."

John Schuyler, "Puerto Rico's Economic Bondage," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 43.

#### 2. Soviet Power Enables Colonial Countries To Gain Freedom

"Today, 20 years after World War II, the Soviet Union has emerged as the main force, generating enough power to give to peoples of color the

world over the confidence that they could shake off the shackles of world imperialism. Were it not for Soviet power offering an alternative to capitalism and imperialism it is doubtful that over one and a half billion people would have been able to free themselves from colonialism and imperialism.

"We ask were it not for Soviet power, could Nasser have seized control of the Suez Canal without the British lion breathing down his back. We ask, were it not for Soviet power could little Cuba defy the might of the colossus of Western imperialism--our own imperialists. We ask, without Soviet possession of the means of destruction comparable to that possessed by the West, would the imperialist powers have acceded freedom to former colonial countries without military intervention? Of course not! Without the threat or potentiality of the Soviet coming to the aid of the peoples' struggle for independence and freedom, their movements would have been crushed in blood baths as was the case in centuries gone by.

"And the existence of Soviet power, therefore, has helped to provide the setting out of which Negro demonstrators can now march through the streets of the big metropolies of our nation chanting slogans such as 'FREEDOM NOW!'

"Whatever or however one views the system of the Soviet Union, these are historical facts which will stand the investigation of time."

The Worker,  
September 12, 1965, p. 10.

### 3. Tides of History Rise against Colonial Overlords

"...thanks to the victories over imperialism and colonialism already achieved in so many countries, U.S. imperialism is now left to fight its unjust war alone, while the overwhelming majority of the world's people associate themselves in sympathy and material aid with the victim of imperialism's aggression--Vietnam.

"The horror-war which the U.S. armed forces are waging against Vietnam is adding to all the contradictions by which the U.S. imperialist class is riven and will result in foreshortening the term

of its reign as the dominant class in American society. No class is so powerful that it can withstand the tides of history. The tides of history rise inexorably against the military aggressors and colonial overlords everywhere in the world today.

"The presence of the U.S. imperialists on the backs of the Vietnam people contradicts the laws of history and cannot long abide. This is a prophecy that can but be true thanks to the process of the change in the relation of class forces on a world scale in the history of our time which the Revolution of November 7, 1917, commenced."

The Worker,  
November 7, 1965, p. 3.

"THE NATIONAL liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people is fully in accord with the United Nations resolution against colonialism, and the Charter provisions upholding the right of self-determination of peoples."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 5.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. The Supreme Court decision declaring the membership registration provision of the McCarran Act unconstitutional is a victory for the Bill of Rights.
2. The fight against the McCarran Act must be waged with vigor on the political and ideological as well as the legal front.
3. The KKK hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities were an outrage. "The Worker" has been singled out for investigative persecution. Every newspaper and journalist in the land should demand that the Committee be abolished.
4. The voting rights bill is one of the most vital pieces of legislation since the 15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. A break through the power of the ultra-Right has been made. Labor, the peace forces, and those fighting the battle against poverty can reap great benefits.
5. The measures enacted that were of concern to the working class were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President. They were the result of mass struggle by millions. These gains represent a recognition of the growing power of the people, the role of the labor movement, the Negro movement, and progressive forces generally.
6. Medicare as passed is not what it should be. Many defects need to be corrected.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Supreme Court Decision Victory for Bill of Rights

"THE SUPREME COURT'S unanimous decision declaring the membership registration provision of the McCarran Law unconstitutional

is a victory for the Bill of Rights, declared Gus Hall, chief spokesman of the Communist party. He demanded that all further prosecution under that law and the Smith Act stop."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1965, p. 1.

"The Supreme Court's ruling against a provision designed in actuality to outlaw the Communist Party thus strikes a blow for freedom of speech, press and assembly for all Americans. It is a contribution to the advance of the democratic forces in our country today, just as the passage of the McCarran Act was a blow against all democratic rights in its day."

"A Momentous Decision,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1965, p. 4.

## 2. Smash the McCarran Act

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS movement has raised the cry: No more deaths at the hands of racists. We join in that cry, and we add: No more deaths at the hands of anti-Communists! An end to the legalized weapon of McCarranism used by the enemies of American democracy! Smash the McCarran Act!"

The Worker,  
October 31, 1965, p. 9.

"... The Communist Party defends itself, its constitutional rights only insofar as it defends those of the American people. It has no rights separate and apart from theirs.

"And now these rights are threatened from many sides by the attitude of men in high places to international as well as domestic issues."

"The fight against the McCarran Act must be waged with the greatest vigor on the political and ideological as well as the legal front."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1965, p. 7.

"... Communists will never accept the McCarran Act's degrading and distorted definition of what they stand for, and... they demand vindication of their honorable and patriotic record of service in the best interests of the nation."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1965, p. 1.

### 3. No More HUAC!

"The committee hearings have offered a parade of 'wizards' of the Ku Klux Klan and other hobgoblins of that terrorist order of white-hooded assassins and murderers who are guilty of beatings, bombings and killings of Negroes seeking to exercise their rights as citizens and of white civil rights workers."

"This HUAC 'hearing' is an outrage against the reason and sense of morality of every thoughtful person...."

The Worker,  
October 31, 1965, p. 3.

"Already HUAC has made its first move against this newspaper. We have learned that Congressman Willis... had subpoenaed all our bank records since 1963.

"Old HUAC... has now taken its filthy self into an area of privileged First Amendment freedom where the capitalist angels have even feared to tread..."



"We don't think HUAC's timing is accidental. It is more than a coincidence that the paper with the most consistent record for exposing the barbarous practices of Washington's policy of aggression in Vietnam, and aiding in every way the mobilization of public opinion to demand a halt to U.S. aggression there, is being singled out for investigative persecution by HUAC."

"Right now, the demand that HUAC cease and desist should go out from every newspaper and journalist in the land, indeed from every citizen who has a concern for his own cherished Bill of Rights. Address your Congressman, Senators and President Johnson himself.

"TELL THEM:

"The Johnson Administration must not permit HUAC to put its filthy paws on the sacred sanctuary of the freedom of the press.

"Make HUAC take its paws off **THE WORKER!**  
No more phony investigations!  
No more anti-Communist persecutions!  
No more HUAC!"

The Worker,  
December 14, 1965, p. 1.

#### 4. Voting Rights Bill One of Most Vital since 15th Amendment

"LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON'S name has been affixed to a voting rights bill of far reaching potentialities. It is in fact one of the most vital pieces of legislation ever to have passed through Congress since the enactment in 1867 of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. . . ."

"The signing of the voting rights bill is an historic victory in a battle that has, however, not ended. It must be recognized as such. In this step the President has been forced to act as an ally of the people. A break through the

power of the ultra-Right to retard the passage of progressive legislation has been made. Labor, the peace forces, those fighting the battle against poverty cannot but reap great benefits if this measure is consolidated. That, however, is a monumental step...."

"Rallies, conferences and all manner of street demonstrations can be part of the political action program carrying the battle on. Certainly no voices seeking enforcement of voting rights should be excluded lest it weaken the growing unity of the people in struggle.

"This victory must further awaken labor to the great prowess of the Negro as a fighter and his value as an ally. A complete victory can be realized through the consolidation of the people's unity in struggle."

The Worker,  
August 15, 1965, p. 3.

##### 5. Measures of Concern to Working Class Result of Mass Struggle

"Among major measures passed are the voting registration act, medicare, some expansion of the anti-poverty program, aid to education, subsidies for rent to some of the needy. Still pending are bills to repeal Section 14B of the Taft Hartley law and revise the discriminatory immigration law.

"All these measures, which are of concern not only to the working class, Negro and white, but to all the common people were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President. Like the progress under the New Deal, they are the result of mass struggle by millions spearheaded by the heroic struggles of the great Negro people....

"These gains represent a recognition of the growing power of the people, the role of the labor movement, the Negro Freedom Movement of progressive forces generally and their influence on the affairs of the nation."

The Worker,  
September 5, 1965, p. 3.

"The limited security in old age which came as a result of sharp struggle should now be extended. We should demand its improvement, making its provisions more ample in the future. As an example, while the demand for new and cheap modern housing for the elderly and retired has its place, it now should be extended to provide a choice as to where one wants to live. There should be a simple demand for a sharp increase in the amount of social security benefits. Not only should these funds be adequate for an American standard of life and a comfortable home. Social security should provide opportunity to travel, to pursue interests that are of value to our country. I think our program on social security should reflect not what other countries have done but what we are capable of in our own country. We should combat vigorously the program of pasturing and segregating the elderly and retired from the mainstream of life in society as the system that we now have wants to do."

Vincent Ignatius, "The Role of the Working Class," Political Affairs, November, 1965, pp. 48-49.

#### 6. Many Defects in Medicare Bill Still To Be Corrected

"Of course, Medicare as passed is not what it should be."

. . . . .

"Now it is about time, in the richest country of the world that health insurance should be provided within the means of all--whether 65 or under. Greater general revenues could be used for this purpose instead of for 'defense.'"

The Worker,  
August 3, 1965, p. 6.

"NOW THAT medicare has been enacted into law, many senior citizens think there is nothing more to be done. But they are mistaken.

"Many defects in the Medicare Act are still to be corrected. The \$40 to be paid by the patient for the first day, and in the voluntary medical section the \$50 deductible and the 20 percent to be paid by the patient are too high for

many senior citizens. Then the four items excluded from the compulsory section of the act in the final version should be restored as it was in the original King-Anderson version.

"SOCIAL SECURITY payments could be much higher. When one stops to consider that there is a floor of \$44 monthly (some get as little as that), that the average monthly payment is only \$38, and for a family only \$130 a month, it is easy to recognize that Social Security payments could be doubled without putting the recipients in the luxury class.

"The recent raise of 7 percent in Social Security is certainly inadequate."

The Worker,  
October 31, 1965, p. 5.

## VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. Armed Forces have committed every crime against humanity, every breach of civilized standards of decency against the population of Vietnam.
2. The generals, the admirals, and the monopolists benefit from the war in Vietnam. More and more young Americans are being sent to kill and be killed so that South Vietnam will become a satellite to Wall Street imperialism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. U.S. Commits Every Crime against Humanity in Vietnam

"In Vietnam every crime against humanity, every breach of civilized standards of decency has been committed by the armed forces and bombing planes of the U.S. against the Vietnam population.

"Such desecration and violence against fellow human beings cannot be allowed to go on.

"There is nothing left for the Government of the U.S. to do, to redeem, in some measure, its honor but to promptly and dramatically take the initiative, ground its planes and commence the withdrawal of its troops."

The Worker,  
November 21, 1965, p. 3.

"Our country's military forces, including our young draftees, have been committed to a cause without honor.

"Under the orders of the Pentagon and the Government in Washington, our armed forces are committing unspeakable atrocities there....

"Not only is the U.S. Government guilty of incinerating hundreds of inhabited places, of defoliating agricultural areas with noxious gases, of causing

the death of scores of thousands of noncombatant men and women and children, but it also stands accused of sending to their death over one thousand of our young citizens in uniform who were mustered into the war under the compulsion of the draft. "

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 1.

"The criminal war policy in Vietnam will be recorded as one of this country's most dastardly acts. .... "

The Worker,  
December 14, 1965, p. 8.

## 2. Generals, Admirals, Monopolists Benefit from War in Vietnam

"The only ones in our country to benefit from the increase in death and destruction ordered for Vietnam by Johnson are the bankers and the armaments monopolists.

"For the rest of the American people, the only result has been increased horror, shame and disgrace.

"The blood of young American GIs and Vietnamese women, children and old men is soaked in the dollars piling up in the coffers of the millionaires as the result of the dirty war in Southeast Asia. "

The Worker,  
October 17, 1965, p. 3.

"The only people benefiting from the Vietnam war are the monopolists and the generals and admirals in the Pentagon. For the American people, in addition to the loss of loved ones in direct battle, it means an increased cost of living, more taxes and cuts in the social services. .... "

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 10.

"President Johnson and McNamara have decided to stop the South Vietnamese people from achieving freedom and independence, from determining their own destiny. The Johnson administration is sending more and more young American GIs to Vietnam to kill and be killed so that South Vietnam shall become a satellite to Wall Street imperialism."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1965, p. 3.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The civil rights movement must face up to the question of foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom. It is impossible to wipe out ghettos and slums while squandering billions each year on armaments.
2. Instead of sending troops to Santo Domingo and Vietnam on phony crusades for freedom, President Johnson should invoke some of the powers vested in him by the U.S. Constitution and Federal laws to enforce democracy in our own country.
3. Communists are proud of their long struggle for equal rights. The Communist Party, USA, was the only political party to draw the lessons of the Harlem outburst and to come forth with a program to eliminate the causes for them. Watts is a warning to the Nation.
4. As a group and through the leading Jewish organizations and newspapers, Jews have done far too little in the battle for social justice.
5. The criminality of American police is notorious; their brutality in connection with the poor, particularly the Negro and Puerto Rican poor, is monstrous. It is fantastic that police are permitted to judge themselves when charges are made against them. There should be civilian control, with civilian review boards.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Foreign Policy an Integral Part of Struggle for Negro Freedom

"CIVIL RIGHTS and race relations organizations denounced Johnson's administration, last week, for dragging its feet to implement



the new civil rights laws and Supreme Court decision which outlaw segregation in Southern schools."

"All of this backsliding conflicts with claims by Johnson Administration officials that enough legislation has been passed this session. It comes at a time when several major antipoverty programs are under attack and Negro leaders are aroused and resentful at an apparent Administration slack in enforcing Negro civil rights. It meets with Washington's heightened escalation of the Vietnam war.

"The road for both civil rights and peace organizations should be clear. Both forces and their programs should be joined."

The Worker,  
October 24, 1965, p. 12.

"...It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still invest the tens of billions needed yearly to wipe out ghettos and slums and modernize education and transportation. Thus the problem of poverty and poor people cannot be solved by civil rights legislation alone. The civil rights movement must face up to the question of foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom."

The Worker,  
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

## 2. Democracy in This Country instead of Freedom Crusades in Vietnam and Santo Domingo

"In Bogalusa, La., the subhuman white-supremacists mock, beat, kill, without fear of punishment, brave Negro citizens, who are crying out for their democratic rights under the U.S. Constitution.

"In Anniston, Ala., a Negro dies of wounds inflicted from ambush by cowardly racist night riders.

"In Selma, Ala., Sheriff James Clark, who leads the clubbers and jailers of Negro children, struts about even more arrogantly since he was elected vice president of the National Association of Sheriffs.

"In Philadelphia, Miss., the murderers of the three civil rights martyrs a year ago, roam the streets freely.

"In New York City, a corrupted police force vents its spleen on the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples.

"In Chicago, a contemptuous Mayor Richard Daly and his school superintendent, Benjamin Willis, keep Negro and white children segregated in their schools, in violation of the nation's laws.

"IN THESE PLACES and many others throughout the U.S., is where the national emergency really exists. If the President wants to declare such an emergency now, let him do so within our own boundaries, bring back the troops from Vietnam and deploy them against the enemies of democracy in our own country, who are in armed insurrection against the government and laws."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1965, p. 2.

"President Johnson has a responsibility to guarantee justice in the Southern states. Instead of sending U.S. troops to Santo Domingo and Vietnam on phony cruades for freedom, let him invoke some of the powers vested in him by the U.S. Constitution and the federal laws to enforce democracy in the South."

The Worker,  
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

"President Johnson continually vows a battle for Negro equality. But the vows are meaningless, as long as the White House refuses to act to protect the Negro people in the exercise of their lawful rights from the racist enemies of the nation.

"If Johnson is sincere in his promises, he will demonstrate it by sending in U.S. marshals and troops, and by superseding the white supremacist courts and police."

The Worker,  
October 19, 1965, p. 2.

### 3. Communists Proud of Their Struggle for Equal Rights

"The fact that Communists support integration, and have done so for over 35 years, is neither a startling revelation, nor does it make a crime of integration, just as it is no crime to be a Communist. The fact that Communists participate in demonstrations for integration is likewise no crime nor a startling discovery....Communists are proud of their long struggle for equal rights...."

The Worker,  
July 11, 1965, p. 4.

"Watts is a warning to the nation, that it must either fight a real war on poverty or face not only 'long hot summers' but hot winters too.

"The only political party to draw the lessons of the Harlem outbursts and to come forth with a program to eliminate the causes for them, was the Communist Party, USA."

The Worker,  
August 22, 1965, p. 10.

### 4. Jews, as Group, Have Done Too Little

"...a special word to Jews. There are five and a half million in the United States--almost half of what's left in this world. Relatively, Jews have not been backward in the struggle for social justice here in the United States including in the battle for Negro liberation...Still, as a group and through the leading Jewish organizations and in the leading Jewish newspapers, too little,

far too little, has been said and, in particular, done. Have Jewish leaders, have Jewish organizations done enough to ask Negro leaders and Negro organizations how best they could participate?"

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 23.

##### 5. Civilian Control over Police

"The civilian review board has clearly become a major test between the forces for democracy in N. Y. and the racist-reactionary-police alliance. "

"At issue is the struggle against the Northern bloodbrothers of the Southern White Citizens Council, who want the police to act as the mailed fist to repress the Negro and Puerto Rican struggle against ghettos.

"It is time for the superior forces of democracy to face the issue. There is no better time to do this than now, in the midst of one of New York's most crucial elections. "

The Worker,  
July 18, 1965, p. 10.

"It is indeed a fantastic situation, when the police are permitted to judge themselves when charges are made against them. It is as if a man charged with murder or robbery were to be allowed to determine his own judicial fate. That is precisely what the present police machinery does when it reviews charges of assault or murder against police brought by citizens. "

The Worker,  
August 10, 1965, p. 7.

" 'Establish authentic civilian control over the police with a Citizens Review Board.' "

The Worker,  
August 22, 1965, p. 10.

"The fact is that anyone who has lived in the United States for any period of time with his eyes open... knows as a matter of common knowledge that the criminality of American police is notorious and that their illegal and extra-legal activity is scandalous and that, in particular, their brutality in connection with the poor and above all the Negro (and Puerto Rican) poor is monstrous...."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts  
Ghetto Uprising," Political  
Affairs, November, 1965, p.31.

## IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The time has come to extend the right to a free education from the public school system to the colleges.
2. The American educational system is backward in form and content from kindergarten through the university. It is almost completely segregated; an increasing proportion is private or religious, not public. The curriculum and instruction, generally speaking, are racist. The system operates upon the assumption of the superiority of the rich. Anticommunism is present in all levels of instruction.
3. The desires and policies of extreme reaction are triumphant in higher education. Multimillionaires, to whom unfettered thinking is foreign, dominate policies.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Free College Education

"Why must free education stop at the doors of the high schools at a time when the demands of our society make a college education not a luxury but an economic necessity?

"There is a growing awareness, particularly among educators, that the time has come to extend the right to a free education from the public school system to the colleges. "

The Worker,  
November 30, 1965, p. 6.

#### 2. Education Backward in Form and Content

"In form and content, no major American institution is so backward as the educational. This is true from kindergarten through university.

"In terms of form, the most significant backward elements are:

1) an almost completely segregated and racist school system... 2) an increasing proportion of education no longer is public and secular but increasingly is private and religious... 3) a fantastic difference in all criteria of education exists between schools located where the rich live and those 'serving' the poor; 4) higher education--both public and private--is dominated completely by a system of Boards of Trustees or Regents... almost all white, Anglo-Saxon, elderly, notoriously reactionary, and grossly wealthy; 5) the widespread existence of various witch-hunting and 'loyalty' requirements.

"In terms of content, the most significant backward elements are:

1) the curriculum and instruction, generally speaking, are racist... 2) the assumptions of education are elitist... the educational system operates in fact upon the assumption of the intellectual and moral superiority of the rich... 3) anti-Communism is required by law for millions of younger students... 4) on the higher educational levels, the same end has been sought in more sophisticated ways; i. e., weeding out radical and Marxist (not to speak of Communist) instructors... 5)... emphasis has been given to systems marked by cynicism, denial of causation, denial of progress, and concerted assaults upon democratic postulates."

"The influence of the Left is growing; leaders of the Left are gaining wider and wider audiences. Not only are the numbers increasing; the intensity and respect of their attention are growing."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Academic Rebellion in the United States,"  
Political Affairs,  
August, 1965, pp. 34, 35, 36.

### 3. Extreme Reaction in Higher Education

"In no other institution in the United States have the desires and policies of extreme reaction been in fact so completely triumphant as they have been in that of higher education and this triumph has existed... for over sixty years. Today, multi-millionaires dominate the policies of colleges and universities;

nothing is more foreign to these tycoons and nothing is more contrary to their wishes than unfettered thinking, basic inquiry, the skeptical approach, the non-pecuniary essence of scholarly devotion and conscientious teaching."

"...In all other civilized countries--including capitalist nations, such as Great Britain, France, Italy Holland, Belgium, Canada, Mexico--scholars are on faculties because of their scholarship; this means that in all of them among the most distinguished professors are many radicals and not a few Communists. The same would be true in the United States if there did not exist a 'pall of fear' and Right-wing control barring fully competent people solely on political grounds--a pall and a control generated and maintained by the financial barons dominating American universities."

Herbert Aptheker, "Academic Freedom in the United States," Political Affairs, July, 1965, pp. 55, 58.



## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. If this country is to survive as a nation, it will be largely because of the Negro. The American Negro people have, because of their morally superior condition and position, become a superior people.
2. There is what may be called a tendency toward the monopolization of scientific work. Increasingly such work is financed directly by the Government, by major industrial giants, or by foundations subsidized by such giants.
3. Science and art in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are being used to ennoble the life of man. There man has emancipated himself from penury and political injustice.
4. The Pope's benediction for peace and the statement of the National Council of Churches demanding a halt to the bombing of Vietnam should inspire and hearten those who have been engaged in the struggle for peace.
5. Sincere, religious-minded Americans are against U.S. foreign policy. The brutality and injustice in Vietnam, as well as the oppression and terror in Mississippi and Alabama, cannot be reconciled with the humanist teachings of religion.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. American Negroes a Superior People

"Indeed, the morally superior condition and position of the American Negro people for centuries, and their present morally superior position has made of them, in my opinion, a superior people. I do not mean genetically or biologically of course, but I do mean morally, in terms of values and in terms of warmth, comradeship, courtesy, thoughtfulness, determination, perception, endurance. Symbolic of the American Negro are the greatest Americans of the last two centuries: Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. Du Bois.

"This is part of the reason why, I think, if this nation is to survive as a nation having human values at all it will be largely because of the qualities--as well as the necessities--of the American Negro people. "

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts  
Ghetto Uprising," Political  
Affairs, November, 1965, p. 40.

## 2. A Tendency toward Monopolization of Scientific Work

"Coincident with the extraordinary intensification of monopolization which has characterized the U.S. economy since 1940--and especially since 1950--there has appeared what may be called a tendency towards the monopolization of scientific work. Increasingly such work has been financed either directly by the U.S. government or by major industrial giants or by foundations subsidized by such giants. Today the greatest proportion of funds available to universities comes from the federal government--a distinctly new development for the United States; at the same time, the greatest portion of what is left comes from the traditional source for financing higher education in the U.S.A., --i. e., the largest corporations.

"...while ten percent of the gross national product is directly dependent upon war production, over eighty per cent of the scientists and technicians in the United States actually are employed in military-connected efforts!..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Recent  
Ideological Developments  
In the United States,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1965, p. 44.

## 3. Soviet Science and Art To Ennoble Life of Man

"The AGE OF MAN which the Russian Revolution initiated is being, and will be evermore, characterized by man's mastery over the elemental forces of nature as well as of the social relationships within human society itself.

"For the first time in human history, there in the Soviet Union and to varying degrees in the other socialist countries, man is establishing rational relations within his society so as to insure that the bounty of nature and science will serve the requirements of man himself.

"The concept of 'everything to enoble the life of man' is now the prime purpose and unfolding reality in the affairs of society and the workings of science and art in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

"There man has emancipated himself from penury under the blind forces of nature and from the injustice of the political rule of exploiting classes. There he is not only a conscious participant in, but verily a maker of, his own history."

The Worker,  
November 7, 1965, p. 3.

4. Vietnam Brutality and Racist Oppression Irreconcilable with Religious Teachings

"The naked brutality and injustice of the aggression in Vietnam and the racist oppression and terror in Mississippi and Alabama cannot be reconciled with the humanist teachings of religion. Sincere, religious-minded Americans are in rebellion as are all progressive peace-loving Americans, against the immorality and the hypocrisy of our foreign policy which proclaims its peaceful intentions while it acts to turn Vietnam into a graveyard."

The Worker,  
November 14, 1965, p. 3.

5. Stand of Church Leaders an Inspiration for Peace Endeavors

"By coming to the United States to make his pronouncement for peace, the Pope made manifestly clear where the source of the gravest threat to world peace lies. Above all, the danger of world war is built into the acts of military aggression and wars of intervention which the Government of the United States is carrying out in Vietnam and has been guilty of committing in the Dominican Republic and in respect to Cuba.

"The inspiration of the Pope's benediction for the peace endeavors of the United Nations should be a great source of encouragement and resolution on the part of tens of millions of our countrymen to renew and enlarge the struggle to bring an end to the war which the Johnson Administration is waging in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
October 10, 1965, p. 3.

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of Churches unites some 30 denominations of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches with a combined membership of 40 million persons.

"Last Friday, the Council issued a policy statement in which it demanded an immediate halt to the bombing of Vietnam...."

"The members of denominations affiliated with the National Council will be taking their place in the ranks and leadership of the anti-war-in-Vietnam fighters alongside of the Catholic adherents to the doctrines of Pope John and the peace appeals of Pope Paul and at the side of Jewish believers who walk in the wisdom of Rabbi Maurice W. Eisendrath, the stern foe of U.S. intervention of Vietnam affairs."

"The action of the National Council of Churches should hearten all those who have been engaged on the front of struggle for peace. The addition to the peace front of such a mighty army of reserves should inspire the movement to great new initiatives to enlist and assert the will of the majority of the nation... "

The Worker,  
December 7, 1965, p. 2.

## XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Everything that women hold dear--peace, freedom, friendship, equal rights, dignity of peoples, and the necessary material things--is threatened by the reactionaries.
2. More attention to the problems of working-class women would enable them to work in the peace and freedom movements, in trade-unions, and in other progressive organizations. Socialism, with its true concern for the individual, is the ultimate answer to women's problems.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. All That Women Hold Dear Threatened by Reactionaries

"THE AMERICAN reactionaries are threatening all that the women of the world hold dear (as well as all men of reason)--peace, freedom, the friendship and equal rights and dignity of peoples, and all the material things necessary to live a full, productive, culturally satisfying and happy life.

"I am certain that the women of the world will not be lagging in their militant support of the struggle for peace and an end to Washington's war in Vietnam being spearheaded by the women who are striking out for peace in the United States itself."

The Worker,  
July 11, 1965, p. 7.

#### 2. Socialism Ultimate Answer for Development of Women

"Giving more attention to the problems of working-class women can only result in building a powerful reservoir for work in the peace and freedom movements, in the trade unions and other progressive organizations."

"... Women with small children should, indeed, press for a recognition of their need for continuing education. With many working-class women, this will consist, not only of custom-built educational forms at a college level, but at a high school level. Basically required are free educational opportunities, which take into consideration that children must be cared for while the mother is studying. There could be staggered courses taking place at various hours of the day, baby-sitter cooperatives, television courses, accredited, during the day...."

"When women are aroused, they have made heroic marks on the canvas of history. From the days of slavery, through the days of fighting for the right to vote by women, to the women marching on the picket lines for peace, or sitting down in the streets and courthouses of the country for an end to segregation, women can be proud of their militancy and their achievements. These women should be given consideration and help in their problems and assistance in these struggles. Hundreds and thousands more women must be involved.

"It is hardly necessary to point out that, as with all problems of the working class, socialism with its true concern for the individual, is the ultimate answer for striking down the barriers which prohibit development of women."

Nan Sheppard, "Thoughts on 'The Feminine Mystique,'" Political Affairs, August, 1965, pp. 47, 48, 49.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The New Left, primarily made up of student groups and those enjoying wide student support, oppose the American system and increasingly demand a wide-ranging structural change. These young Americans generally recognize that a whole new system, perhaps some form of socialism, is the answer to the crisis in America. A large section of the New Left is believed ready to listen to communists and to see communist ideas in action.
2. The Communist Party is increasingly becoming a magnet for young people searching for answers to their questions on peace, democracy, and their economic future.
3. The war in Vietnam has opened up a sharp contradiction between draft-age youth and their Government.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. "New Left" Ready To Listen to Communists

"America is being set on fire by its younger generation. All over the nation, young people are on the move, in the forefront of the progressive struggles of our time. Their militancy and courage have captured the imagination of the country, and their activities are the catalyst which will help liberate the immense forces for social change that lie bubbling so very close to the surface."

"These Americans are, in every sense of the word, the heroes of today.... Generally speaking, they are called the 'New Left.'"

"The New Left is primarily a student affair. The names of the organizations reflect that: the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, the Northern Student Movement, the fledgling Southern Students Organizing Committee. Others are either campus-based or enjoy wide support from students."

"The students of the New Left bear the name proudly--both halves of it. They are Left because they oppose the American system as a system,\* and increasingly raise demands for wide-ranging structural change. They are militant, uncompromising, and generally recognize that a whole new system, perhaps some form of socialism, is the only real answer to the crisis of America...."

"...The New Left is potentially a great ally for the working class, and it is the duty of Communists to do everything possible to win that ally. Since the New Left and the Communists are both committed to action as a way of trying out ideas, there is no question but that the New Left will be won in struggle, on the front lines of the movements."

"I think there is a surprisingly large section of the New Left ready to listen to Communists, and willing to see Communist ideas in action. Now is the time for an all-out effort to win for our class this courageous and militant section of youth!"

John Proctor, "The New Left,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1965, pp. 32, 33, 34, 42, 43.

## 2. Communist Party a Magnet for Young People

"...the fact is that not only does the Communist Party remain the largest, most influential organization on the Left, but is becoming increasingly a magnet for young people in search of answers to their questions on peace, democracy and their economic future."

The Editors, "Forty-Six Years of the  
C. P. U. S. A.," Political Affairs,  
September, 1965, p. 35.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.



"There is only one area where the fight to build the Party is being conducted vigorously and effectively, and that is among the youth. These young people have the idea that in the mass radicalization taking place among the youth in our country today the youth should have an opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not the ideas, philosophy and politics of the Communist movement are for them. An increasing number are deciding that they are."

Albert J. Lima, "Communists and the War on Poverty," Political Affairs, September, 1965, p. 27.

"FROM WASHINGTON, where they were attending the trial of the Communist Party, Gus Hall, James Jackson, Gil Green, and Arnold Johnson sent the following telegram to Bettina Aptheker:

"Washington Press carries story of your proud public affirmation that you are a Communist. We greet your action as fitting rebuke to new McCarran Act trial of the party and to those who want to stifle political dissent and opposition to the dirty war and to those who want to start a new wave of anticommunist McCarthyism.

"We hail your action as a contribution to intellectual integrity and to academic freedom. We are certain that your inspiring deed will be emulated by many others of your generation who favor social progress and recognize that socialism represents the bright future of mankind and the only hope for a sane society. We greet you and embrace you."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1965, p. 2.

"...not conservatism, but growing activity for peace, civil rights, civil liberties and jobs was the wave of the future among the youth. Within this growing trend more and more youth would look toward socialism as a solution and toward the Communist Party..."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1965, p. 8.

### 3. Contradiction between Draft-Age Youth and Government

"The conscription of the older family men follows admission by Selective officials in Washington that the young people are becoming a generation of draft dodgers. Further confirmation of the American youths' refusal to participate in the Vietnam war was the announcement last week by Selective Service officials that they are planning to introduce universal conscription, which will put even those rejected for military service into camps under the command of the Pentagon for the two years they are liable for service."

"It was obvious... that part of the reason for turning to the older married men of the armed services reserve to increase the combat force for the war against the Vietnamese people was the breakdown of the draft system due to the nation's youth. McNamara stressed that the new program for the armed services reserve will 'minimize the call on new civilian manpower.' This can only be interpreted as a reference to the draft."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1965, p. 1.

"THIS CRIMINAL war of aggression which Washington is waging in Vietnam has opened up a sharp contradiction between the draft-age youth and the Government. It is also producing an ever sharpening conflict between the ranks and the command in the armed forces themselves.

"Pigs are for barbecuing over charcoal fires, not human beings. But our planes, dropping napalm bombs, are converting homes in Vietnam into funeral pyres and people in whole families are being burned to death.

"It surely must have been the contemplation of such features of the horror and injustices of the mission of slaughter-without-honor upon which they were being sent which led four Negro citizen-soldiers to go on a hunger strike in protest against being compelled to go to war against the Vietnam people. These Negro youth are members of the airborne U. S. A. 1st Cavalry Division (Although Negroes are only 10 percent of the total

population, they are 20 percent of the 1st Cavalry Division--a figure equivalent to the ratio of unemployment among Negroes in the United States. )" . . . . .

"... Four courageous Negro lads who dared to separate themselves from this cannibal-style ritual of napalm-barbecuing of human beings are counted as cowards and traitors and imprisoned. While pilots sailing through the heavens unleash tons of penetrating jellied fire-death upon the heads and bodies of children, of old people, of mothers, and of youth, while such pilots are decorated as heroes."

The Worker,  
November 2, 1965, p. 2.

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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1966 - - JUNE 1966



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**January 1966--June 1966**

**July 1966**

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## PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues its propaganda campaign against United States foreign policy. The U.S. is portrayed as an aggressive nation "essaying the vain role of global policeman to suppress revolution and to preserve the capitalist-colonial status quo." According to the Party, this policy is a danger to world peace, but it is futile; it is out of step with present reality, since more and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events.

The Party's chief foreign-policy objective is to bring about the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from South Vietnam. The communists charge that the purpose of U.S. presence there is not to defend democracy and freedom but to maintain military domination in Southeast Asia and to increase profits for Wall Street.

The CPUSA asserts that the majority of the American people want the war halted; that the only people who endorse the escalation of the bombings are the "ultra-rightists in the Republican party, the Southern racists in the Democratic party, the rabid fascist hate-groups and the desperate generals and admirals who are hunting vainly for a 'victory.' "

United States policy is likened to that of Nazi Germany during World War II. The Party speciously asks: "Is there any

difference between what the Nazis did then and what U.S. airmen, now under orders from the Johnson administration, are doing now to the cities of North and South Vietnam?"

The South Vietnamese, the Party insists, want American troops withdrawn; the occupation of their land by the U.S. has created mass discontent; they want a civil government that will erase all the evils brought by Washington.

The Party calls on every American who cherishes his fellow man to protest "openly and with all his strength" the continuation of the bombings and to demand that they be halted at once. Only thus, it says, can we retrieve our membership in the human race.

The only way the U.S. can restore peace in Vietnam, the Party states, is by negotiating with the National Liberation Front. The charge is made that Washington refuses to do this because it would be recognition of the fact that the U.S. is engaged in a war of invasion against the people of South Vietnam.

According to the Party, the crimes of aggression against Vietnam today were committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday and against Cuba the day before. It is claimed that the U.S. had a "hand in the strangulation of the Congo" and that the "dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle." The United States is accused of reckless, war-fomenting maneuvers in Latin America and in the Middle East. The "recent

assassination plot" against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro is cited as an example in the former area; U.S. action in Syria, in the latter. The Party says there are indications that U.S. aggression will spread to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and all of Southeast Asia.

The CPUSA asserts that it seeks to change U.S. foreign policy and direct it toward peaceful coexistence. The fight for peaceful coexistence, the Party says, entails the fight for the recognition of Communist China, its admission to the United Nations, and an end to the embargo on trade. The Party warns that the U.S. is under strong misapprehensions if it assumes that China will receive no aid from the "socialist" countries in the event the U.S. exploits the ideological differences within the international Marxist movement to provoke war with China.

Most of our Nation's problems, real or imagined, are attributed by the communists directly to the war in Vietnam or to our social system, or both. For example, the Great Society is being sacrificed for the war; only social inequity produces poverty; each malnourished child, each substandard dwelling is a witness to the defects of our social system; the police appear in the ghettos as an army of occupation of the "corporate Establishment" and brutalize the residents.

As always, the Party claims that the ultimate solution to the many problems that beset this country is "socialism." It is predicted

that socialism will come when the majority of the American people are convinced that there is no other solution.

The CPUSA advocates the formation of a new "people's party" to challenge monopoly on fundamental and critical issues. The party would be made up of the working class, Negroes, independent farmers, intellectuals, professionals, owners of small businesses, youth, and other groups.

The Party theorizes that the various groups share common interests with the working class, whose historic goal--the communists say--is to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. For example, the Negro people are predominantly of the working class and are destined to join with labor in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression. Also, small and middle farmers can struggle more effectively in alliance with the working class, since they are no longer a leading force in the battle against the trusts. In addition, intellectuals have become "glorified wage laborers" and find themselves in economic conflict with corporate power. They, too, have common cause with the working class and its allies.

The CPUSA emphasizes the role it sees for youth. It says that youth, particularly Negro youth, have become critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society and have gained wide experience with the "class nature of the capitalist state and how its police and court system defends its privilege

and power." It is pointed out that Negro youth have gained much experience in building organizations, cultivating unity, and forging alliances with a wide stratum of white people. The Party claims that the youth have sparked the civil rights drive, have struggled against U.S. imperialist aggression, and have started probing a new path to socialism. Students, too, have a part. They, struggling against high tuition costs and militarism, should ally themselves with the working class in order to solve mutual problems and to build socialism.

#### B. Conclusions

1. The CPUSA can be expected to continue its propaganda campaign against United States efforts to halt communist aggression in Southeast Asia.
2. Repeal of the McCarran Act, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and status as a legitimate political party remain CPUSA objectives.
3. The Party will continue to exploit man's desire for peace, issues of interest to labor, and the aspirations of the Negro for social, economic, and political equality. The CPUSA has announced that it must "come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality."
4. Much Party activity can be expected to be centered around its call for a "people's coalition at the polls" to retire the "war-hawks" Congress in 1966. Also advocated is a campaign to present an independent presidential candidate in 1968. Such a campaign started now, the communists say, could serve as a mobilization for peace.

5. The communists undoubtedly will make further efforts to attract the youth of this country to the Party and further claims that the efforts are meeting with success.



## I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. The world transition to socialism is gaining momentum. More and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events. U.S. foreign policy is at odds with this changing reality but cannot halt the tide.
2. U.S. military aggression in Vietnam is a danger to world peace. The Johnson administration is engaged in reckless schemes that threaten to involve the American people in more wars of the Vietnam type. War-fomenting maneuvers are carried out in Cuba, and U.S. actions in Syria could ignite war in the Middle East.
3. The National Liberation Front (NLF), without doubt, has the largest following of the South Vietnamese people. The only way peace can be negotiated is by dealing with the NLF.
4. The presence of U.S. military forces has created mass discontent among the Vietnamese people, and they want these forces withdrawn.
5. The American people want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.
6. Is there any difference between what the Nazis did during World War II and what U.S. airmen are doing now in North and South Vietnam?
7. The fight for peaceful coexistence entails the fight for recognition of People's China, for its admission to the United Nations, and for an end to the senseless total embargo on trade.
8. That China would receive no aid from the socialist countries if the U.S., exploiting ideological differences within the international Marxist movement, provokes war with China is a false assumption.
9. French President de Gaulle's visit to the Soviet Union shows the soundness of the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence.

The countries of Western Europe no longer want to be tied to Washington's bankrupt policy. They want to improve trade relations with the socialist countries.

10. Every American must use all his strength to protest the bombings in Vietnam.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. U. S. Policy at Odds with Changing Reality

"World Balance Shifts Against Imperialism--from New Draft Program, CPUSA"

" 'The balance of power in the world is shifting. The new forces of socialist and anti-colonial revolution are on the ascendant. The old forces of capitalism and imperialism are on the decline. More and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events. U.S. policy is at odds with this changing reality....' "

The Worker,  
March 15, 1966, p. 6.

" 'U.S. foreign policy is dangerous, reprehensible--and also futile. The military and economic power commanded by U.S. corporate giants may, here and there, slow the revolutionary tide or temporarily divert it into eddies, but it cannot halt the tide.' "

The Worker,  
March 20, 1966, p. 8.

"... The world transition to socialism is not slowing to a halt... It is gaining momentum as labor and national liberation organizations grow, as the lineup resisting U.S. imperialism broadens, as the

relative economic, political, moral and military weight of existing socialist countries increases. "

The Worker,  
June 5, 1966, p. 8.

## 2. U. S. Aggression Endangers World Peace

"OMINOUS REPORTS trickling out of Washington indicate that the Johnson administration intends to spread the aggression against Vietnam to Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, in fact to all of Southeast Asia.

"At the beginning of 1965, President Johnson claimed: 'Our goal is peace in Southeast Asia.' But 1966 will begin with the menace of war in all of Southeast Asia, initiated by the triumvirate of President Johnson, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and increase the peril of sucking the world into a nuclear holocaust."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1966, p. 3.

"Our foreign policy of aggression, intrigue and subversion has become the nuclear time bomb ticking away at the brink. What is needed is an about-face in our foreign policy. Thus our program states:

"At this writing U.S. military aggression in Vietnam represents the most clear and present danger to world peace. The supreme challenge of the moment, in the fight for world peace is to halt U.S. aggression, to end U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can decide their own destiny.... "

Gus Hall, "The Communist  
Program--The Path Ahead,"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1966, p. 7.

" 'The crisis in foreign policy overshadows all others. And for good reason. If in other spheres error may be rectified, here it can prove fatal. Thermonuclear weapons make world peace the issue of survival, the precondition for rational solution of all other problems. But U.S. foreign policy, instead of diminishing the ultimate peril, magnifies it. As presently constituted, essaying the vain role of global policeman to suppress revolution and to preserve the capitalist-colonial status quo, it is headed toward suicidal collision.' "

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 8.

"Six thousand men and women in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses applauded an American Negro leader again and again as he denounced U.S. imperialism and Washington's dirty war in Vietnam.

"The speaker was Henry Winston..."

" 'These crimes of aggression which the U.S. imperialists so brazenly commit against Vietnam today, they committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday, and against Cuba the day before.

" 'They had a hand in the strangulation of the Congo, and the dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle.' "

The Worker,  
April 10, 1966, p. 4.

"THE JOHNSON administration is not limiting itself to the invasion of Vietnam in its effort to maintain and expand the grasp of Wall Street imperialism on Asia, Africa and Latin America.... it is engaged in reckless maneuvers and schemes that threaten to involve the American people in more bloody wars of the Vietnam type.

"The recent assassination plot against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and the provocative incidents emanating from Guantanamo Base... are the latest manifestation of these war-fomenting maneuvers.

"A few days ago, the government of Syria appealed to the UN Security Council to probe Washington's actions in the Middle East...."

"The Johnson administration's actions against Syria are part of a plot that could ignite a full-scale bloody war in the Middle East into which the American people will be sucked, despite their wishes."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1966, p. 3.

3. Negotiate with National Liberation Front--Represents Majority

"...If one is to respect the wishes and desires of the Vietnamese people for the right of self-determination and to have their own government, and if peace is to be negotiated, this can only be done by dealing with representatives of the Vietnamese, in the National Liberation Front.

"Nobody in his wildest moments or in any objective statement has ever dared to claim that the present puppet premier, Ky, is a spokesman for or a representative of the Vietnamese people."

The Worker,  
February 6, 1966, p. 12.

"...The NLF, without doubt, has the largest following of the South Vietnamese people..."

The Worker,  
March 1, 1966, p. 8.

"...the Johnson Administration is not unaware of the real strength and influence of the National Liberation Front. It knows that the NLF is the

only stable political force in the country and has the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry...."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War," Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 26.

"If President Johnson were really interested in an exchange of prisoners or any other aspect of this problem, he would be negotiating with the National Liberation Front, which captured them. That's exactly what the government of North Vietnam told the International Red Cross, which the President is trying to use as a tool to get him off the hook with the American people.

"But President Johnson stubbornly refuses to do this because it would be recognition of the fact he is engaged in a dirty war of invasion against the people of South Vietnam, a war which is both immoral and illegal."

The Worker, May 10, 1966, p. 2.

#### 4. South Vietnamese Want U.S. Troops Withdrawn

"THE DEMONSTRATIONS that have spread throughout the areas of South Vietnam occupied by U.S. military forces have now shifted from concentration on the removal of the military dictatorship of Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky to attacks on the Johnson administration as the main source of Vietnam's horrible plight as the result of Washington's dirty war."

"The occupation of their land by the U.S. military forces has created a mass discontent among the people, who want a new civilian government that will erase all the evils brought by Washington...."

The Worker, April 5, 1966, p. 1.

"MORE THAN 7,000 Saigon trade unionists, farmers and students demonstrated last Sunday, May Day, against U.S. military occupation of part of South Vietnam...."

"If the U.S. embassy officials watching the demonstration from their windows report truthfully to Johnson, he will learn how much the South Vietnamese, even in U.S.-occupied areas, want American troops withdrawn...."

"The significant fact is that even in the areas occupied by U.S. troops the Ky dictatorship is unable to control the people. Johnson privately is well aware of this and has been forced to trim his escalation of the war because of the revolt in the U.S.-occupied areas...."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

##### 5. American People Want War Halted

"THERE IS A RISING tide of rebellion in our land against any further continuation of President Johnson's 'dirty war' in Vietnam. The Ky crisis in South Vietnam has removed the last shred of credibility in the Johnson administration's Vietnam policy among large numbers of Americans who stifled their doubts in the vain hope that the 'President knows best.' Their doubts, long smoldering in discontent, are now bursting into revolt.

"This is the significance of the unprecedented rebellion against the President's Vietnam policy in his own party."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 2.

"The only people who back President Johnson in this escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam are the blood-thirsty ultra-rightists in the Republican party, the Southern racists in the Democratic party, the rabid

fascist hate-groups and the desperate generals and admirals who are hunting vainly for a 'victory.' "

"The American people want the bombing in Vietnam to be halted. But they will not get it halted unless they make it clear in no uncertain terms to Johnson and Congress that this is what they want."

The Worker,  
April 24, 1966, p. 3.

"The American people don't want the dirty war in Vietnam escalated; they want it to be halted immediately; they want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.

"The American people want their sons and brothers to come home alive and not crippled, not in coffins or on hospital ships. They want a chance to achieve for themselves and their families the better life that the resources and the treasures of their country should afford them. They want the freedom and the equality that are the conditions for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations. They want an end to the defilement of American principles and traditions by the Johnson administration."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

#### 6. Not Much Difference between Gas Ovens and Napalm

"The aggressive war policy of the Johnson Administration brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans and ruin and devastation to Vietnam. . . .

"The Johnson policy of aggression threatens the American people with the kind of catastrophe that Hitler's policy of aggression did bring the German people. "

Herbert Aptheker, "Vietnam: An  
Eyewitness Report," Political  
Affairs, February, 1966, pp. 47-48.



"...there is not much difference between the gas ovens of Germany and the napalm we use in Vietnam..."

The Worker,  
April 5, 1966, p. 3.

"...When they burned six million Jews in crematoria? How does that differ essentially from joyously burning Vietnamese in straw-thatched huts..."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1966, p. 6.

"WHEN NAZI AIRMEN loosed saturation bombing on British cities in World War II, slaughtering women, children and old men and laying waste to houses, the world was horrified. Nobody was taken in by Hitler's alibi that the reason for the mass murder was to force Britain to give up its resistance and come in a 'reasonable' posture to the conference table.

"Is there any difference between what the Nazis did then and what U.S. airmen, now under orders from the Johnson administration, are doing now to the cities of North and South Vietnam?"

The Worker,  
June 7, 1966, p. 2.

7. Recognition of, Trade with, Seat in UN for Communist China

"The fight for peaceful coexistence also entails the fight for recognition of People's China, for its admission to the UN, and for an end to the senseless total embargo on trade with it. This, too, is part of the special responsibility which falls upon the people, and upon its progressive vanguard."

"National Liberation and the  
Anti-Imperialist Struggle,"  
Political Affairs,  
February, 1966, p. 15.

"Our struggle to change the direction of U. S. foreign policy is to change it in the direction of coexistence. The struggle to bring our boys home from Vietnam; the demand to keep hands off the Dominican Republic; the recognition of People's China and its seating in the United Nations; the defense of the right of all peoples to self-determination--all these and more are in line with realizing in life the policy of peaceful coexistence...."

Gus Hall, "The Communist Party--a Review and Perspective," Political Affairs, May, 1966, p. 13.

8. Socialist Countries Would Aid China if U. S. Provoked War

"If the United States is banking on exploiting the ideological differences within the international Marxist movement, particularly those between People's China and the Soviet Union, to provoke a war with China falsely assuming that China will receive no aid from the socialist countries, it is under strong misapprehensions. And should the United States dare to employ nuclear weaponry, this will arouse the fury not alone of the socialist camp but of the entire world."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War," Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 28.

9. De Gaulle Visit Manifestation of Soundness of Soviet Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

"THE VISIT of French President Charles DeGaulle to the Soviet Union is the latest manifestation of the soundness of the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence. It also reveals most dramatically the bankruptcy of Washington's foreign policy of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism. And it is a vivid expression of the revolt of the capitalist governments of western Europe against the disastrous and dangerous policy of the Johnson administration."

"... The capitalist governments of western Europe want to reestablish friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe; they want to expand East-West trade, and they want to develop further cultural contacts.

"The Soviet Union, with its policy of peaceful coexistence has always sought this... For a long time, the Soviet Union has tried to press for peaceful coexistence with the U.S., with little encouragement from Washington."

"The governments of western Europe do not wish any longer to be tied to Washington's policy, because of their fear of becoming involved in war, because they are afraid of the U.S.'s shaky financial situation internationally, and because they want to improve trade relations with the socialist countries to overcome their own economic situation.

"They have become fearful that if they continue to tie their own currency to the U.S. dollar, they will face financial catastrophe."

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 3.

#### 10. Demand End of War in Vietnam

"The struggle to end the war in Vietnam before it engulfs Asia and the world remains the foremost task of every man, women, and child."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War,"  
Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 30.

"Every American, who cherishes his fellow-man, must protest openly and with all his strength the continuation of the bombings, and demand that they be halted at once. Only thus can we retrieve our membership in the human race."

The Worker,  
June 7, 1966, p. 2.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover should be removed from office because of inaction on behalf of Negroes assaulted in the Mississippi march.
2. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is President Johnson's traveling salesman for war. Should he not be replaced by an advocate of peace, who will represent the true interests of the American people?
3. The time has come for all those who want an alternative to the candidacy of President Johnson in 1968 to prepare to present an independent candidate for president.
4. The "Great Society" is being sacrificed on the altar of the Vietnam war.
5. The most conspicuous feature of American capitalist society is the gap between its potential and its actual performance.
6. Under socialism, the Nation's resources and control of its political institutions would be administered for the common good instead of for private profit. Socialism will come when the majority of the American people are convinced that there is no other solution to their problems.
7. The peace movement has become a powerful factor that no political force can afford to ignore. Those who rejected Goldwater in 1964 can end the war in 1966.
8. While communists believe in the maximum struggle within the present two-party system, the desired goal is the creation of a new people's party. Its program would

challenge monopoly on foreign policy, economic abundance, equality, and expanding democracy.

9. The police, in protecting "downtown" ruling-class interests, subject residents of the ghetto to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives.
10. Crime is disappearing in the Soviet Union.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Oust Attorney General Katzenbach and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY ended its tumultuous five-day 18th National Convention Sunday..."

"...the convention voted to send President Johnson a telegram demanding the ousters of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover for their inaction on behalf of Negroes assaulted in the Mississippi march. The telegram also demanded that the government come to the aid of Southern Negroes exercising their constitutional rights."

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, pp. 1, 6.

2. About Time To Fire Secretary of State Dean Rusk?

"SECRETARY OF STATE Dean Rusk, who is President Johnson's traveling salesman for war..."

"In dashing the hopes of the American people and the world for a quick Vietnam peace, Rusk reiterated the ridiculous argument that North Vietnam 'is not going to be permitted to seize South Vietnam by force.' Rusk obviously has only contempt for the intelligence of the American

people. Everybody knows that the people fighting U. S. troops on the battlefield and in the streets of South Vietnam's cities are South Vietnamese patriots seeking freedom and independence from U. S. imperialism...."

"...Everywhere Rusk goes he is met with rebuffs. Nobody wants any part of President Johnson's war.

"Isn't it about time that this arrogant salesman of war be fired and replaced by an advocate of peace, who will represent the true interests of the American people and all humanity? Rusk does not speak for the people of the U.S. The great majority who want peace must speak for themselves."

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 2.

### 3. An Independent Candidate for President in 1968

"...it is not a foregone conclusion that President Johnson will be the Democratic Party candidate in the 1968 election...."

" 'Many political independents...are raising the need for an alternative Presidential candidate, an alternative for peace, '...'

" 'Therefore, the time has come for all organizations and individuals who are for an alternative to gather their forces now, to prepare and set in motion the movement that will present to our people an independent candidate for President. '

" 'Such a campaign started now can also serve as an effective mobilization for peace. '

" 'The way to prepare for 1968 is to elect the candidates for peace, Negro and labor and Left candidates in 1966. ' 'Defeating the candidates of the ultra-Right in 1966 is a necessary preparation for 1968. ' "

The Worker,  
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

### 4. Great Society Sacrificed for War in Vietnam

"LBJ's Budget Cheats Poor to Escalate War"

"From its very beginning, the President's budget message is a cynical sacrifice of the 'Great Society' on the altar of the Vietnam war."

The Worker,  
January 30, 1966, p. 1.

"...the first demand for the people's good--at home, as well as abroad--is the demand to end the U.S. war in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
April 26, 1966, p. 2.

"The American people...want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.

"...They want a chance to achieve for themselves and their families the better life that the resources and the treasures of their country should afford them. They want the freedom and the equality that are the conditions for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations...."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

##### 5. Gap between Country's Potential and Actual Performance

"THE MOST conspicuous feature of American capitalist society is the gap between its potential and its actual performance...."

"IN AN ECONOMY of abundance only social inequity can produce poverty. In this sense the very achievements of American capitalism rise up to accuse it. Here each mal-nourished child, each substandard dwelling is a witness to the defects of the social system because the capacity to produce food is so abundant."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1966, p. 9.

" 'Americans...are deeply discontented with the gap between our country's potential and its actual performance...'. The means of the nation's livelihood 'are employed by a handful of financial-industrial monopolies for their own profit instead of the public good.' "

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 8.

#### 6. Socialism Is the Solution

"...there are 70 million Americans who live on the level designated as poverty and deprivation...there is one family group that owns or decisively controls...total worth of...over 61 billion dollars....

"We view socialism as a logical solution to this basic contradiction that produces such monstrous abnormality. The solution is to synchronize the social production with social ownership and distribution.

"...socialism cannot be imported. Social revolutions cannot be made or ordered. Socialism will be on the order of the day when the majority of Americans are convinced that there is no other solution to their problems. At that point no power on earth can stop it."

"Our very basic and historic point of reference is that capitalism as a system is on the way out and socialism as a system is on the way in."

The Worker,  
January 2, 1966, p. 9.

" 'To realize the country's enormous promise the American people must wrest ownership of its resources and control of its political institutions from the corporate power and administer them for the common good instead of private profit. This would be socialism. This we advocate.' "

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 8.



7. Peace Movement Politically Significant

"...the peace sentiment, the active movement has become a powerful political factor that no political force can afford to ignore. It is without precedent when on a critical question of foreign policy involving our country in a war the number of people actively in motion against this policy is larger than those actively supporting such a policy."

The Worker,  
January 30, 1966, p. 3.

"Although the Negro freedom movement is the most dramatic expression of change on the national scene, it is not the only one. Highly significant is the movement for peace. . . . This movement is doubly significant because it challenges the corporate Establishment on the most sensitive, most important issue of our time. Both in scope and level of consciousness it exceeds all prior peace efforts since the cold war began."

The Worker,  
March 27, 1966, p. 8.

"The situation cries out for a people's peace coalition at the polls in the primaries and in the general elections in November that can elect a substantial bloc of peace candidates, retire the war-hawks Congress, prevent more hawks from flying in, and compel Administration supporters to choose between coming into collision with the President or their constituents.

"Such a people's coalition should fight for an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, on the streets, in the shops, in the churches and synagogues, in the colleges and high schools as it prepares to march to the polls."

"The American people, who in 1964 rejected Goldwater's itchy finger on the atomic trigger, can end Johnson's war in 1966."

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 2.

"THE 1966 DEMOCRATIC primaries will above all be remembered as those that ushered in two new potent political forces -- the newly-enfranchised Negro vote in the South and the peace vote nationally...."

"...the primary results in Texas and Alabama provided dramatic proof of the emergence of a force which in alliance with other progressive forces can profoundly change the political picture in the South as well as the nation."

The Worker,  
May 15, 1966, p. 1.

#### 8. New People's Party Required

"...what is required, as we Communists have long pointed out, is to build a new people's party. But conditions have not ripened to the point where this objective can be carried out. Meanwhile, therefore, civil rights, peace and labor forces in every area need to come together and map out plans on how to deal with the immediate situation, doing those things that are possible and practical as of now."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil  
Rights: A New Phase,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1966, p. 12.

"We are for the maximum political struggle possible within the present two-party vise, but the historical direction we see in this struggle, the desired goal, is creation of a new people's party. Whether this party, virtually upon birth, becomes one of two major parties, or is a third party, or is one among several, will be determined by history and is not, at the moment, the important thing...."

"Its components will be drawn from the forces arrayed against monopoly: the working class, the Negro people, independent farmers; intellectuals, professionals, small businessmen and other middle strata; youth and other groups."

" 'Its form will be democratic....

" 'Its program will challenge monopoly on the fundamental and critical issues: foreign policy, economic abundance and security for all, substantive equality, and expanding democracy.' "

The Worker,  
May 3, 1966, p. 6.

9. Police Defenders of Ruling-Class Interests

"....The police who patrol the Negro sections and communities operate as defenders of property and the privileges of the 'downtown' ruling class interests. They are committed to defense of the Establishment through subjecting the people of the slums to endless and brutal assaults upon their dignity, their lives and liberties with billy and pistol and arbitrary acts of arrest of innocents."

James E. Jackson, "Class Confrontation in Freedom Struggle," Political Affairs, February, 1966, p. 35.

"'...Police patrol Negro communities as defenders of property and the privileges of "downtown" business interests. In the ghetto they appear as the army of occupation of the corporate Establishment, subjecting residents to arbitrary arrests, to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives....' "

The Worker,  
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

10. Crime Alien to Socialist Society

"Crime is Disappearing in the USSR--Where One Felony Is  
'Too Many' "

° ° ° ° ° ° ° °

"Spokesmen for the USSR take the basic view that crime is alien to a socialist society and that whatever there is can be mainly traced to vestiges of the old society.

"We in turn recognize three main causes of crime: poverty, mental maladjustment and organized crime.

"Emphasis in the Soviet Union is upon education first, the elimination of causes, then apprehension. In the U.S. the emphasis is mainly on prevention by police activities and apprehension. There is little activity in the field of prevention or education.

"In the main, the crimes with which the Soviet Union are concerned are: hooliganism, while under the influence of alcohol; joy-riding by young persons; petty burglaries, mostly of homes, some purse snatching and infrequent cases of rape. In a similar calendar year, Moscow reported 2,000 cases of burglary and robbery, against 40,000 in N.Y. City."

The Worker,  
February 20, 1966, p. 6.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. The working people are saddled with the cost of the war while the profits of the corporations are escalating.
2. The labor movement needs to organize a year-round strictly independent political action machinery from the precinct up.
3. Long, stubborn, and militant strikes are necessary if labor is to accomplish its goals.
4. All people interested in progress should back the situs picket bill.
5. Workers in light industry should be organized in the North and the South. Such organizing could help alleviate some of the worst features of ghetto life in the North and would gain some local white support for the Negro freedom fighters in the South. The status of agricultural workers will be improved if their right to organize is protected.
6. Negroes are predominantly working-class people. Labor and Negroes, having common goals, are destined to march together.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Working People Saddled with Cost of War

"THE RISE in the cost of living the last two months, biggest since 1958, is the latest demonstration that President Johnson's Vietnam policy is not one of 'guns and butter,' but rather one of guns and profits for the monopolies. Just as on the battlefields of Vietnam, the Johnson administration is making the working people sacrifice their sons and brothers, so at home is it saddling them with the cost of the war."

"...as the result of the recent rise in the cost of living and the increase in the Social Security tax, the wage of the average factory worker was less in March than it was a year ago."

"But while this was happening to the working people, the profits of the corporations were escalating along with President Johnson's reckless escalation of his war in Vietnam..."

The Worker,  
April 26, 1966, p. 2.

"War-time profits--an all-time high,  
Bankers' moneybags piled to the sky  
**BUT NO MORE MEAT FOR OUR THINNED-OUT STEW**  
For wages must stay at **THREE POINT TWO!**"

"There's billions for missiles and men in space  
For horror-bombs in the Great Arms Race  
So there's not much left for me. Or YOU--  
Just higher taxes and **THREE POINT TWO.**"

The Worker,  
June 5, 1966, pp. 6, 7.

## 2. Independent Political Action Needed

"It... appears that the Administration was not too anxious to get 14b repealed for its narrower political reasons. For many years the Democrats, to catch labor votes, made the most of promises to repeal the whole Taft-Hartley Law. But many of them shuddered at the thought that the law should be repealed since a good vote-catcher would be lost in the process. Repeal of Taft-Hartley was steadily getting farther away from reality as even the best 'friends of labor' balked. So labor concentrated on 14b, just a fraction of T-H. But now it seems that at least some Democrats regard 14b as a good hook for keeping labor politically on the leash."

"The labor movement will not even begin to make substantial headway for its own interest until the trade unions at least carry out their long-standing but forgotten program for organizing a year-round

strictly independent political action machinery from the precinct up.... To make matters even worse, labor's leadership doesn't even play hard-to-get."

The Worker,  
February 20, 1966, p. 5.

3. Long, Stubborn, Militant Strikes

"...The days of easy victories are over. Labor will get only that for which it is prepared to wage long, stubborn and militant strikes. This does not mean that every wage negotiation will lead to a strike. In many instances strikes will be unnecessary if the employers and the government know that labor is prepared to do what the transport workers did--confront them with working-class power...."

Claude Lightfoot,"Civil Rights:  
A New Phase," Political Affairs,  
April, 1966, p. 8.

4. Those Interested in Progress Should Back Situs Picket Bill

"The situs picket bill would nullify a court ruling of the fifties that bars unions from picketing a site on which non-striking trades and unions are at work....

"There can be no doubt that the proposed situs bill is a step to strengthen unionism and the forces of progress and should be backed by all people interested in progress...it should be pointed out that the Johnson Administration's cool recommendation of the bill is strictly from the standpoint of paying a debt--at least that debt in the absence of delivery on Sec. 14b."

The Worker,  
May 22, 1966, p. 5.

5. Organize the Unorganized

"...Throughout the country, North and South, there are millions of unorganized workers, employed largely in service industries. A drive to organize these workers would especially help to raise the income level

in the ghetto. If the organization of the mass-production industries in the thirties was the impetus for labor's role in the general democratic struggle then, the drive to organize the unorganized in light industry and especially in the South could provide the spark which could overnight change labor's role in the general democratic advance today."

"...An organizing drive in the South will bring up reserves for the Negro freedom fighters who have not enjoyed any substantial support from the local white population. An organizing drive in the North can help alleviate some of the worst features of ghetto life. Both can combine to bring labor into a qualitatively new relationship with the Negro people's movement...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights:  
A New Phase," Political Affairs,  
April, 1966, pp. 9, 10.

"Any renovation of agriculture requires a radical change in the status of agricultural workers. Starvation wages, less than \$8 a day and averaging little more than \$1,000 a year--well below any official poverty yardstick--are the rule for agricultural workers. Protection of their rights to organize into unions, extension of all social welfare and labor-protective legislation to cover them, and large-scale government projects to overcome the abysmal deficit in rural social services are minimum measures.' "

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

#### 6. Labor and Negro People Destined To March Together

"Negro Americans of all classes are compelled to enter into the struggle against racial discrimination and its social consequences. However, the fact that the Negro people are predominantly working-class will increasingly influence the program and goals of the Negro people's movement, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, as well as assure the permanent nature of the alliance with the organized labor movement. Indeed, labor and the Negro people are destined to march together in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression.



"Because of the high working-class composition of the Negro people and the strength of the Negro workers in key areas of the economy, the freedom struggle of the Negro people presents itself as a vital front of the anti-monopoly struggle.\* It is geared into the tasks related to the fulfillment of the historic goal of the working class, that is, to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. The freedom objectives of the Negro people directly benefit the working class and serve the democratic interest of the whole nation."

James E. Jackson, "Class  
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"  
Political Affairs,  
February, 1966, pp. 37 - 38.

" 'In both the labor and freedom movements there is a growing awareness of the necessity for alliance.' "

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in destroying the Dixiecrat power, in democratizing the South, in eliminating the potent Dixiecrat influence in national political life.' "

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in the defeat of the ultra-Right.' "

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in the progressive redevelopment of municipal politics.' "

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in a broad range of social welfare legislation, from full employment measures to largescale construction of homes, schools, and hospitals.' "

The Worker,  
March 27, 1966, p. 8.

"A firm Negro-labor alliance in the major cities of the North, as in the South, can lead to election of Negroes as mayors and to important state and county offices, and to a considerable expansion in the number of Negro congressmen. Such a development would take us far beyond the achievements of the Reconstruction period. It would lay the basis for

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

accelerating the enforcement of laws already on the statute books, for the passage of new laws, and for ending tokenism.

"The key factor in this picture is the labor movement. As the struggle mounts on the economic and political fronts, the need for a closer alliance between the Negro and labor movements comes into ever sharper focus. The old alliances, which rested mainly on Negroes, students and church forces, will not suffice to meet the new problems. Just as in the economic struggles, so too in the established political organizations, the labor movement is the only pro-democratic, non-party organization with the resources, manpower and votes, as well as the money and know-how, to cope with the situation...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights:  
A New Phase," Political Affairs,  
April, 1966, p. 14.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Instead of curtailing farm output as surplus, the Government must establish mutually beneficial trade with the socialist world and foreign aid programs to feed the hungry millions in underdeveloped countries.
2. The Government must be compelled to help small farmers who want to stay on the farm. Among the necessary measures, there should be Federal guarantees of a minimum annual income adequate for a decent standard of living.
3. Small and middle farmers are no longer a leading force. Today, they need to be allied with the working class.
4. In a country with the most productive and abundant agriculture in the world, there is abject poverty among Negro farm laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Change Foreign Policy; End "Surplus" Farm Output

" '...government must be compelled to adopt a policy which puts an end to curtailing farm output as "surplus" when a majority of mankind is hungry and ill-clothed. This decision can be implemented by a fundamental change in foreign policy, which will open two outlets: free and mutually beneficial trade with the socialist world, and foreign aid programs that provide food for the hungry millions in underdeveloped countries instead of military hardware for tyrannical puppet regimes to suppress their peoples.' "

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

##### 2. Help Small Farmer Who Wants To Stay on Land

" ' ARRAYED in the most unequal combat with monopoly is the family-sized farm operator,' states the new Draft Program of the Communist Party U.S.A...."

" 'The farmer's life has been a struggle with monopoly as well as nature. . . . New machines, new chemical and biological aids increased agricultural yield--and decreased the small farmer's chance of survival. . . . It is increasingly a matter of being big or dead. Small farmers perish.

" '... the independent farmer has had to wage tenacious battles against the banking, transportation, processing, public utilities and farm implement trusts. . . .

" 'Government programs that are supposed to redress the balance have, in fact, made it worse. The largest benefits go to the largest operators, improving their competitive position and worsening that of the small farmers.' "

" '... government must be compelled to adopt a policy to retain on the land those small producers who desire to remain there, instead of its present policy of eliminating small farmers. Such a policy can be implemented by substantial assistance to cooperatives, by providing access to credit and modern machinery, to storage, processing and marketing facilities; by measures assuring price parity, by federal guarantees of minimum annual income adequate for a decent standard of living.' "

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

" '... we propose:

" '... extension of the guaranteed income principle to family-size farm operators to insure their productive tenure on the land.' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

3. Farmers No Longer a Leading Force--Need 'Alliance with Working Class

" 'In waging their struggle for survival against monopoly, small and middle farmers face a different political reality than they did in times gone by. When a majority of the population was rural, when agrarian radicalism was a more vital factor in American life, farmers could conceive of themselves as the leading force in the battle with the trusts. Today this is clearly not so. They can only struggle effectively in alliance with the working class.' "

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

4. Abject Poverty Staple Crop of Negro in Agriculture

" 'For the 8% of the Negro people still remaining in agriculture--almost all as laborers, sharecroppers or tenants--abject poverty is the one staple crop.' "

The Worker,  
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

" 'One of the sharpest indictments of U. S. monopoly capitalism is that the most productive and abundant agriculture in the world rests on a pit of human misery.... At the bottom depths are the remaining Negro tenants and sharecroppers in the South, and the larger numbers trying to subsist as agricultural wage laborers.' "

The Worker,  
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. The United States, Great Britain, and other Western powers have never reconciled themselves to the end of colonial rule in African nations. The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, of the Republic of Ghana, was a momentary victory for the Western powers.
2. Colonial liberation is made possible by the existence of the socialist world. There is a close relation between the socialist and anticolonialist revolutions. They reinforce each other.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Western Powers Welcomed Nkrumah's Overthrow

"It is obvious from the gleeful welcome by Washington and London of the military putsch in Ghana that they consider it a victory for imperialism over the forces seeking a non-capitalist path for the countries of Africa that had only recently wrested freedom from their colonialist oppressors in the capitalist world. "

The Worker,  
March 8, 1966, p. 4.

"The sordid machinations of world imperialism, against the sweep of national liberation on the continent of Africa, scored a momentary victory in the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. "

"The imperialists in the United States, Great Britain and other Western powers, had never reconciled themselves to the destruction of colonial rule in African nations...."

"The Military Coup in Ghana,"  
Political Affairs,  
April, 1966, p. 1.

## 2. Socialist and Anticolonial Revolutions Reinforce Each Other

" 'The anti-colonial revolutions aim to destroy imperialist domination, feudal bondage and political tyranny. In the struggle for such aims a broad national unity is attainable, including capitalist elements who chafe under the oppressive restrictions of foreign monopoly. The attainment of such aims, progressive and liberating as they are, is not yet socialism. However, there is a close relation between the socialist and colonial revolutions.

" '1. Imperialism is the common enemy of both.

" '2. The speed and scope of the colonial liberation tide is made possible by the existence of the socialist world--by its revolutionary example, by its economic, diplomatic and military assistance, which greatly restricts imperialism's ability to suppress or strangle colonial revolutions....

" 'Thus, the two kinds of revolution typical of the age--socialist and anti-colonial--are distinct and yet interconnected parts of one vast revolutionary process. Each reinforces the other.' "

The Worker,  
April 24, 1966, p. 8.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist  
Party Line

1. Public needs should be met by shifting the tax burden to large corporate and private wealth.
2. There should be curbs on the power of money in political campaigns. These must include limitation on expenditures and full disclosure of their sources, prohibition of the purchase of radio and television time or advertising space, and equal access to these mass media for competing candidates.
3. Congress should repeal the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Communist Control Act and abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
4. The Supreme Court is the highest authority in the U.S. legal system, but the entire court system is an arm of the Establishment.
5. A lasting victory over the McCarran Act can be assured only if the American people are aroused to take a stand against this Act.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Shift Tax Burden to Large Corporate and Private Wealth

"... Let the public needs be met by increased taxes on corporation profits."

The Worker,  
April 26, 1966, p. 2.



"...we propose:"

" 'Radical tax reform to shift the burden to large corporate and private wealth; use of federal and state taxing powers to induce and require re-direction of the flow of corporate investment so as to assist regional development in the South, the Appalachias and all depressed areas, with adequate protection for union rights and workers' conditions.' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

## 2. Curb Power of Money in Electoral Process

"...we propose:"

" 'Curbs on the power of money in the electoral process, which means: drastic limitations on campaign expenditures and full disclosure of their sources; prohibition of the purchase of radio and TV time or advertising space for campaign purposes and guaranteeing equal access to the mass media for competing candidates and parties. These measures should supplement the breakup of monopolies in the mass media...' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

## 3. A Clean Sweep of Network of Unconstitutional Laws

" '...Congress should repeal the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Communist Control Act, abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.

" 'Only a clean-sweep of this network of anti-democratic, unconstitutional laws can provide a longer range safeguard for democratic liberties in our country.' "

The Worker,  
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

4. Entire Court System an Arm of Establishment

"The Supreme Court is important as the highest authority in the U.S. legal system. But, as Marxists are aware, the entire court system is an arm of the Establishment...."

Bertha Clara Colon, "Put the  
McCarran Act on Trial,"  
Political Affairs,  
January, 1966, p. 33.

5. Lasting Victory over McCarran Act Depends on American Public

"...a genuine and lasting victory over the McCarran Act can be assured only if, in addition to the legal defense, the American public is aroused to take the offensive against this law."

"It is not enough to carry the fight even to the Supreme Court. Every monstrous aspect of the McCarran Act and every point in the defense brief must be brought to that court where they will\* get due consideration, to the highest court in the land, the court of public opinion."\*

Bertha Clara Colon, "Put the  
McCarran Act on Trial,"  
Political Affairs,  
January, 1966, pp. 31, 33.

"Court Dismisses McCarran Case Against Gus Hall"

"It is a victory in a case that should never have been instituted... The threat of possible future re-indictment under the McCarran Act further emphasizes that the struggle for democracy is everlasting...."

"It is now necessary to mobilize greater pressure for the dismissal of all proceedings under the McCarran Act."

The Worker,  
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

## VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. There is no question that the vast majority of the young American GIs who are now involved in the Vietnam killing would like to get out.
2. Although Negroes are only 10 per cent of the population, 16 per cent of the draftees are Negro.
3. Young Americans are not fighting for any lofty purpose in Vietnam but are dying and killing to insure expanding U.S. capitalist investments and military domination in Southeast Asia.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Victims of Illegal Use of Draft Want To Get Out

"THE DISCLOSURE this week by the Pentagon that more than 1,000 officers had tried vainly to resign from the armed services in the year since President Johnson began his escalation in Vietnam shows how deeply hate of that dirty war has penetrated among the military men."

"If the officer corps is so permeated with the desire to get out of the killing in Vietnam, there is no question that the vast majority of the young American GIs, conscripted against their will, who are now involved in the Vietnam killing, would like to get out.

"They know that they are being sacrificed in a meaningless dirty war. The truth of the matter is that they are the victims of the Johnson administration's illegal use of the draft law."

The Worker,  
May 3, 1966, p. 2.

## 2. Percentage-wise More Negroes than Whites Drafted

"The war is not only maintaining the ghetto slums and ghetto walls but it is dipping more deeply into the ghettos for its draftees.

"Although the Negro people are only 10 percent of the population, their youths form 16 percent of the draftees."

The Worker,  
February 13, 1966, p. 3.

"A Brooklyn clergyman... reported that the unemployment rate in his Negro community was twice that of the rate for the rest of N. Y. city. And this is true despite the fact that more Negro youths than white, percentage-wise, are being siphoned off for military service in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
April 10, 1966, p. 3.

## 3. GIs Dying To Secure Capitalist Investments and Military Domination

"Young American GIs are dying and killing in South Vietnam, not for any lofty purpose, not to secure 'freedom of choice' for the Vietnamese, but to insure expanding U.S. capitalist investments and military domination in Southeast Asia.

"If the people of Vietnam are to be free to choose their way of life the U.S.-waged war in their country must be ended and all foreign troops withdrawn.

"The interests of the American people as well as those in Vietnam and all the rest of the world make this the only acceptable choice."

The Worker,  
March 22, 1966, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The Communist Party must come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality.
2. Washington wages war against darker-skinned people in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world and then tries to conceal its hypocrisy on civil rights.
3. Negro communists must combat the negative aspects of Negro nationalism. The new stage of the civil rights struggle is concerned with the essence of political power, not with merely formal integration.
4. As long as the danger of the ultra-Right exists, the danger of a violent outbreak of anti-Semitism exists.
5. We are at a new stage in the struggle. This is the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle. In order to wipe out the economic discrimination against and social deprivation of Negro Americans, it is necessary to enter into struggle against the economic and political pillars of monopoly capitalism itself.
6. Most of the budget is spent for war purposes and very little for the enforcement of the civil rights of Negroes and of other minority groups.
7. Thousands of young Negro and white men are being sacrificed in Vietnam supposedly to defend freedom and democracy. They should be brought home to defend freedom and democracy in Mississippi.
8. The police throughout the Nation practice brutality against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and the poor of every nationality.
9. Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans suffer repression similar to that suffered by the Negro. In some ways, the Indians suffer most of all.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Communists Must Take Lead in Fight for Negro Equality

" 'Our Party must come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality, '...'"

" 'The emergence of a new level of political consciousness makes possible and demands the elevation of the fight against white chauvinism to a new plane. Communists must take the lead in this...'"

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

### 2. Vietnam War a War against Darker-Skinned People

" 'THE JOHNSON administration last weekend tried to keep U. S. civil rights leaders from rallying international support to the Negro people's struggle for economic, social and political equality in the U. S. ....'"

" 'The Johnson administration is obviously afraid that people in other countries will learn first hand about Washington's hypocrisy on civil rights in the U. S. while it pushes its dirty war against the darker-skinned peoples in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world.'"

The Worker,  
March 29, 1966, p. 2.

" 'Capitalism, forsaking the appeal to reason appeals to 'prejudice, to fear, to jingoism, '... It seeks to 'create suspicion and mistrust.'"

" 'The idea that it is all right to burn villages with women and children in Vietnam because they are a colored people'... 'is both an

appeal to those who have been raised on the poison of white supremacy, and an effort to spread the ideology of racist white chauvinism in greater degree to other sections of the population.' "

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

### 3. Negro Nationalism

" 'The civil rights movement, the struggle for full political, social and economic rights, has now entered upon a new stage, '...it must now move into the realm of economic and political equality.' This includes 'jobs, promotions, equality in professions, in business,' an 'end to the lucrative discriminatory practices in prices, rents, interest rates, insurance rates.'

" 'It means one vote for one man. It means Negro public officials on all levels.'

" 'The key to victory... 'lies in the fact that the working class, Negro and white, is coming eyeball to eyeball with the same foes as the civil rights movement.'

" 'The new stage of struggle for civil rights... is concerned with the 'essence of political power, with the essence of economic equality,' not with merely formal integration.

" '... 'emotion being displayed in the press about the fact that some Negro leaders have been calling for a buildup of political power based on local levels where Negro voters constitute a majority.' "

" 'Where Negro citizens are in the majority they must have the right to exercise that power.'

" 'In political subdivisions where the relationship is reversed, the question on the rights of a minority, of political equality, becomes the main issue.' "

The Worker,  
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

"... Negro Communists must energetically combat the separatist negative aspects of Negro nationalism."

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

#### 4. Anti-Semitism

"Anti-Semitism--Poison Dart in the Ultra-Right Arsenal

" 'ANTI-SEMITISM is a central part of the ideological stock-in-trade of the fascist, racist ultra-Right.

" 'The John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council--all are purveyors of the most vicious kind of anti-Semitism. The ultra-Right is flooding the country with a mess of anti-Semitic filth, and is inspiring the defacing of synagogues and other such acts of vandalism.

" 'Accompanying this is the "respectable" anti-Semitism which continues to be widespread and which discriminates against Jews in employment, in housing, in education. It offers fuel for the potential forest fire of rabid violent anti-Semitism which the ultra-Right seeks to fan.

" 'All of the ultra-Right organizations are fed on white chauvinism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. As long as the danger of the ultra-Right exists, the danger of the open, violent outbreak of anti-Semitism exists. And not only here in the U. S. A. , but also in places like West Germany and Argentina.

" 'Such propagation of anti-Semitism is not spontaneous; it is consciously and deliberately fostered as an essential part of the ideology of the waging of racist wars of aggression and the rearming and renazification of a revanchist, warlike West Germany. And no amount of cold-war diversion can cover up this fact.

" 'Our Party must dig out any and all signs of complacency about this dangerous appeal to backwardness.'



"--from Gus Hall's report to the Communist Party's national convention."

The Worker,  
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

5. At the Crossroads--The Civil Rights Struggle Meets the Class Struggle

"...Watts exposed not the poverty resulting from a plantation system, but rather the generations of poverty and rejection, the exploitation and the discrimination, by the industrial capitalist system."

"THERE ARE ghettos because of segregation, but the ghettos are slums because of the economic barriers, because of the walls of discrimination.

"THE ROOT of the economic barrier is the discrimination in hiring by industry, by professions. It is in the discrimination in advancement and promotion.

"We are at a new stage in the struggle, because this is the crossroads where the Civil Rights struggle meets the class struggle. Here is where the demand for equality comes in contact with, and challenges, the profit structure. Here it is easier to see where the roots of Jim Crow are. They are rooted in the class structure of capitalism.

"For this part of the struggle there is a need for new demands and new alliances. Some who could see the immorality of discrimination in what they considered the public domain are not ready to place that label on discrimination in the private profit domain. Therefore they will not be as reliable an ally as in past stages. Besides new alliances and demands, no doubt new forms and new methods will also arise. It is clear that here the role of the working class becomes crucial and the Negro-labor alliance decisive and imperative."

The Worker,  
February 13, 1966, pp. 5 - 9.

"To secure the scale of anti-poverty program needed to wipe out the economic discrimination and social deprivation of Negro Americans is to make an assault upon the profit-grabbing of the corporations and the trusts, is to enter into struggle against the economic and political pillars of monopoly capitalism itself."

James E. Jackson, "Class  
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"  
Political Affairs, February, 1966,  
pp. 38-39.

" 'Racist laws, discriminatory customs and poverty conspire to segregate Negro Americans in the most depressed areas. Urban ghettos and rural slums are their home communities. These, segregated islands in larger communities are systematically cheated of their just share of housing, parks, recreational facilities, street maintenance, hospitals and medical care, schools, cultural centers, and other social services.

" 'The only municipal service that is supplied in abundance is police surveillance. Police patrol Negro communities as defenders of property and the privileges of 'downtown' business interests. In the ghetto they appear as the army of occupation of the corporate Establishment, subjecting residents to arbitrary arrests, to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives....' "

The Worker,  
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

6. Rights of Negroes and Other Minority Groups Sacrificed for  
Vietnam War

"... The Johnson administration is too busy sending young American GIs to Vietnam to kill and be killed to concern itself about the horrors of the Negro people's life in the South.

"Every American concerned about his nation's existence should write the President demanding that he use his authority immediately

to halt the terror in the South and assure the Negro people the protection of their lives and property."

The Worker,  
January 23, 1966, p. 3.

"The budget...revealed a total lack of concern by the President for his responsibility to enforce civil rights for the long-suffering Negro people."

"More than 69 percent goes for war purposes...and less than one-half of one percent of the total budget will be spent for the enforcement of the civil rights of the Negro people and minority groups."

The Worker,  
January 30, 1966, p. 1.

"...The Negro people are learning daily that their aspirations for economic, political and social equality are being sacrificed on the bloody altar of Johnson's war in Vietnam."

The Worker,  
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

"Festering ghettos in every town,  
Prices are up but wages stay down  
And housing must wait til this war is through  
While wages stay put at THREE POINT TWO."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1966, p. 7.

7. Let U.S. Troops Defend Freedom and Democracy in Mississippi

"Why was Meredith shot? Because he had dared to march through Mississippi to defend the rights of all Americans under the Constitution, to

promote free elections in that state. Because by his actions he symbolized the onward march of freedom throughout the country.

"But Johnson, who is sacrificing thousands of young Negro and white GIs in Vietnam with the phony excuse that they are there to defend democracy and freedom, did not send Federal troops to Mississippi to prevent the attempted assassination of James Meredith, or to defend freedom and democracy for the Negro people.

"He must do so at once. Let him bring home the young Negro GIs from Vietnam to defend their mothers and fathers, their sisters and brothers from the rabid white supremacists. Let him bring the young white GIs home from Vietnam and order them to defend freedom and democracy--in Mississippi.

"The lives and liberty of the Negro people are at stake. American democracy is at stake. The President must be forced to act now."

The Worker,  
June 12, 1966, p. 3.

#### 8. Police Brutality

"THE OUTRAGE committed against the Puerto Rican people by the Chicago police is the latest publicized example of the brutality of these 'servants' of the people throughout the nation against the Negro people, the Puerto Ricans and the poor of every nationality.

"The arrogant and criminal actions of police in all parts of the country have become so flagrant that in recent years the U.S. Supreme Court has found it necessary to hand down a number of decisions to curb the viciousness of the cops and their violations of civil rights."

The Worker,  
June 19, 1966, p. 3.

#### 9. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians

" 'THE POWER of monopoly is pervasive,' the new draft program

of the Communist Party declares. 'It is encountered at the approach to virtually every social problem.' "

" 'Monopoly is the principal exploiter and oppressor of the Negro people'...It perpetuates 'segregation and discrimination.' 'For monopoly, the super-exploitation of Negro Labor means billions of dollars in extra profit.' 'Additional billions' are extracted through 'extortionate rents and prices in the ghettos,' and through credit-usury. "

" '...Among Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, levels of unemployment exist which easily match the worst years of the 1930's.' "

The Worker,  
March 13, 1966, p. 8.

" '...With the direct intervention of the government our country's economic life is being totally directed into channels that serve the profit interests of the top money lords. State power is increasingly a direct economic factor--a powerful instrument for guaranteeing maximum profits to the biggest monopolies at the expense of the workers, the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American peoples, the small farmers and small businessmen.' "

"Similar to the repression suffered by the Negro people...is the plight of the six million Mexican Americans and the one million Puerto Ricans in the U.S. The oppression of the Indians is 'in some ways the worst of all, '..."

The Worker,  
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

## IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The Federal Government is not using its full police and economic power to end segregation in schools of the North or the South.
2. Communists propose equal educational opportunities for all and the acceptance of the principle of stipends for students.
3. Students struggling against the high cost of tuition might solve their problems through an alliance with the working class, looking toward the building of socialism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Federal Government Stalling on Segregation in Schools

"As the years lengthen, it is becoming clearer every day that the federal government is stalling on segregation in the schools. It is not using its vast police and economic power to force the racist elements who control the school systems in the South and many places in the North to end educational segregation. The Department of Justice is dragging its feet on bringing into court the white-supremacists who are violating the Supreme Court's school desegregation order and the U. S. Constitution. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is helping the racists get huge sums of federal money without really ending school Jimcrow.

"A speedy end to the Negro ghetto school system is a major test of President Johnson's oft-proclaimed commitment to full rights for the Negro people. Up to now he has flunked the test miserably.

"It is obvious that the President will have to feel the full blast of the pressure of the people before he will move adequately against the racists who are continuing this segregation of Negro school children.

"On the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, every American who cherishes democracy will vow to act with his neighbors

to force an end to this crime against all the children of our nation."

The Worker,  
May 17, 1966, p. 2.

2. Stipends for Students

"We emphasize reforms that improve the economic well-being of the people, and enlarge their cultural and educational opportunities.. To this end we propose:"

" 'Equal educational opportunities for all, with acceptance of the principle of student stipends.' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

3. Students' Alliance with Working Class and the Building of Socialism

"...the struggles of students against the high cost of tuition and militarism, would bring them into an alliance with working people to solve mutual problems and towards the building of socialism."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. Much of our art is preoccupied with the decadence of our society. While we live in an age of global transition, most artists see the ways of the past.
2. The feminization of the masculine is one of the symptoms of a growing decadence in American life.
3. The intellectual has become a glorified wage laborer. He has common interests with the working class in the assault against monopoly power.
4. Time and again socialist scientific men have demonstrated their superiority in space.
5. The American people welcome the banding together of clergymen to fight against the war in Vietnam.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Arts Preoccupied with Decadence

"The main feature of our arts is, I think, its preoccupation with the decadence of our society, its dehumanization. That is true of the novel particularly. Certainly that is true of the movies, TV, most of Broadway, as well as much of the off-Broadway stage...the press and radio.

"We live in a time of global transition--but the ways of the past are still dominant, and that is what most artists see. Recognition of the new, that which is being born, is yet to come...."

The Worker,  
June 5, 1966, p. 6.



## 2. Feminization of the Masculine a Symptom of Decadence

"One of the strange symptoms of a growing decadence in American life has been the feminization of the masculine. The hucksters of Madison Avenue are sweating hard to persuade the American male that he should wear sport jackets and shirts that are as feminine in styling as any Vassar girl's thing-um-a-jig.

"And the leaders of big business in barbering are also sweating out profusely to get men to go in for hair styling at \$7.50 and \$10 a hair cut, the way women have been robbed for years."

The Worker,  
February 27, 1966, p. 5.

## 3. Increased Social Importance of Intellectual--His Common Cause with Working Class

"A MAJOR social development of recent decades, which the new Draft Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A., analyzes, is the 'intellectual-professional community.' The program declares:

" 'The new technology, the new status of science (largely due to its military utility), the affluence-fed growth of the academic establishment, the expansion of the mass communications media, the more systematic use of intellectual skills and disciplines in research and marketing, even the proliferation of governmental bureaucracy with the consequent need for more academically-trained personnel in the supervisory hierarchy--all these phenomena have led to a large numerical increase of the intellectual community and enhancement of its social role.

" 'Ironically, there has been a simultaneous growth of the dependence of the intellectual community upon corporate monopoly. Scientists, engineers and technicians; armies of motivational researchers, divers analysts of market economists and consumer psyches, economists, statisticians, advertising men and others engaged in the great American sell game; writing and performing talents employed in the television, film, radio and mass publishing industries--all are hired by giant corporations....

" 'The intellectual, pressed by monopoly into the status of glorified wage laborer, finds himself pitted in elementary economic conflict with corporate power....' "

. . . . .

" 'The very growth of the intellectual community in numbers and social importance creates a formidable material social force independent of the fundamental class forces in society....' "

. . . . .

" 'The intellectual plays a progressive historic role, not in splendid isolation from contending classes, but in common cause with that class and its allies, which in a given age represent the forward thrust of history. In our age, in the assault against monopoly power this means common cause with the working class and its allies.' "

The Worker,  
April 24, 1966, p. 8.

#### 4. Superiority of Socialist Scientists

"FOR THE FIRST TIME in its existence, Earth has made contact with another planet--Venus."

. . . . .

"It is significant that this great scientific fact was accomplished by socialist man in the Soviet Union.

"When the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik earth satellite into space in October, 1957, many U.S. leaders either disbelieved it or scoffed at it as a scientific trick, without substance or importance.

"But time and again since then, socialist scientific men in the Soviet Union has demonstrated his superiority in space to capitalism's best in the U.S.

"Perhaps the U.S. could use a little socialism to solve the problems of space science."

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

5. The Clergy's Struggle for Peace in Southeast Asia

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE welcome the banding together of clergy of all faiths to fight against the escalation of the war in South Vietnam and the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam. The significance of the formation of the National Emergency Committee of Clergy Concerned About Vietnam is immeasurable in the struggle for peace in Southeast Asia."

The Worker,  
January 23, 1966, p. 3.

## XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Women are discriminated against in the labor market. They receive lower wages and are generally excluded from the leadership and from positions of influence even in unions where they are in the majority.
2. Women, the givers of life, condemn the war in Vietnam.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women Discriminated against in Labor Market

" 'In the labor market women encounter varied forms of discrimination, the 'most common and most painful' of which is 'the payment of lower wages than men get for the same work or for work requiring comparable skill and exertion.' "

" 'Custom and practice... generally exclude women from leadership and positions of influence even in unions where they comprise a majority of the membership. ' "

The Worker,  
April 3, 1966, p. 8.

#### 2. Givers of Life Condemn LBJ's War

"The Givers of Life Condemn LBJ's War

"The Voice of Women--New England, affiliated with the Women's International League for Peace, declared in a Mother's Day telegram to President Johnson:

" 'As mothers and givers of life, we cannot condone your present policies leading to the death of all we hold dear' (in Vietnam.) "

The Worker,  
May 15, 1966, p. 11.

## XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The slaughter in Vietnam is stunting the flower of American and Vietnamese youth. Thousands of the Nation's youth are being sacrificed for the President's "honor" and Wall Street's profit.
2. Communists propose an end to the draft and the passage of a National Youth Act to ensure education and employment at decent wages for the younger generation.
3. During the past decade the young generation, particularly of the Negro people, have grown critical of capitalist society. The youth of this generation have generated a new probing of the path to socialism. The Party has increased its membership among the young people.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Nation's Youth Sacrificed for President's "Honor" and Wall Street's Profit

"THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT last Tuesday reported 109 young American GIs killed in the Vietnam fighting and more than 700 wounded. They died or were maimed in the killing and wounding of scores of young Vietnamese fighting for their liberty.

"Was there not a future astronaut among them? Or a space scientist? Or a doctor? Or a builder of homes? Or a fashioner of complicated machinery to ease life on this planet?

"This senseless slaughter is stunting the flower of American and Vietnamese youth, mangling the future of humanity. And there will be no end to it, if President Johnson has his way and ships out hundreds of thousands more of the nation's youth to be sacrificed for his 'honor' and for Wall Street's profit.

"How long will the American people let this bloodletting continue?"

The Worker,  
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

"The truth is that Washington had no business invading South Vietnam, that President Johnson is prosecuting an illegal and immoral war there, that thousands of young American GIs and scores of thousands of Vietnamese women, children and men are being killed and maimed to save Johnson's 'honor' and Wall Street's profits. "

The Worker,  
June 14, 1966, p. 2.

## 2. A National Youth Act

" 'We emphasize reforms that improve the economic well-being of the people, and enlarge their cultural and educational opportunities. To this end we propose:' "

" 'An end to the draft, and passage of a National Youth Act that will ensure education, vocational training and employment at decent wages for the younger generation.' "

The Worker,  
May 24, 1966, p. 6

## 3. Youth Probing Path to Socialism

"During the past decade the young generation, especially, of the Negro people, have gained a wide experience with the class\* nature of the capitalist state\* and how its police and court system defends its privilege and power. They have gained much experience in the matter of building organizations, cultivating unity, reaching out to forge alliances with a wide stratum of white people. They have, out of their experience, grown profoundly critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society. They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism. Now, as at no other time in its history, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

to the Negro militants the science of Marxism-Leninism to help illumine the way to lasting victory for the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice. "

James E. Jackson, "Class  
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"  
Political Affairs,  
February, 1966, p. 39.

"...It is particularly the youth, the young men and women of this generation, who broke with the silence of the McCarthy days. It is the Left youth of this generation who rejected the poison of big-lie anti-Communism. It is the advance sections of the youth of this generation that have sparked the civil rights drive, the struggle against the policy of U.S. imperialist aggression. It is the youth of this generation who have generated a new probing of the path to socialism...."

Gus Hall, "The Communist  
Program--The Path Ahead,"  
Political Affairs,  
March, 1966, p. 8.

"...We have consolidated and unified our ranks, increased our membership--particularly among young people, and begun the steady climb upward. "

Gil Green, "Some Pre-Convention Thoughts,"  
Political Affairs, June, 1966, p. 60.